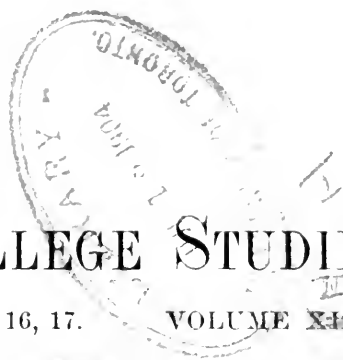


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COLORADO COLLEGE STUDIES

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No. 15. A Note Upon Dryden's Heroic Stanzas on the
Death of Cromwell.

PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PARSONS, Colorado College.

No. 16. Some Defects in the Teaching of Modern Lan-
guages.

PROFESSOR STARR WILLARD CUTTING, University of Chicago.

No. 17. A Plea for More Spanish in the Schools of
Colorado.

PROFESSOR ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS, Colorado College.

Nos. 16 and 17 were read at the Modern Language Conferences
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(Continued on inside of back cover.)



FRONTISPIECE OF THE *Eikon Basilike*, 1648-9.

A NOTE UPON DRYDEN'S HEROIC STANZAS ON THE DEATH OF CROMWELL.

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PARSONS,
COLORADO COLLEGE.

In the fifteenth of Dryden's *Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Cromwell* are to be found the following words, which form one line and part of a second:

"His palms, though under weights they did not stand,
Still thrived."

Not all the editors of Dryden have ventured any comment upon this passage. Those that have noticed it have confined themselves to the interpretation of the metaphor. For example, Gilfillan, in his edition of Dryden's works [Edinburgh, 1855], says: "Palms were thought to grow best under pressure." Sir Walter Scott's note is a little more elaborate: "It was anciently a popular notion that the palm tree thrived best when pressed down by weights. An old scoliast defines it as *arbor nobilissima illa quae nulli cedit ponderi, sed contra assurgit et reluctatur*. Fabri Thesaurus ad verbum *palma*." Saintsbury, in his definitive edition of Dryden [Edinburgh, 1884], in which he re-edits Scott's edition, adds to this note the following, in brackets: "Christie quotes Aulus Gellius and Cowley in support. *Non opus*." The reference of Saintsbury is to the note by Christie in the Globe edition of Dryden's poems [London, 1875], where there is still greater elaboration. "Aulus Gellius, quoting Aristotle and Plutarch, says that, 'if you place great weights on the trunk of the palm tree, and so press and load it that the weight is more than can be borne, the palm does not yield nor does it bend

within, but it rises back against the weight and forces itself upwards and bends itself back' [Noet. Att. III., 6]. And this is why the palm is the emblem of victory. The palm referred to is the date palm and the palm of Scripture.

' Well did he know how palms by oppression speed,
Victorious and the victor's sacred meed,
The burden lifts them higher.'

Cowley, *Dauides*, book i."

The matter of these comments is interesting enough, but it seems to have escaped the commentators that, as the passage stands, it is irrelevant. It would fit the case if the passage read:

His palms, though under weights they *did* stand,
Still thrived.

But Dryden negatives the metaphor. The comments fit only the affirmation of it.

The commentators have also failed to see that unless there is an ulterior reference in the passage, something other than a mere metaphor, it is nonsense. It would be sensible to say that Cromwell thrived in spite of opposition, as the palm does under weights, but it is not sensible to say that Cromwell, although he had no opposition, still succeeded, just as the palm thrives even if it is not dragged down by weights. It is natural to suppose that under proper conditions a palm tree would thrive *unweighed*. Without some ulterior reference, therefore, the negation of the metaphor is absolutely pointless, a flat truism.

A probable explanation of the seeming irrationality of the passage is that it contains an allusion to the famous frontispiece of the *Eikon Basilike*, published February 9, 1648-9, a little less than nine years before the *Heroic Stanzas*. The *Eikon* was, as its sub-title indicated, "The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majestie [Charles I.] in his

Solitudes and Sufferings," and at the time of its publication it was supposed to be from the king's own hand. The task of replying to the book was entrusted by Cromwell's Council of State to their most vigorous pamphleteer, John Milton. He was chosen, and his *Eikonoklastes* was written, because the *Eikon* was proving to be such a dangerous weapon against the cause of the Commonwealth. Masson [*Life of Milton*, IV., 36] thus describes the impression the latter made: "O what a reception it had! Copies of it ran about instantaneously, and were read with sobs and tears. It was in vain that Parliament, March 16th, gave orders for seizing the book. It was reprinted at once in various forms to supply the constant demand—which was not satisfied, it is said, with less than fifty editions within a single year; it became a very Bible in English Royalist households."

The seductiveness of the book was concentrated in the frontispiece, which represented allegorically, in a singularly persuasive form, the substance of the book itself. The engraving represents Charles I. in his royal robes, kneeling, the Bible open before him, his foot on the world,—spurning the earthly crown, grasping the crown of thorns, looking upward toward the heavenly crown, soon to be his. From a cloud in the background a beam of light shines out and rests on the king's head; a rock stands immovable in the midst of a stormy sea; and two palms are disclosed, carrying heavy weights, with the motto: *Crescit sub Pondere Virtus*.

Cromwell was the great antagonist of King Charles, the Bolingbroke to his Richard. In seeking antitheses with which to set forth most strikingly the characteristics and career of the great warrior-statesman, Dryden could turn to no better source for material than to the memories which centered in the ill-fated king. Popular interest in

the great apology of his life had not died out, and the frontispiece of the *Eikon* was probably universally remembered. It was natural then that, when Dryden was composing his verses in praise of the arch-enemy of Charles, he should call to mind the famous picture, and, recollecting the detail of the palms, he should write anti-thetically of his hero:

“ *His palms, though under weights they *did not* stand,
Still thrived.*”

This interpretation has the two-fold merit of clearing up an otherwise inexplicable difficulty in Dryden's poem, and of bringing to light an interesting point of connection between that poem and the life of the time in which it was composed.¹

¹ Reprinted from *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1904.

SOME DEFECTS IN THE TEACHING OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

BY PROFESSOR STARR WILLARD CUTTING,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Read at the Modern Language Conferences, Colorado College,
February 20, 1904.

A glance at the progress of the last twenty years in the aims and results of modern-language instruction in American institutions of learning reveals ample cause for relative satisfaction with present conditions and prospects. It would be easy to find in the more general institutional recognition of the claims of modern languages to an important place in courses of study, in the better preparation of teachers, in more ample library facilities, and in the manifold advantages springing from the co-operation, implied in our Modern Language Association of America, inspiration rather for a paean of victory than for the ungracious tones of a Jeremiad. Not blindness to past triumphs, but the hope that criticism may prove more helpful than congratulation, has led me to choose the invidious task of pointing out what seem to me certain defects in our work, as yet unremedied.

My main contention applies equally well to both English and other modern languages, although in the following considerations attention is focused in detail upon languages other than the student's vernacular.

If we disregard that rather numerous class whose personal choice has nothing to do with shaping their course of study, who take modern languages as part of a pre-

scribed curriculum, to be gotten through with in some fashion, there remain various types of learners, determined by the predominant purpose that controls their choice of subject. Thus some undertake the task "for revenue only." They hope to find immediate employment of their linguistic accomplishments as interpreters, clerks, bookkeepers, and the like. Or they seek thereby to fortify themselves against the wiles of foreign railroad officials, police captains, shopkeepers, and custom-house guardians. It is the fashion to deery this class of students as sordid utilitarians, unworthy of serious consideration at the hands of college or university teachers. The equity of this judgment may be open to question, in view of the general approval accorded to another class of learners, whose commercial utilization of their acquirements is as indubitable as that of the tabooed class just mentioned. I refer to those who regard their academic study of modern languages as a preparation for teaching the same subjects to others. Their conception of the work to be done is presumably broader than that of the plain "commercialist." They crave some acquaintance with literature, and are on the whole less anxious than the first class for short-cuts and for the completion of the course in "six easy lessons." Yet the hope of financial gain is the impelling motive here as there. Many treat modern languages as a means for following more directly the past and current thought of other nations in its bearing upon their special studies. The standing formula employed to justify the scant attention paid by such students to the work in hand runs: They seek only a "reading knowledge" of this or that. This catchword unfortunately dominates in such cases not only the action of the pupil, but also largely the course of study and the nature of the instruction. A much larger group of learners expects

from the study of languages and literatures discipline in sharp observation, careful discrimination, and correct inference, *i. e.*, in clear thinking, on the one hand, and acquaintance with the literature and life of the leaders of modern civilization, on the other. Not salable information, but the substance of a liberal education, is the object of their quest. A relatively small but important class of students finds in modern languages and literatures a field of scientific research, and looks to the college and the university for the requisite special training in methods of investigation. The needs of the last-named group have received steadily increasing recognition in this country since the founding of the Modern Language Association of America.

There are, then, several distinct types of language learners. While we meet more frequently than otherwise students whose aims combine in various proportions those of two or more of these types, the school, college, and university can safely ignore none of them in shaping the instruction to be offered.

One of the most obvious defects, as it seems to me, of our modern language teaching, hurtful to all classes of students, is neglect of the spoken word. This neglect may come from a variety of causes. It is sometimes traceable to the imperfect command of the spoken idiom, characteristic of many American-born teachers. It may occasionally proceed from the foolish desire of teachers of living languages to share the high esteem accorded to teachers of Greek and Latin, by imitating even the vices of the class-room practice of some of the latter. It has certainly become a widespread policy, in part at least, from a strong conviction of the impracticability of the spoken word under existing conditions of class instruction. Scant time and large numbers seem to preclude the possibility

of an amount of attention to the individual, sufficient to insure a fluent oral command of the language, even were this made of prime importance from the outset. This conviction has been strengthened latterly in America by the inevitable reaction against the wild claims and vagaries of the "natural method" mongers. Since the fluency which these colleagues deem the sole possible justification of much attention to the spoken word is unattainable—thus the argument runs—why waste the precious time needed for so many other objects that are attainable? A few of these colleagues quite likely assent to the phrasing given this view by one who writes: "It requires no higher order of intellect and no more exercise of the judgment to speak French or German than to play the banjo."¹

Now, this view as to the negligible importance of the spoken word is an assumption that begs the whole question. It is certainly not true that for any class of students actually learning a foreign language, as distinguished from learning sundry more or less significant facts about it, it is a matter of minor concern. It is, furthermore, true that mere information about the general development of a language or a literature is an accomplishment quite compatible with relative ignorance of the language of said literature. Such information implies no necessary familiarity with the national conception of artistic form, and is entirely consistent with the crassest Philistinism with respect to the essence of the whole subject. While such information may, as better than nothing at all, properly be offered in a department of literature in the student's vernacular, it is the flimsiest possible excuse for slighting instruction in the language itself.

¹ E. H. Babbitt, "How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline" (in D. C. Heath's "Methods of Teaching Modern Languages," Boston, 1893). P. 127.

For a modern language is primarily a varying sequence of sound-symbols, recalled for the ear through the eye by the secondary symbols of printer's ink. It has its own peculiar rhythm and cadence, characteristic of the feeling of the people whose collective experience gave them birth. These elements, distinct from the sound-values of the individual vocables, impart to the latter a variety of musical quality, whose appreciation is one of the most important and also one of the most difficult acquisitions of the language student. No adequate conception of the beauties of lyric, epic, or dramatic poetry, or even of musical prose, is possible for one deaf to the subtle adjustment of time and tune characteristic of the spoken word.

Mere instruction in the pronunciation of vowels and consonants, when reinforced by no long-continued efforts of the learner at reproducing them in connected discourse, is an inadequate means to a good end. For the sound-symbol, alone and in connection, becomes graven upon the memory and vividly associated with its intellectual and emotional equivalent in proportion to the self-activity involved in its use. No amount of theoretical or practical explanation of the teacher can take the place of this.

Again, the words and idioms of one language correspond, in a vast proportion of all cases, only approximately to the so-called equivalents of another. The most painstaking lexicographer can hope, therefore, to accomplish but imperfectly his task of interpretation. Just those elusive shades of difference in connotation that baffle the skill of the lexicographer must gradually be acquired by the really successful student of any language. This can be accomplished only by oft-repeated comparison of the same word or phrase with itself in a variety of contexts. Most subtle of all are the particles and idioms of everyday life, whose present signification reflects most in-

timately the hearth-stone and market-place habit of thought and expression of a people. They pervade, too, like an undertone the current of the best literary style and defy the efforts of the interpreter, whose chief reliance is upon grammar and dictionary. By continuous use of the spoken word from the outset the student acquires slowly but surely an instinctive feeling for a multitude of nice distinctions that elude all attempts at formal definition, and give him that sense of *at-home-ness* in the language which is indispensable for intelligent appreciation and criticism. To neglect this surest means of reaching the desired goal, in favor of so-called "rapid translation," is to condemn the pupil to perpetual ignorance of the inmost spirit of the language. To expect from students so trained a fine feeling for the niceties of syntax and style is to exhibit singular credulity as to cause and effect.

The college and the university aim to prepare teachers of modern languages for their work. We must recognize, to an extent greater than ever before, in the modern-language preparation of the average candidate for entrance to college a reflection through his teacher of our own ideals and practice in college and university. Our frequent complaint against the lifeless, ineffective teaching of language in secondary schools is too often a boomerang that smites the man who hurls it. For how shall the comparative stranger to the spirit of a language inspire others with that spirit? Are even well-chosen facts of linguistic and literary history an acceptable substitute in the teacher for that intimate knowledge of the use of language which alone lends such facts their true significance? The absurdity of an affirmative reply to these questions is manifest.

The investigator is not less important than the teacher. Those students who choose modern languages as a field

for the research of a lifetime look rightly to the university for such training as will contribute most surely to their success. Numberless problems of interpretation, syntax, and style can be profitably undertaken only by those whose reading has been stimulated and guided by an instinctive feeling for linguistic form, obtainable solely through contact with the spoken word.

Without mentioning in detail the other classes of learners whose work is seriously impaired by neglect of this element of instruction, we pass to a brief mention of the kindred neglect of real prose composition. Excessive devotion to reading and translation is a common occasion of both defects. We follow slavishly the dictum ascribed to Horace Greeley: "The only way to learn to read is to read." This truth is but a half-truth. It is certainly true that reading maketh a full man; but mere fulness is a doubtful virtue. Eating beyond the power of digestion is sheer gluttony. Now, eating is to digestion what composition is to reading in the economy of language learning. For a progressive course in prose composition means constant discipline in actively examining and estimating the elements of the language successively passed in review, and in their practical use as an expression of the learner's own thought. It is vastly important as the chief means of giving the pupil that active grasp of the new vocabulary that transforms seeing "through a glass darkly" into "face to face" vision. This is true of real composition in the language to be learned, not of mere translation from the student's vernacular into that language. While the latter may be necessary at first, it can shortly be supplanted with great advantage by variant reproduction of material read or listened to by the student, within clearly indicated lines of inflection, syntax, and style. For translation, when fairly adequate, implies an almost equal command

of the two languages involved. This is, of course, beyond the present reach of the learner, and his very familiarity with the forms of his mother-tongue contrasts to his mental distress with his comparative ignorance of the foreign syntax. Whatever progress he may make in the latter by industrious "upsetting" of the vernacular is quite insufficient entirely to remove this distress. He is constantly hampered by the fetters of the familiar speech-forms. Nothing else can take the place of extended elementary, intermediate, and advanced theme-writing in the language to be acquired.

Another defect is the untimeliness of some of our work. Our ambition to acquaint our pupils with a wide range of literary development is the occasion of much premature discussion of literary facts, in place of reading and interpreting literary monuments. We repeat the common mistake of those who but yesterday taught literature by means of a convenient manual, illustrated by a minimum of reading from an equally convenient anthology. Our brave array of names, dates, and rival schools becomes sometimes the trees that hide the woods. The young sailor has little use for a chart of all the seas, before he has learned to row a boat or rig a sail. Good manuals and seasonable discussions are excellent, when used to broaden and clarify the knowledge gained by first-hand study of literature. When substituted for such study they defeat their own purpose.

What seems to me a false application of the *Sauere Wochen, Frohe Feste* principle often introduces the student to a nominal study of literature rendered comparatively fruitless by unfamiliarity with the language in which it is expressed. All attempts to enjoy the classics of any people undertaken during the period of linguistic grouping are doubly disadvantageous to the student.

First, they discourage him, by impressing him with the magnitude of the task and the apparent worthlessness of the results; and secondly, they consume much time, which employment in wisely directed study of the language would equip the learner for real appreciation and enjoyment of the literature, for which he now acquires a positive distaste.

Acquaintance with and appreciation of good literature are one thing; knowledge of genetical, chronological, biographical, and other critical details is quite another. All students of modern languages need the former as an important element of a liberal education. This is a corollary of the fact that literature is one of the most significant expressions of the mind of civilized man in all ages and in all lands. But literature should not be confused with the history of literature. Discriminating love of the form, color, and odor of flowers is quite independent of systematic botany, even though study of the latter may sometimes quicken the former. Each is good and desirable in its own way. The same is true of literary appreciation, on the one hand, and the facts of literary history, on the other. Our educational blunder at this point consists in neglecting the one or the other through carelessly regarding them as interchangeable.

Similar to this is the common mistake of neglecting to instruct students in language through misplaced zeal in imparting to them the facts of language history. Morphological history is as distinct from organic function in the field of language as in that of zoölogy or botany. Some teachers seem to labor under the honest delusion that the form and spirit of a language can be most effectively acquired by strict attention to the salient features of its historical development. Evidence of this are those dictionaries and grammars intended for the use of beginners,

which devote much space and attention to etymologies and genetical discussions of modern forms. When duly subordinated to direct oral and written drill, historical instruction of this sort may with some pupils facilitate the acquisition of a foreign tongue, or of an older dialect of the vernacular. When not thus subordinated, however, it prevents the acquisition of either the language or its history. Other teachers frankly disregard the student's ignorance of the language as a vehicle of thought, and resolutely attempt to ingraft upon this ignorance such scientific knowledge of language and literary history as seems to them alone consistent with the supposed dignity of college and university instruction. They are reluctant to recognize in their practice that mastery of the inflectional, syntactical, and stylistic elements of a language is for the learner primarily an art to be acquired rather than a science to be comprehended. Such a recognition seems to them a deplorable concession to the unscientific spirit of the *Sprachmeister*. They prefer to play the ostrich, by denying the student's need of instruction in the art of speech-usage and by hurrying him at once into courses intended to prepare him for investigative work. And yet even a bright pupil thus unfamiliar with the idiomatic niceties and with the musical values of the language must remain a mere bungler in all questions of interpretation, phonology, morphology, syntax, prosody, and style. Warning examples of this are furnished annually by the score in the crude studies of these subjects offered to university faculties for the doctorate. What these students of the earlier English, German, and Romance dialects need more than lectures upon historical grammar is intimate acquaintance with the syntax, style, and vocabulary of the dialects in question, based upon wide inductive reading of numerous authors of the period chosen for

special study. This is the only sure preventive of those speculative extravagances of phonological, syntactical, and text-critical research that shock or amuse the reader, according to his temper or mood.

In spite of recent conspicuous efforts to introduce into all our instruction in modern languages what some term the "spirit of university work," it seems doubtful that we as yet distinguish sharply enough between the general needs of all classes of our students and the special needs of our research students. Whoever studies a modern language with any seriousness of purpose needs information along countless lines. What is already known of linguistic and literary form, in their present state and past development, is a great storehouse of detail, whose appropriation by the student may or may not be wisely restricted to essentials by the choice of the teacher. Courses determined by wisdom and courage in the omission of all information not vital for the subsequent steps of the work are indispensable for satisfactory progress. Such courses orient the student suitably in the field of his interest. Various methods of procedure may be equally fit for this work. In any case, the main purpose of the teacher is to inform the learner of facts and relation first discovered by another than the pupil himself. Informational courses supplemented by occasional attention to classic methods of research, employed by exemplary workers, are sufficient for the needs of most students. Such courses are at their best when most devoid of all futile parody of research work. Efforts to inject into them elements whose dubious purpose is to produce the appearance of scientific severity of discipline are strangely at variance with the real scientific spirit.

The young investigator needs, besides the best type of informational courses for preliminary training, instruc-

tion in methodology, *i. e.*, counsel in discovering and selecting suitable problems for solution and assistance in devising working plans for the conduct of research, with frequent criticism of his choice and interpretation of evidence. Work of this kind, undertaken in connection with concrete problems, and shaped so as to afford discipline in the formulation of multiple hypotheses and in the impartial evaluation of each in the light of all available material, is in aim and effect quite different from the legitimate informational course. The conditions of work in American universities are unquestionably still largely molded by the informational ideal of teaching which we have inherited from the early American college. Institutional concessions to the needs of research have hitherto been rather theoretical than practical. Large classes, many hours of instructional service per day, and meager library facilities still, for most of us, hamper all investigative work in modern languages. The presence of immature students in courses intended primarily for research is doubtless a frequent cause of an unfortunate compromise in the nature of the instruction, that vitiates its usefulness alike for the specialist and the non-specialist. Such facts, however, are merely an explanation, and no real excuse for offering our students a hybrid instruction, the leanness of whose informational features suggest the scant diet of the Prodigal Son, and whose value as a preparation for philological research is practically zero. Intellectual honesty would suggest that we resolutely refuse to offer courses in research for which we may have neither the time nor the indispensable equipment. It would, in case of informational courses, just as surely frown upon the merely decorative employment of the manners of research.

The defects in our work, briefly indicated in the foregoing, have one feature in common. They all spring, in

part, at least, from what seems to me the confusion of two instructional ideals—the informational and the research ideal. By premature devotion to the latter actually learning the language is slighted, interpretative and appreciative reading of literature is neglected, and the student is imbued with the conceit of ignorance disguised as knowledge. By substituting for genuine courses in methodology compromises suggested by the immaturity of some of our students, or by our own laxity in excluding such students from work for which they are not prepared, we hopelessly handicap the spirit of research, and thus diminish what might otherwise be our respectable contribution to the total of trustworthy investigation in modern philology.

None of these defects, however, whether occasioned by institutional illiberality or by individual shortsightedness, seem irremediable. Hence I have chosen, in the full consciousness of my own shortcomings in the premises, to call to mind in this paper certain conspicuous obstacles in the way of our attaining that degree of success as teachers which we rightfully crave.

A PLEA FOR MORE SPANISH IN THE SCHOOLS OF COLORADO.

BY PROFESSOR ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS,
COLORADO COLLEGE.

Read at the Modern Language Conferences, Colorado College,
February 20, 1904.

It has been a cause of surprise to me that so few schools in Colorado offer Spanish. Here we stand at the very threshold of Spanish America, which stretches away for thousands of miles to the south of us; many of our people have business relations with Mexico and other Spanish-American countries; and here in Colorado we have more than fifty thousand persons whose mother tongue is Spanish. And yet few of our high schools give their students an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of this language. In Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs, the three largest cities of Colorado, only two high schools offer Spanish, the East Side High School of Denver, and the Colorado Springs High School. Each gives a two-year course, and the enrolment this year is 54 in Denver, and 15 in Colorado Springs,—a rather large number when one considers that Spanish is an elective subject that has to be fitted into a course of study already big with required work.¹ How different is this from the work of the naval and military academies of the United States, where French and Spanish, the only foreign languages taught, have an equally prominent place in the curriculum! At Colorado College this year the enrolment in the Spanish classes has been 55, which speaks well for the popularity of the language.

¹ Of seventy-two schools in the State to which I have written for information, only the following report having Spanish classes: East

In making a plea for more Spanish in the schools of Colorado, I shall not enter into an argument with regard to the practical value of Spanish, for I am sure that no one will question it; and I shall speak only of its disciplinary and cultural value. Recently some one asked a young woman in Colorado College why she took Spanish, since that language had only a commercial value and possessed no literature worth studying! It scarcely seems possible that such a statement should be made, and yet this is the opinion of many otherwise well-informed people. It seems unnecessary to say that Spain has one of the world's great literatures, a literature rich in verse and in prose, and unexcelled in the drama and the novel. The Spanish classic literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a vast storehouse from which all nations have drawn freely; and to-day both Spain and Spanish-America are doing literary work of high order.

First, let me say a word about the study of Spanish.

The Spanish language is not so much a daughter of Latin as it is a modern Latin. It is true that great changes have taken place in the language during the past two thousand years, but these changes are probably no greater than those that occurred in Latin between the period of the earliest inscriptions and the close of the classic era, that is, there is probably as great a difference between the earliest Latin and classic Latin as there is between classic Latin and the Latin speech of modern Spain and Spanish America. As we look backward through the ages, our gaze naturally rests on the bright period of classic Latin, and we are apt to imagine that there is a

Side High School of Denver, two years (54); Colorado Springs, two years (15); Rocky Ford, one year (7); Saguache, two years (16). (Since this article was written, it has been decided to offer courses in Spanish in other high schools in Denver and Pueblo.)

deep chasm between that period and modern Spanish, and to forget that the changes have, for the most part, come about as gradually as those that are taking place today in our own English speech.

But a knowledge of classic Latin is of no great help in the study of spoken Spanish, and it would not be worth while to acquire Latin merely as a stepping stone to the study of a Romance language. One should begin his French, or Spanish, or Italian, at an early age, when the vocal organs are flexible, and the power of imitation is great. After one or more of the Romance languages have been mastered, the mother tongue, Latin, would come almost of itself.

I am a thorough believer in the disciplinary value of modern language study; yet I realize that little French or Spanish poorly taught is not the equal of much Latin well taught, and in many of our educational institutions the modern languages still occupy a secondary place. In even our best schools and colleges a systematic thorough study of modern languages is of recent date. Lowell said that when he was in college "nobody studied German, although some boys consented to spend two or three hours a week with the professor for the express purpose of evading study."

In most of our preparatory schools four years are devoted to Latin, while German, French, or Spanish has at the most one or two years, and the student skims along with superficial haste. No one will insist that one or two years of this sort of modern language work produces as good a result as four years of Latin.

I am convinced, however, that the whole controversy as to the comparative disciplinary value of the modern and the ancient languages is unimportant, since, after all, study merely for discipline is largely a waste of time, and

the possession of a language, rather than any method of acquiring it, should be the object of language study.

Comparisons are rarely just; but, if I were to compare Spanish with classic Latin, I should say that in wealth of vocabulary, in power of expression, and in flexibility, the Latin of today as spoken in Spain and Spanish America is superior to the language of Rome in the time of Cicero. And if I were to compare the literature of modern Spain with that of ancient Rome, I should say that the ancient literature is undoubtedly superior to the modern in grand simplicity and beauty of form, but inferior in richness and sublimity of thought.

And now a word as to Spanish literature. After the darkness of the Middle Ages, the first signs of a revival of letters are perceptible in the Spanish peninsula, even before they are found in Italy or Provence; but the development of polite letters was long delayed in Spain by the wars with the Moors. In Spain, as elsewhere, poetry precedes prose. The earliest Spanish poetry is in the form of popular ballads, the narrative and the lyrical poetry of the people. They sprang into being during the tremendous conflict with Islamism, and they breathe forth the spirit of heroism that animated the Christian Spaniards. The Spanish ballads are, in many respects, superior to those of other countries. Only the Scotch and English ballads rival them in melody and feeling.

The drama in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, had its origin in the religious plays which were given in or near a church under the direction of priests. The Spaniards were slow to develop a national secular drama, but towards the close of the sixteenth century the popular Spanish drama became so strong that it rose above classical criticism and ecclesiastical control. From then until the middle of the seventeenth century the Spanish dramatists pro-

duced works which for variety, force and originality have been equaled only in Greek and English. They worked untrammelled by too great a subservience to classic models, and they vitalized their creations with philosophic reflexions and with a fine play of humor and pathos.

A striking circumstance in the history of Spanish literature is the comparatively early appearance of works of fiction. The story of Amadis of Gaul filled the world with its fame in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is still one of the best written romances of chivalry in any language. These romances of chivalry had much popularity in Spain, and their influence became so great, and finally so pernicious, that both the church and the state attempted to put a stop to them. Their final overthrow was brought about by the appearance, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, of *Don Quixote*, which is probably the best specimen of romantic fiction that has ever been written, and in which the art of story telling is brought to almost unrivaled perfection. Cervantes states at the end of the work that he had no other desire than to render abhorred of men the false and absurd stories contained in books of chivalry. Let me say, in passing, that *Don Quixote*, to be appreciated, must be read in Spanish, since all translations fail to bring out the sublimity of language and the harmonious arrangement of word and phrase.

The early and the classical literature of Spain was vitally influenced by the wars waged against Islamism throughout the greater part of eight centuries. This fierce struggle developed in the old Spanish character a deep sentiment of devotion to the Roman church and a spirit of knightly loyalty. The early poetry of Spain has a serious tone and manliness of style and sentiment that are not found in the early literatures of the other Ro-

mance peoples. It was an outpouring of popular feeling, the battle song of the people, the triumphant chant of the victors, or the funeral dirge of the dying. Love of military adventure and devotion to the church became fixed traits of the Spanish character. The three foremost writers that Spain has given to the world, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon, were soldiers and members of religious orders.

After a period of decadence, Spain today occupies once more a foremost place in letters, and yet the old and typical Spanish literature has gone never to return. The Spanish writers of the nineteenth century have been cosmopolitan. They have been romanticists, realists, idealists, and at the opening of the twentieth century there is perceptible a decided tendency towards the German type of detailed and minute observation. In closing this brief review of the literature of Spain, I will say that the Spanish novelists and dramatists of today easily hold their own with the best in the world, and in the opinion of many critics they excel those of all other countries in originality, variety, and genuine interest.²

I must not fail to mention that Mexico, Cuba, and the South American states are also contributing to Spanish literature. It may be that our Latin neighbors to the south of us are behind us in material advancement, but

² Probably the best known Spanish novelists of the Nineteenth Century are the following: Juan Valera (1824-), *Pepita Jiménez*, *Doña Luz*, *Cuentos*, etc.; Pedro A. de Alarcón (1833-1891), *El final de Norma*, *El sombrero de tres picos*, *El escándalo*, *El niño de la bola*, *El Capitán Veneno*, etc.; José María de Pereda (1837-), *Don Gonzalo González*, *Los hombres de pro*, *El bucy salto*, etc.; Benito Pérez Galdós (1845-) *Doña Perfecta*, *Marianela*, *Gloria*, *La familia de León Roch*, *Electra* (drama), etc.; Armando Palacio Valdés (1858-), *La aldea perdida*, *La alegría del capitán Ribot*, *La hermana de San Sulpicio*, etc. The best known dramatist is José Echegaray (1833-), *Ó locura ó santidad*, *El gran Galeoto*, etc.

they claim to be fully abreast with us in literature and art. In fact, the South American will tell you that Spanish America has contributed more to the world's stock of literature than has English America. Juan Valera, one of the foremost writers and literary critics of Spain, and formerly minister to Washington, says in his *Cartas americanas* ("American Letters"): "Spanish America is far from being mentally barren. Before its independence it rivaled the mother country in mental fruitfulness. In some countries, as in Mexico, the writers were counted by thousands even before the republic was proclaimed. Afterwards, and up to the present time, their fondness for writing and their fecundity have increased. In the natural and the exact sciences, and in industry and commerce, English America, long since independent, has flourished most; but in letters one can say without boasting that, both in quantity and in quality, Spanish America is outstripping English America." I should be loth to grant this, but one must acknowledge that much admirable literature has been produced in Spanish America, and that there is literary culture there of high order.

I wish to quote also a remark of Dr. Menéndez y Pelayo in his anthology of Spanish-American poets: "They (English and Spanish) are the languages of the two colonizing peoples of modern times: one the representative of the civilization of northern Europe, of the Teutonic spirit more or less modified, of Protestant individualism; the other of the genius of southern Europe, of Latin and Catholic origin."

It is regrettable that most people in these United States have an erroneous opinion of conditions in Spanish America. It is often said flippantly that the Spanish of Mexico, for instance, is a vulgar dialect. That is not true at all. One may hear all sorts of Spanish in Mexico, just

as one hears all sorts of English in this country; but, on the whole, the Spanish spoken in Spanish America does not differ from the Spanish of Spain any more than the English spoken in the United States differs from the English of England, and in their writings the best Spanish-American authors make use of a language that is singularly pure. Political and social conditions differ greatly in the several Spanish-American republics. In those under the equator, the population is largely Indian, and is restless and turbulent, and easily incited to revolt; while in the more temperate climes, notably in Chile and the Argentine Republic, the population is almost entirely European, and is as orderly and law-abiding as our own. Conditions as to education also differ. Some states are backward, while in several of the most progressive republics school attendance is now compulsory and illiteracy is fast disappearing. Oddly enough, in the republics near the equator, where there is most illiteracy and where political uprisings are frequent, most has been done in poetry; while, in those republics where the climate is cooler, more has been done in history and science.

The institutions of Spanish America are hoary with age in comparison with ours. The printing press was set up in Mexico in 1539, and there are still preserved 116 volumes that were published in Mexico during the sixteenth century, several of which were by Mexican authors. The University of Mexico was opened in 1553. In the year 1585 a *certamen*, or literary contest, was held in the City of Mexico, at which a prize was offered for the best poetical composition, and some 300 poets from all parts of Mexico competed. In 1816 a learned Mexican published a bibliography of the works of Mexican authors, and there are in the list the names of more than 4,000 writers. While letters obtained a foothold first in Mexico, you may

be surprised to learn that the literary circle of Bogotá, Colombia, is now considered to be doing the best work. In this connection, Juan Valera says: "Of all the Spanish-American peoples the citizens of Bogotá have shown the greatest love of letters, science, and arts. Our language is cultivated, is spoken, and is written there with correctness, elegance and purity. Their poetry is aristocratic, elegant, and correct. In the works of the Colombian poets one notes a remarkable correctness and elegance, which proves that in Colombia Spanish is cultivated with love and ardor."

Spanish America has not yet produced one of the world's great writers: it has no Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Molière, or Goethe; but neither has English America, for that matter. Critics generally hold the four following writers to be the greatest that Spanish America has produced: Alarcón, Heredia, Bello, and Olmedo.³

Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1581-1639) was born and educated in Mexico, but did most of his writing in Spain. He is a well known dramatist. Corneille's *Le menteur* is an adaptation of Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa*.

José María Heredia (1803-1839), a Cuban, who was educated in the University of Havana, and afterwards exiled on account of his patriotic poems. He spent many years in Mexico, where he was prominent in letters and in politics. His best poems are *Niágara*, *En el Teocalli de Cholula*, *Al sol*, *Al océano*, and *En una tempestad*.

Andrés Bello (1781-1865), born and educated in Caracas, Venezuela. He was for several years the minister to

³Good editions are: Alarcón, *Comedias de Alarcón*, in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Madrid; Heredia, *Poesías de José María Heredia, con prólogo de Elías Zerolo*, Paris, 1893; Bello, *Poesías de Andrés Bello, con el Estudio biográfico y crítico de Miguel A. Caro*, in the *Colección de escritores castellanos*, Madrid, 1881; *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1881-85.

England from the greater Colombia of Bolívar, and finally became rector of the University of Santiago de Chile. He distinguished himself in letters and science. His best known works are the poem entitled *Silva á la agricultura de la zona tórrida* and his *Grammar*. In passing, let me say that there is no better grammar of the Castilian language than that of the Venezuelan Bello, revised by Cuervo, a Colombian.

José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780-1847), an illustrious patriot and poet of Ecuador. He first studied at the College of San Fernando at Quito, and later took the doctor's degree at the University of Lima. His great work is *La victoria de Junín*.⁴

In closing this brief review, I do most earnestly urge the educators of Colorado to offer more Spanish in our schools; for, after all, Spanish is the only foreign language with which we come into direct contact; and the study of Spanish has a cultural as well as a utilitarian value.

*Some other popular Spanish-American writers of the Nineteenth Century are: Chile,—Miguel Luis de Amunátegui, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, José Taribio Medina; Colombia,—Miguel Antonio Caro, Jorge Isaacs, Rufino José Cuervo; Cuba,—Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces; Ecuador,—Juan León Mera; Méjico,—José Joaquín Pesado, Manuel Carpio, Juan de Dios Peza; Manuel Aenúa; Nicaragua,—Rubén Darío, José Batres y Montofar; Perú,—Felipe Pardo y Aliaga; República Argentina.—Olegario Víctor Andrade; Uruguay,—Zorrilla de San Martín. This list is far from complete.

PROGRAMME OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
CONFERENCES HELD AT COLORADO
COLLEGE IN FEBRUARY, 1904.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

9 A. M.

OPENING ADDRESS by President Wm. F. Slocum.

J. BRUCE MATHER, D.D., instructor in English in the North
Side High School, Denver,

"The Direct Study of English."

JOHN M. DOWNEN, A.B., principal of the Centennial High
School, Pueblo,

"The Choice of Literature for Study in the High School."

LOUISE MORRIS HANNUM, Ph.D., instructor in English in the
State Normal School,

"Analysis vs. Synthesis in Literary Interpretation."

J. RAYMOND BRACKETT, Ph.D., professor of English and Com-
parative Literature in the University of Colorado,

"The New Foundations of Literary Study."

2 P. M.

MABEL MEAD, B.S., instructor in Modern Languages in the
Colorado Agricultural College,

"The Place of Modern Languages in a Scientific Course."

E. C. HILLS, A.B., professor of Romance Languages in Colorado
College,

"A Plea for More Spanish in the Schools of Colorado."

CHARLES M. MARCHAND, B.S., instructor in French in the Miss
Wolcott School, Denver,

"Le Mouvement Littéraire en France au Début du
Vingtième Siècle."

- C. C. AYER, Ph.D., professor of Romance Languages in the University of Colorado,
 "On the Learning of a Modern Language."

S P. M.

- LOUISE REINHARDT, instructor in Modern Languages in the Colorado Springs High School,
 "Das Deutschum in Amerika."
- ANNE GRACE WIRT, Ph.M., professor of German in Denver University,
 "The Value of German in the College Course."
- STARR WILLARD CUTTING, Ph.D., professor of German Literature in the University of Chicago,
 "Some Defects in The Teaching of Modern Languages."

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

9 A. M.

- DAISY DIXON, instructor in English in the Central High School, Pueblo.
 "The Reading Class and the Study of Literature."
- EDWARD S. PARSONS, Litt.D., professor of English in Colorado College,
 "A Literary Opportunity."
- L. A. SHERMAN, Ph.D., professor of English in the University of Nebraska,
 "What the Public Demands of Departments of English."

2 P. M.

- A. GIDEON, Ph.D., professor of Modern Languages in the State Normal School,
 "The Aim and Method of Modern Language Instruction in a Scheme of Liberal Education."
- RAYMOND WEEKS, Ph.D., professor of Romance Languages in the University of Missouri,
 "The Distinguishing Qualities of the French Language and Literature."

- No. 24. The Capricorn, Mammals of an Asiatic Type. Former Inhabitants of the Pike's Peak Region.—*F. W. Cragin*.
- " 25. Buehieras (*Sphenodiscus*) Belviderensis and Its Varieties (two plates).—*F. W. Cragin*.
- " 26. The Number Concept.—*F. Cajori*.
- " 27. Remarks upon Clifford's Proof of Miguel's Theorem.—*F. H. Loud*.
- " 28. A Study of Some Teleosts from the Russell Substage of the Platte Cretaceous Series.—*F. W. Cragin*.
- " 29. An Interferometer Study of Radiations in a Magnetic Field.—*J. C. Shedd*.
- " 30. Dedication Address.—*President David Starr Jordan*, Leland Stanford Jr. University.
(This, and the two following numbers, were delivered at the dedication of Palmer Hall, February 22 and 23, 1904.)
- " 31. Science Address.—*President Charles R. Van Hise*, University of Wisconsin.
- " 32. Dedication Sermon.—*Professor Edward C. Moore*, Harvard University.

SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES.

- No. 1. Protection for Congressional Minorities.—*W. M. Hall*.
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- " 9. On a Passage in Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica*.—*A. T. Murray*.
- " 10. The Conditional in German.—*S. Primer*.
- " 11. On the Eight Lines Usually Prefixed to Horat. *Serm.* 1, 10.—*W. P. Mustard*.
- " 12. Literature for Children.—*E. S. Parsons*.
- " 13. *La Femme dans les Chansons de Geste*.—*H. A. Smith*.
- " 14. The Earliest Life of Milton.—*E. S. Parsons*.

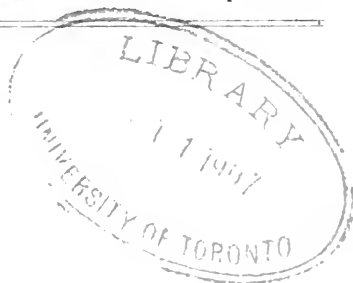
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THE EVOLUTION OF MAETERLINCK'S DRAMATIC THEORY

E. C. HILLS

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THE EVOLUTION OF MAETERLINCK'S DRAMATIC THEORY.

E. C. HILLS.

Maurice Maeterlinck is still only in middle life,—he was born in 1862; but he has already written much of value; lyric verse, drama, philosophical essays, and descriptions of animal and plant life.

In his earliest writings he gave evidence of being, like Verlaine and Mallarmé, a symbolist. He was in revolt against realism, and he portrayed the mystic beauties of the human soul largely by means of allusion and allegorical legend. In philosophy he was a mystic and fatalist, who held man to be the plaything of invisible, malevolent forces that it were useless to resist; and in the drama he was an admirer and devoted follower of Shakespeare.¹

Maeterlinck is still a symbolist;² but in the drama he owes allegiance to Ibsen rather than to Shakespeare. In his philosophical beliefs he has been influenced largely by the transcendentalism of Emerson and the stoic ethics of Marcus Aurelius. He is still a mystic, but his gloomy fatalism has been succeeded by the cheerful self-confidence of one who believes that man may largely control destiny through the exercise of wisdom and love.

In making a study of Maeterlinck's drama, it is interest-

¹ The influence of Shakespeare is seen most in *La Princesse Maleine*: note the Nurse, the Fool, the murder scene, the coarse jesting, etc.

² Probably the more prominent leaders of contemporary French symbolism have been Maurice Maeterlinck, Jean Moreas, Stuart Merrill and Jean Psychari. It is interesting that none of these is French.

ing to note the evolution of the author's philosophical ideas and dramatic theories and the growth of skill in dramatic composition. The first dramas are the creation of his youth. They contain wildly romantic and highly improbable scenes. In the first of all, *la Princesse Malvine*, but in no other, there are attempts at coarse jesting. Of real humor there is none, and the leading motif is terror. The characters are often of childlike simplicity and have an odd way of repeating what others have said. Of this Maeterlinck himself has said, speaking of these first "little dramas," as he somewhat condescendingly calls them: "It would have been easy to suppress much perilous simplicity of speech and act, some useless scenes, and many of the astonished repetitions that give the characters the appearance of somnambulists who are a little deaf and are being continually awakened from a painful dream."¹

Some light is thrown on this naive parallelism by Alfred Sutro in the introduction to his translation of *Wisdom and Destiny*. "His environment," he says, " * * * helped to give a mystic tinge to his mind. The peasants who dwelt around his father's house always possessed a peculiar fascination for him. He would watch them as they sat by their doorway, squatting on their heels, as their custom is—grave, monotonous, motionless, the smoke from their pipes almost the sole sign of life. For the Flemish peasant is a strangely inert creature, his work once done—as languid and lethargic as the canal that passes by his door. There was one cottage into which the boy would often peep on his way home from school, the home of seven brothers and one sister, all old, toothless, worn—working together in the daytime at their tiny farm; at night sitting in the gloomy kitchen, lit by one smoky lamp,—all looking straight before them, saying not a word; or when, at rare intervals, a remark was made, taking it up each in turn and solemnly repeating it, with per-

¹ *Preface* to Vol. I of *Theatre*, p. I.

haps the slightest variation in form. It was amidst influences such as these that his boyhood was passed."¹

Of the earlier dramas, several have much in common. The incidents and the characters differ, but the setting is often the same: an ancient, gloomy castle of king or queen, situate in a dark forest of immense trees, and near the sea of which one catches glimpses now and then. And in the gloomy old castle are long, dark halls opening into silent rooms, and under it all are subterranean caverns filled with stagnant, ill-smelling water, and alive with loathsome creatures whose activity threatens even to undermine the castle walls; and into this abode of gloom comes a young person, a child or innocent woman, and meets death. And the approach of death is heralded by nature,—by rain and hail and lightning flashes, by strange comets and falling stars.¹

Of this general type are *la Princesse Maleine* (1889),—"this savage little legend of the misfortunes of Maleine," as Maeterlinck once called it;¹ *les Sept Princesses* (1891); *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892); *Ailadine et Palomides, la Mort de Tintagiles*,² (1894); and, to some extent, *Aglaraine et Sélysette* (1896). In an analysis of his own plays, Maeterlinck has said: "The motif of these little dramas was the fear of the unknown * * *. There was

¹ As an illustration of extreme parallelism, note the following passage.

Maleine—I see the lighthouse!

Nurse—You see the lighthouse?

Maleine—Yes, I think it is the lighthouse.

Nurse—But, then, you ought to see the city.

Maleine—I do not see the city.

Nurse—You do not see the city?

Maleine—I do not see the city.

(*La Princesse Maleine*, Act I, Scene IV.)

¹ Note the following passage:

Stephano—Again the comet of the other night!

Vanox—It is enormous.

Stephano—It seems to be pouring blood upon the castle.

(*Here a shower of stars seems to fall upon the castle.*)

Vanox—The stars are falling on the castle! Look! Look! Look!

Stephano—I never saw such a shower of stars! * * * You would say Heaven wept.

Vanox—The sky is turning black, and the moon is strangely red.

Stephano—It is raining torrents.

(*La Princesse Maleine*, Act I, Scene I.)

¹ See *The Plays of Maurice Maeterlinck*, translated by Richard Hovey, Vol. II, *Preface*, p. IX.

² This, a masterpiece of the symbolistic and mystic, is said to be Maeterlinck's favorite play.

faith in enormous powers, invisible and fatal, whose intentions no one could guess, but which the spirit of the drama assumed to be malevolent, attentive to every act, hostile to laughter, to life, peace, and love. Perhaps they were just, at heart, but only when in anger, and they exercised justice in a manner so hidden, so indirect, so slow and remote that their punishment,—for they never rewarded,—took the appearance of the arbitrary and inexplicable acts of destiny * *

* * . This unknown power usually assumed the form of death. The infinite, dark, cunningly active presence of death filled the whole poem. The problem of existence was answered only by the enigma of its destruction. Moreover, it was an indifferent and inexorable death, blind, groping its way at random, carrying away preferably the younger and less unhappy, simply because they did not remain so motionless as the others, and because every sudden movement in the night attracted its attention. There were about it only little weak creatures, shivering, elementary, who moved to and fro and wept at the edge of a gulf."¹

Of another and distinct type are the short, one-act plays, *l'Intruse*, *les Aveugles* (1890), and *l'Intérieur* (1894). These are imbued with the mystic fatalism so characteristic of Maeterlinck's earlier work, and in two of them (*l'Intruse* and *les Aveugles*) Death in person, invisible but audible, stalks across the stage. These little plays stand out from those previously mentioned in that there are in them no kings and queens, no murder or bloodshed, but merely the quiet coming of death to the humble and lowly. The strongest of the three is probably *les Aveugles*, the "symbol of a world lost in the dark forest of unfaith and unknowledge, its ancient guide, the church, sitting dead in the midst."²

Of a third type are the short playlets, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* and *la Socur Béatrice*. "They are," as Maeterlinck

¹ *Temple enseveli*, pp. 112-114.

² *Hovey*, I, p. 6.

says, "little *jeux de scène*, short poems of the kind rather unfortunately called 'comic-opera,' and meant to furnish to the musicians who had asked for them, a suitable theme for lyrical development."¹ They are weird, mystic scenes, but are only slightly dramatic. Maeterlinck has worked over an old theme in *la Socur Béatrice*, which he has changed little from its mediæval form.²

Maeterlinck's earlier dramas, therefore, may be divided into three groups that treat (1) of kings and queens, gloomy castles, and violent death, (2) of the quiet coming of death to the humble and lowly, and (3) of religious exaltation or of the rescue of the afflicted.

In most of these earlier dramas the strongest note is the mystery of the terrible unknown, a mystery that is heightened by the author's "intentional vagueness and remoteness, the insistence on seemingly trivial and irrelevant things, the cumulative effect of details which singly appear insignificant,—all with a view to enveloping the subject in a mist that shall make it loom up bigger and more threatening. The nervous irritation caused by persistent repetition, the disconcerting strangeness of speech and acts, the suggestion of an elusive hidden meaning, all serve to heighten the abnormally impressionable state in which the author desires to keep his readers."³

None of these earlier dramas, save perhaps *Pelléas et Mélisande*⁴, has succeeded on the stage, and it is probable that Maeterlinck did not wish them to be acted. In answer to the charge that the characters are all puppets and impossible of representation, Maeterlinck has answered that the performance of great dramas is never satisfactory. He says: "We must admit that the theater, at least in its tendencies, is an art. But I do not find in it the mark of other arts. Art

¹ *Preface to Theatre*, p. XVIII.

² For an English version, see *The Ballad of a Nun*, by John Davidson.

³ These words are taken bodily from a letter written recently by Professor C. H. Grandgent of Harvard University to the author of this article.

⁴ This play especially has several lyrical passages of surpassing beauty. Note Act III, Scene II, and Act IV, Scene IV.

always follows a circuitous route and does not act directly. Its supreme mission is the revelation of the infinite and great in man as well as his hidden beauty * * * Most of the great poems of mankind can not be put on the stage. *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra* can not be represented, and it is dangerous to see them on the stage. Something of Hamlet is dead for us from the day we have seen him die before our eyes. The specter of an actor has dethroned him, and we can not put aside the usurper of our dreams * * * . Every masterpiece is a symbol, and a symbol does not bear the presence of man * * * . The Greeks were not ignorant of this incompatibility, and their masks, which we no longer understand, probably served only to lessen the effect of man's presence and aid the symbolism."¹

When Maeterlinck began dramatic writing, he was under the influence of Shakespeare, as far as a French symbolist can be influenced by the great Elizabethan dramatist; and today he admires Shakespeare and holds him to be the world's greatest playwright. And he still deems allusion to the mysteries of destiny to be the most powerful motif of a drama, for without this it becomes realistic and materialistic and must renounce much beauty. But as long ago as 1894, Maeterlinck had begun to feel a strong aversion to bloodshed and violence on the stage. In the *Tragique quotidien* he said: "But our authors of tragedy * * * put all the interest of their works in the violence of the incident that is reproduced. And they seek to amuse us with the same sort of acts that delighted barbarians who were accustomed to crimes, murders and treachery; while we for the most part pass our lives far from blood, outcries, and swords * * * . When I go to the theater, it seems to me that I am for a few hours in the midst of my ancestors, who had a simple, cold and brutal conception of life * * * . I see a deceived husband kill his wife, a woman poison

¹ *Hovey*, II, pp. X-XIV.

her lover, a son avenge his father, a father sacrifice his children, children kill their father, kings assassinated, virgins violated, citizens imprisoned, and all the traditional sublimity, but, alas! so superficial and material, of blood, visible tears, and death * * *. I have come to believe that an old man seated in his armchair, waiting quietly beside his lamp, listening unconsciously to all the eternal laws that reign about his house, interpreting, without comprehending, the silence of doors and windows and the faint voice of light, submitting with slightly bowed head to the presence of his soul and of destiny, without suspecting that all the powers of this world are taking part and keeping watch in the room like so many attentive servants, not knowing that the very sun supports above the abyss the little table on which he leans, and that there is not a star in the heavens nor a force within the soul that is indifferent to the movement of an eyelid that drops or a thought that rises,—I have come to believe that this motionless old man really lives a deeper, more human, and more universal life than the lover who strangles his mistress, the captain who wins a victory, or 'the husband who avenges his honor.'"¹ This theory of dramatic art is applied with skill and effectiveness in *l'Intérieur*, where the old man sits beside his lamp, leaning upon the table, wholly ignorant of the approaching tragedy, and yet with a vague feeling of presentiment.² And not since the coming of *l'Intérieur* has Maeterlinck permitted bloodshed or murder on the stage.

And of late Maeterlinck has said: "It is seldom that cries are heard now; bloodshed is rare, and tears not often seen. It is in a small room, round a table, close to the fire, that the joys and sorrows of mankind are decided."³

"People still die on the stage, it is true, as in reality they still must die, but death has ceased—or will cease, let us

¹ *Tresor des humbles*, pp. 184-8.

² Note also, as an instance of the contemplative old man, the grandfather in *Pelleas et Melisande*.

³ *The Modern Drama*, in *The Double Garden*, translated by Alfred Sutro, pp. 122-3.

hope, very soon—to be regarded as the indispensable setting, the *ultima ratio*, the inevitable end, of every dramatic poem. In the most formidable crisis of our lives—which, cruel though it may be, is cruel in silent and hidden ways—we rarely look to death for a solution; and for all that the theater is slower than the other arts to follow the evolution of human consciousness, it will still be at last compelled, in some measure, to take this into account. * * * the Italian, Scandinavian, Spanish or mythical stories * * * are no longer able to offer us the direct interest they presented at a time when they appeared highly natural and possible, at a time, when, at any rate, the circumstances, manners and sentiments they recalled were not yet extinct in the minds of those who witnessed their reproduction.”¹ “* * * the passions and feelings of a modern poet must, in despite of himself, be entirely and exclusively modern.”²

Today Maeterlinck's philosophy of optimistic stoicism,—his belief in the invincible power of wisdom with love,—no longer permits him to consider a blind inexorable fate as the sole cause of tragedy. Man, he holds, with wisdom and love, may control destiny; hence, there can be tragedy only amongst fools and madmen. In the very presence of the wise and good only one cause of tragedy is possible, and that is deliberate self-sacrifice for the good of others. “The mere presence of the sage suffices to paralyze destiny; and of this we find proof in the fact that there exists scarce a drama wherein a true sage appears; when such is the case, the event must needs halt before reaching bloodshed and tears. Not only is there no drama wherein sage is in conflict with sage, but indeed there are very few whose action revolves round a sage. And truly, can we imagine that an event shall turn into tragedy between men who have earnestly striven to gain knowledge of self? But the heroes of famous tragedies do not question their souls profoundly; and it follows there-

¹ *The Modern Drama*, in *The Double Garden*, pp. 116-7.

² *Idem*, pp. 120-1.

from that the beauty the tragic poet presents is only a captive thing, is fettered with chains; for were his heroes to soar to the height the real hero would gain, their weapons would fall to the ground, and the drama itself become peace—the peace of enlightenment. It is only in the Passion of Christ, the Phaëdo, Prometheus, the murder of Orpheus, the sacrifice of Antigone—it is only in these that we find the drama of the sage, the solitary drama of wisdom. But elsewhere it is rarely indeed that tragic poets will allow a sage to appear on the scene, though it be for an instant. They are afraid of a lofty soul; for they know that events are no less afraid, and that a murder committed in the presence of the sage seems quite other than the murder committed in the presence of those whose soul still knows not itself. Had Oedipus possessed the inner refuge that Marcus Aurelius, for instance, had been able to erect in himself—a refuge whereto he could fly at all times—had he only acquired some few of the certitudes open to every thinker—what could destiny then have done? What would she have entrapped in her snares? Would they have contained aught besides the pure light that streams from the lofty soul, as it grows more beautiful still in misfortune?"¹ "Hamlet, bewailing his fate on the brink of the gulf, seems profounder, imbued with more passion, than Antoninus Pius, whose tranquil gaze rests on the self-same forces, but who accepts them and questions them calmly, instead of recoiling in horror and calling down curses on them."² "The external forces, we know, will not yield to the righteous man; but still he is absolute lord of most of the inner powers; and these are for ever spinning the web of nearly all our happiness and sorrow. We have said that the sage, as he passes by, intervenes in countless dramas. Indeed his mere presence suffices to arrest most of the calamities that arise from error or evil. They can not approach him, or even those that are near him. A chance meeting with

¹ *Wisdom and Destiny*, Sutro's translation, pp. 35-7.

² *Idem*, p. 156.

a creature endowed with simple and loving wisdom has stayed the hands of men who else had committed countless acts of folly or wickedness."¹ "Around the upright man there is drawn a wide circle of peace, within which the arrows of evil soon cease to fall; nor have his fellows the power to inflict moral suffering upon him."²

The development of these philosophical views of Maeterlinck may be clearly traced in his dramas. Their appearance, though vague and indistinct, is noted first in *Alladine et Palomides*. Here Astolaine is willing to sacrifice herself that her beloved may be happy with another; but violent death is not averted. In *Aglaraine et Sélysette* the young wife meets death by throwing herself from a lofty tower that she may no longer stand between *Méléandre* and *Aglaraine*. The motif of the tragedy is self-sacrifice, but the cause is not noble. These are the last of Maeterlinck's earlier tragedies, and six years elapsed before the appearance of another and a greater drama, *Monna Vanna* (1902).

Monna Vanna must be recognized as thus far Maeterlinck's greatest dramatic work. In it our author has fully put into effect his later theory of dramatic art,—that the mere presence of a wise man or woman will avert all forms of tragedy save one, that of deliberate self-sacrifice for the good of others. It has been shown that this theory was followed somewhat blindly and gropingly in *Alladine et Palomides* and more clearly and definitely in *Aglaraine et Sélysette*; but it is in *Monna Vanna* that we find for the first time in Maeterlinck's works the deliberate and noble self-sacrifice of an Antigone. Maeterlinck has said that he wrote *Monna Vanna* for Georgette Leblanc, a popular and successful actress, who has since become Mme. Maeterlinck. To this fact may be due in large part the greater human interest of this play as compared with the others.³ In any case,

¹ *Wisdom and Destiny*, pp. 198-9.

² *Idem*, p. 199.

³ *Monna Vanna*, and the husband in *Pelleas et Melisande*, are probably the only two instances of successful character-drawing in Maeterlinck's dramas.

Monna Vanna is the only one of Maeterlinck's dramas that has been truly successful on the stage. It may have been the sensational element in it that drew the crowds, but Maeterlinck did not mean it so.

There is a similarity between *Monna Vanna* and Browning's *Luria* that has led some unjustly to accuse Maeterlinck of plagiarism. The setting of the two dramas is very nearly the same, and some of the characters are much alike, but the incidents and, above all, the motifs of the two plays are quite different. In Browning's drama, *Luria*, the Moorish chieftain of the Florentine forces, sacrifices self to his sense of duty and honor; in Maeterlinck's work, *Monna Vanna*, the noble Pisan lady, sacrifices herself doubly,—firstly, to save her people from starvation and slaughter, and secondly, to save Prinzivalle from torture and dishonorable death. *Monna Vanna* is, doubtless, the stronger and more dramatic of the two works. And yet, after all, it were probably wrong to class *Monna Vanna* as finally and unredeemably tragic, for may not the Pisan lady and Prinzivalle have escaped to other and better lands to live in happiness ever after? But this we do not know. The moral problems have been solved, and subsequent incidents do not matter.

Joyzelle (1903) has more of the legendary,¹ the mystical, and the miraculous than *Monna Vanna*, and it is much the weaker play. It denotes a reversion to an earlier and more symbolistic type, with its mysterious island, its gloomy and deserted palace, its old and tyrannical king, and its magic garden; but a new note is struck in Arielle, the subconscious self, clairvoyant and prophetic, of Merlin.

In *Joyzelle* full expression is given to the theory that wisdom and love, but chiefly love,—may control destiny. This all-powerful love is thus described: "If he is loved with a love that is ingenuous and yet sees clearly, a love as simple and pure, and as all-powerful, as mountain streams,

¹ Cf. Malory's *Morte d' Arthur*, Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, etc. There is also some slight resemblance between *Joyzelle* and Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

a love heroic and gentler than a flower, a love that takes all and gives back more than it takes, that never hesitates, is never mistaken, which nothing troubles or repulses, which does not hear or see more than a mysterious happiness invisible to all others, which perceives him in all forms and through all trials, and which shall go smilingly as far as crime in order to claim him as its own. . . . If he obtains this love which exists somewhere and awaits him, * * * his life will be longer, more beautiful and happier than that of other men."¹

In his essay on the modern drama Maeterlinck undertakes to tell the future. He speaks of "the decay, one might almost say the creeping paralysis, of external action,"² and of the "desire to penetrate deeper and deeper into human consciousness."³ He states that, in his opinion, "the highest point of human consciousness is attained by the dramas of Björnson, of Hauptmann, and, above all, of Ibsen. Here we touch the limit of the resources of modern dramaturgy. For, in truth, the further we penetrate into the consciousness of man, the less struggle do we discover."⁴ And he then makes his prophecy in these words: "For when the sun has entered into the consciousness of him who is wise, as we may hope that it will some day enter into that of all men, it will reveal one duty, and one alone, which is that we should do the least possible harm and love others as we love ourselves; and from this duty no drama can spring."⁵

¹ *Joyzelle*, Act I. Scene I.

² *The Modern Drama*, Sutro's translation, in *The Double Garden*, p. 115.

³ *Idem*, pp. 115-6.

⁴ *Idem*, 129-130.

⁵ *Idem*, 132-3.

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(Continued on last page of cover.)

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1558-1632

PRISCILLA FLETCHER

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- “ 48. Colorado Springs Weather Records.—*C. M. Angell.*
- “ 49. The Evolution of the Snow Crystal.—*J. C. Shedd.*
- “ 50. Notes on the Computation of Logarithms.—*F. H. Loud.*
- “ 51. Meteorological Statistics.—*F. H. Loud.*

(Continued on inside of back cover.)

A STUDY OF ENGLISH BLANK VERSE.*

1558 - 1632.

PRISCILLA FLETCHER.

Blank verse has become by common consent the proper vehicle for long poems in English. Its effectiveness as a means of expression, though inherent to some extent in its crudest form, has been greatly increased by careful development at the hands of various users. From a rigid decasyllabic measure, it grew, in the hands of Marlowe and Shakespeare, into a verse of exquisite flexibility and variety. Thus improved it became an unrivalled form for dramatic and epic poetry, having at once the dignity of verse and the flexibility and naturalness of prose.

It is the purpose of this paper to make a careful study of the measure throughout its first and greatest period from 1557, the date of the publication of Surrey's "*Æneid*," to 1632, ten years before the closing of the theatres by the Commonwealth and the end of the blank verse drama. In order that the work might have an actual basis of fact, fifty-line passages were selected from twenty-two important blank verse productions from Surrey's "*Æneid*" to Ford's "*Broken Heart*." Upon these, in the first part of the paper, is founded a study of the history of blank verse, and conclusions concerning its development. In the second part of the paper will be found a number of tables containing the more important statistics upon which these conclusions are based.

As the subject necessarily involves the use of a number of technical terms, it seems advisable at this point to tell exactly what is meant by the few used at the outset. Others will be defined as they occur.

"The *cæsura* or verse-pause is a division made in a line by the termination of a word, especially when this coincides with a pause in delivery or recitation."

—Century Dictionary.

* A thesis presented and accepted as a part of the work for the degree of Master of Arts in Colorado College.

"The caesura is a pause not counted out of the regular time of the rhythm, but corresponding to the pauses between phrases in music, and nearly always coinciding with syntactical or rhetorical divisions of the sentence."

—Alden's "English Verse."

"When the sense pauses at the end of the line, the verse is called 'end-stopt'; when the sense does not so pause, the verse is called 'run-on'."

—Adapted from Gummere's "Handbook of Poetics."

The words "rhythm," "metre," and "verse accent" are here used synonymously to indicate a regular recurrence of accented syllables varying with unaccented. This use is based upon the following from Gummere's "Handbook of Poetics."

"Now, when the ear detects at regular intervals a recurrence of accented syllables, varying with unaccented, it perceives Rhythm. Measured intervals of time are the basis of all verse, and their regularity marks off poetry from prose. . . . From the idea of measuring these time-intervals, we derive the name Metre: Rhythm means pretty much the same thing,—a 'flowing', an even, measured motion. . . . We have seen that verse is now marked off by the regular recurrence of a stress or accent falling on certain syllables."

Five foot iambic verse became a great English measure with Chaucer. So far, however, as later poets were concerned the "Canterbury Tales" might, metrically speaking, have been written in another language. The breaking down of inflections had gone on so rapidly and was so complete at the time of Elizabeth that the versification of Chaucer had become one of the lost arts. Indeed, he was scarcely credited with having a system at all. Just as most of the writers of Pope's age, in their profound ignorance of the principles of the Greek lyric, were accustomed to use the word "Pindaric" as a synonym for "lawless" in relation to the structure of the ode, so the Elizabethans seem to have felt that Chaucer's verse was a simple, rough, accentual measure, the product of an age ignorant of art. The second, fifth, and ninth Eclogues of the "Shepherds' Calendar," in which Spenser is evidently imitating what he thinks is Chaucer's versification, show how completely the greatest poet of one age could misunderstand the greatest poet

of another. Thus it was that the broken conduit of an altered language failed to convey to succeeding generations the delicate and perfect art of the early master. The enrichment of English poetry through the restoration of its greatest measure was to come in a somewhat different form and from a foreign source.

About the middle of the fifteenth century there grew up that freer interchange of thought between Italy and England which resulted in the leavening of English life and literature with the new power and beauty of the Italian Renaissance. Mr. Einstein, in his book "The Italian Renaissance in England," has shown how largely this intellectual impulse was conveyed to England, first by the visits of English scholars and travellers to Italy, and later by those of Italians to England. The greatest of these English travellers, if we consider results, was Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder. His return from Italy in 1527 marks the beginning of the English Renaissance on the poetical side. Introducer of the sonnet form, and of what was vastly more valuable, the spirit of Petrarch, he became the formative influence of one who was destined to be even more important than himself in the history of English poetry—Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. It is now believed that Surrey himself never went to Italy, but it is certain that, whether at first or second hand, his mind was saturated with the new Italian idea of form in poetry. Making use of the experiments of Wyatt in verse technique, Surrey proceeded both to develop the work of his friend and to make experiments of his own which were to reform and develop English versification beyond anything then dreamed of by his contemporaries. A full account of these reforms may be found in Mr. Court-hope's "History of English Poetry," but the only one of particular importance in this connection is his hitherto unknown treatment of the iambic pentameter line. In 1541 there had appeared Malza's Italian translation of Virgil, the lines being rendered into iambic pentameter *unrhymed*. It is thought that this work may have suggested to Surrey the idea of using the same measure in his own translation. However that may be, it is certain that the first poem in English blank verse appeared in 1557 when, ten years after Surrey's death, his translation of the second and fourth books of the "Æneid" was published.

Immensely important as this work is historically, it makes, in the main, rather uninspiring reading. It is true

that there are many passages of considerable excellence, but most of the lines are rigidly decasyllabic, monotonous with the beat of a verse-pause rarely varied from the end of the second foot, and stiff with a great preponderance of end-stopt lines. These defects, however, are due rather to a preconceived theory as to how the verse should be written than to lack of power of musical expression, for in good passages the verse has considerable variety. Moreover, after the chaos of many years, it was imperative that good verse should first of all stand as the expression of an art in which there were cognizable laws. This was Surrey's priceless contribution to the theory of versification. It required the genius of Shakespeare to show to what extent the law of variety could invade this greater law of uniformity to produce a result the most harmonious and satisfying that has ever been reached in poetry.

The next important advance in the evolution of blank verse was its application to the drama. Hitherto the favorite verse for serious plays had been the curious, jiggling, seven foot metre of "Cambises" and "Appius and Virginia." In 1561*, however, Sackville and Norton experimented with the new metre for dramatic purposes and produced the first play in blank verse, "Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex." In this the verse structure follows very closely the model set by Surrey, and by actual count the lines are even more regular both in place of cæsura and in regularity of iambic accent than those of the "Æneid." The only real advance lies in the decreased number of end-stopt lines. This change seems, in some degree, to have been forced upon the authors by the exigencies of dramatic form, rather than to have been a deliberate improvement, for the play has none of the ease of later blank verse dialogue. The speeches are solid blocks of verse, many of them fifty lines or more in length.

In spite of its faults, however, "Ferrex and Porrex" went far toward demonstrating the fitness of the new form for the serious drama. From its appearance until 1587, a date which marks the beginning of the great blank verse drama, a number of tragedies were produced in this measure. Of these "Loecrine" is typical of the advance made in verse form and is the only one that need be mentioned in detail. Its author is unknown, its date uncertain.

* Facts and dates relating to plays are taken from Ward's "History of English Dramatic Literature."

though the latter is conjectured to be about 1585. The regularity of its verse accent is almost as great as that of the preceding plays, while it approaches Surrey in the number of its end-stopt lines. In variety of the cæsural pause, however, there is a distinct gain. This falls at the end of the second foot only 10 times out of 50, as against 35 times in "Ferrex and Porrex" and 30 times in Surrey.

The year 1587 gave a new impulse to the writing of blank verse, for to it are assigned with probable correctness Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," second part, and Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy." In the hands of these two men the measure now became the splendid and popular expression of a splendid and popular art. Both these plays were extraordinarily and widely influential, but it was the verse of "Tamburlaine" that dazzled the literary world, and sealed the fate of the rhymed drama. It is curious to observe, however, upon a closer analysis, how much of the undeniable splendor of the verse in this play is merely the surface splendor of magnificent rhetoric. In general an improvement on that of "Locrine," it still shows a surprising conformity to the Surrey type, though in the rush of the diction and the give-and-take of shortened speeches, one often fails to notice the persistence of characteristics that mark it as still far from great blank verse. Analysis also reveals the fact that technically the verse of "Tamburlaine" is almost identical with that of the "Spanish Tragedy." This gives a new interest to the question of the possible priority of Kyd's production. Did he arrive at this relative excellence of technique uninstructed by Marlowe? If so, then the probable author of the first "Hamlet" deserves a higher place in literary history than it has been customary to assign to him.

At this point the natural evolution of blank verse is interrupted by a remarkable phenomenon. In 1588 Thomas Hughes, assisted by several other writers, produced a tragedy entitled "The Misfortunes of Arthur" which in technique can be dealt with in this period only as the great exception. A drama constructed on the old Senecan model, its interminable set speeches, sententiae, and utter lack of action place it, on the one hand, as far behind the work of Marlowe and Kyd, as the real beauty and variety of its verse surpass them, on the other. Metrically, "The Misfortunes of Arthur" has nothing to learn from "Tamburlaine." This is shown especially in its use of the cæsural pause. In a fifty-line passage, the cæsura occurs in nine

different positions, or in every possible place in the verse, a variety unknown in any previous production and not reached by Marlowe until "Edward the Second." Moreover, in nine cases the pause falls in the fourth or fifth foot, a result which is not again reached until "Hamlet" showed the world the perfection of blank verse.

With the possible exception of "Solyman and Perseda," if that is later than the "Spanish Tragedy," Kyd's work was now done, and the year 1588 left Marlowe alone to work out the theory of blank verse with what assistance could be rendered by the dramatists Peele and Greene. The interrelation of these three is a matter of some importance. Both Robert Greene and George Peele had undoubtedly produced before this time successful plays written in rhymed couplets. The appearance of Marlowe's play, however, caused a sudden wane in the popularity of this form. Universal acclamation of the new measure rendered it necessary that he who would write dramas thereafter should write them in the verse of "Tamburlaine." Reluctantly, therefore, these authors began the use of blank verse, sometimes obviously imitating the master. In this spirit Peele produced "The Battle of Alcazar" and Greene, "Alphonsus King of Arragon," though the latter shows such an absurd exaggeration of style that Professor Gayley believes it to have been written as a satire on one whom at this time Greene very cordially hated.

There was, however, in each of these men a genuine though diverse poetic power, and having put their hands to the new measure they were able to produce work that in verse technique may stand worthily beside anything except Marlowe's best. "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" is a much better example of Greene's work in the Marlowesque manner than is "Alphonsus." Aside from likenesses in style, which do not concern us here, there exists in the structure of the verse itself a remarkable similarity to that of "Tamburlaine." The following condensation from the complete table of analysis will show that this is true:

	Tambur- laine.	Friar Bacon.
Cæsura at end of 2d ft.....	23	21
Cæsura in 3d ft.....	10	11
End-stopt lines	30	31
Regular iambic lines	32	30
Lines trochaic in 1st ft.....	14	17

Peele was a man of more poetic power than Greene. In fact his verse was more musical than any that was then being written, not excepting Marlowe's own. Consequently, his imitations—in verse structure at least—were never servile; indeed "The Battle of Alcazar" is metrically a somewhat better performance than its model. Here we find fewer cases of the cæsura at the end of the second foot (only 16 in 50) and a greater variety in its position. The best work of Greene and Peele, however, like the best work of Marlowe, comes a little later.

There remains to be mentioned one more peculiarity in the work of these dramatists, which, while it became more noticeable in their later work, is apparent at this time and may be disposed of here—their occasional reversion to rhyme in blank verse. This, of course, is natural in men who had written long and well in couplets; and the tendency crops out even in their most Marlowesque productions. A fifty-line passage from each of the plays mentioned above shows one couplet in each. Later on, when their own manner had become better established, the reversions to rhyme became more numerous. Peele's "David and Bethsabe" contains three couplets in fifty lines, and Greene's "James the Fourth," in a like number, has five couplets and a quatrain with alternate rhymes. Indeed, certain portions of that play, even in the dialogue, are frankly a return to rhymed verse. Marlowe himself was not altogether free from the same tendency. Fifty-line passages from "Tamburlaine" and "Edward the Second" contain respectively two and one couplets. Moreover, from this point down to the date of "King John" and occasionally afterwards, rhymes are found with some frequency. This is, of course, due partly to the Elizabethan inability to get along without an occasional jingle, but largely it seems to be one of the earliest expressions of a desire to render blank verses a more facile and less formal instrument; to break down, in fact, those rigid rules which the traditions of "Ferrex and Porrex" still cast about its use.

The year 1589 or 1590 saw the completion of Marlowe's "Jew of Malta," a play as remarkable for the beauty of its verse as for the excellence of its structure and the vigor of its character drawing. Technically, its advance on any preceding work is so great that I feel justified in giving the figures in some detail. First, the proportion of end-stopt lines falls to 22 in 50. The smallest number in any preceding play is 29 in that exceptional production, "The Misfortunes

of Arthur," and an equally small number does not occur again in the plays under examination until "Hamlet." Again, the placing of the cæsural pause shows considerable, though not the greatest variety. It occurs only 14 times at the end of the second foot, 18 times in the third, and 10 times at the end of the third, thus making a much more even distribution than in any previous play. The greatest improvement in the verse, however, consists in its extraordinary variety in verse accent. Containing as it does only 23 regular iambic lines in 50, it surpasses in this respect not only all previous productions, but all the subsequent work critically examined for this paper except Marlowe's own "Edward the Second," where the number falls to 21 in 50. Thus has Marlowe come to his own, and become indisputably the master of the "mighty line."

The later plays of Greene and Peele do not, of course, reach this point of excellence. The former's "James the Fourth," dating probably from 1590, shows considerable return to regularity. The number of cæsuras at the end of the second foot rises again to 21 in 50, but on the whole it indicates some metrical advance on the plays before the "Jew of Malta." It contains, as has been said, more rhymed verse than any other blank verse drama except perhaps Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess." Peele's "David and Bethsabe," on the other hand, contains much fine lyrical blank verse. Its main cæsural variations are almost as evenly distributed as Marlowe's own, being 13 at the end of the second foot, 15 in the third foot and 7 at the end of the third foot. The space of fifty lines also shows the cæsural pause in eight varieties of position. These excellencies of technique, together with Peele's fine feeling for words, are the cause of the many exquisite cadences in this beautiful lyrical drama.

"Edward the Second," probably the last of Marlowe's plays, is metrically a worthy successor to the "Jew of Malta." Its cæsura is even more varied and evenly distributed, its variation in verse accent somewhat greater. The only remarkable difference in technique is that in a passage from this play the number of end-stopt lines rises to 35 in 50. This, however, is to be accounted for largely by the fact that the speeches throughout the passage are uniformly short, and in the early drama every change of speakers adds to the number of end-stopt lines. The number 35 is, therefore, undoubtedly higher in proportion than would be the case if a count had been made, based on the verses of the entire

play. On the whole, then, it is safe to say that Marlowe perfected blank verse. One or two elements, added later, did indeed increase its flexibility, and used as Shakespeare used them, brought out an even greater measure of power and beauty. In these very things, however, lay the seeds of a decay which soon became apparent in the work of his successors. Realizing this, one cannot but feel that blank verse left the hands of Marlowe nearly if not quite at its highest point of evolution. A step farther, and the process of building up will have given place to the process of breaking down.

Shakespeare's earlier work, as regards metre, contains within itself characteristics of both the earlier and later work of Marlowe. Setting aside his earlier experiments like "Love's Labor's Lost," in which not only couplets but quatrains and sonnets appear embedded in the blank verse, we reach plays like "Richard the Second" and "King John" (1595) which are modelled certainly upon Marlowe, but in which, in the second case at least, that influence has begun to yield to Shakespeare's own unmistakable later style. For this reason I have chosen to make my detailed verse study from the latter of these plays. In respect to the caesural pause, its place is with Marlowe's later work, the figures being almost identical with those of the "Jew of Malta." In uniformity of iambic metre, however, it goes back to "Tamburlaine," the figures being practically the same for the two plays. Finally, it falls exactly between the two in its number of end-stopped lines, having 27 as against 32 in the one, and 22 in the other. In general, the careful reader of "King John" is impressed with the fact of its being a comparatively early and regular type of blank verse.

It contains, nevertheless, one significant mark of a further development—a number of double or feminine endings. These consist of a single unaccented syllable following the last accent of the verse, and their appearance marks an extraordinary advance in freedom in the use of blank verse. The form has not been entirely unknown before this play, for "The Battle of Alcazar," "James the Fourth," and the "Jew of Malta" each contained *one* and "David and Bethsabe" *two* in a fifty-line passage, but "King John" contains four to a like number of lines, and from this time the double-ending becomes a constantly, and later on, a rapidly, increasing characteristic of blank verse.

The play indicates the early type of its verse not only by its likeness to "Tamburlaine" but by its use of rhymes—two couplets in fifty lines. This, to be sure, is not an absolute test, but it can be said with certainty that after "King John" rhyme tends to disappear from blank verse except at the end of scenes. A small number of instances are to be found, used rather freakishly throughout the later drama, and in order to conclude this portion of the subject, those which this analysis has disclosed may be set down here: "The Faithful Shepherdess" has two couplets in fifty lines, "The Changeling," two, and "The Duchess of Malfi," one.

"King John," on the whole, belongs metrically to the middle or Marlowe type of verse, but in "Hamlet" (1603) the differences have become pronounced enough to constitute the new style which we usually think of as post-Shakespearean. There is, to be sure, a vast difference between the verse of "Hamlet" and that of the "Duchess of Malfi," but careful consideration shows that the peculiarities of the latter play are nearly all logical developments of characteristics strongly apparent in the former. In fact there is less essential difference between these two than between "Hamlet" and "King John." In the earliest plays we have seen that the fall of the cæsural pause at the end of the second foot is a rule to which there are few exceptions. This principle of verse construction dominates, with somewhat lessening preponderance, down to the "Jew of Malta;" all preceding this play may be placed together and called, for convenience Group I. Beginning with the "Jew of Malta" the verse pause is found most often in the third foot, a characteristic which marks everything down to and including "King John." These plays constitute Group II. There is also throughout this group an increasing number of pauses at the end of the third foot, a tendency which reaches its height in 14 cases out of 50 in "Edward the Second." "Hamlet" and all succeeding plays show a very large percentage of verse-pauses either at the end of the third foot or, later, in the fourth foot. Indeed, except for the solitary instance of "Edward the Second" which has 7 in 50, the cæsural pause in the fourth foot is a negligible quantity throughout the first and second groups. With "Hamlet," however, comes a sudden and increasing prominence of the fourth foot cæsura, and it is because of this, together with vital, simultaneously occurring changes along other lines, that it has seemed proper to make this play the beginning of the third period of

blank verse. The actual figures for "Hamlet," given in detail for a fifty-line passage, are as follows:

Place of Cæsura.

End of 2d ft.....	10	End-stopt lines	21
In 3d ft.....	7	Regular iambic lines...	32
End of 3d ft.....	15	Irregularities in accent.	18
In 4th ft.....	10	Double-endings	6
End of 4th ft.....	2		

At this point it is necessary to distinguish with care the various forces making for freedom in blank verse. These seem to divide themselves into two main classes: (1) Forces making for variety, and (2) Forces making for disintegration. Up to "Hamlet" the first sort have been found to be all powerful. They consist, in general, of an increase in number of places for the verse-pause, an increase of run-on lines, and an increase in variations from the iambic rhythm. After "Hamlet" and one or two succeeding plays, the second sort becomes dominant, while the first is still active to some extent. Its chief constituents are these: (1) An attempt to lengthen the line, shown in (a) double-endings (b) two extra syllables (c) Alexandrines, and (2) an attempt to crowd more into it, shown by (a) slurring of words and syllables (b) use of epic cæsura (c) an exaggerated use of anapæsts as substitutes for the regular iambic foot. Some of these terms need explanation or discussion.

After the double-ending became well established a tendency grew up to add still another unaccented syllable to the end of the verse, thus making the double-ending really a triple ending. In the Alexandrine this syllable became an accented one, a change which produces a six foot line instead of the regular pentameter. In the epic cæsura there is an extra (hypermetrical) light syllable before the verse-pause, this having the effect of making the following foot an anapæst. There are but two cases of this in the passages taken from plays before "Hamlet;" after "Hamlet" there are six. This, however, is only a specialized case of the exaggerated use of the anapæstic foot. In the "Jew of Malta" Marlowe uses five and in "Edward the Second," four anapæsts in fifty lines of what reads as exquisitely varied verse. "Hamlet," "Volpone," "The Faithful Shepherdess," and "The Maid's Tragedy" have the same or fewer, while after these the proportion increases enormous-

ly, with, in the main, a marked deterioration in the quality of the verse. It seems clear that the first great master of blank verse knew instinctively just how much variation would keep the iambic rhythm and at the same time accentuate the music of the measure. Lastly, the practice of slurring over words or syllables and so crowding more thought into a given line was one which began with "Hamlet." No case occurs in any previous passage examined, but that from "Hamlet" contains four, and thereafter there is a constant increase down to the work of Ford. Of these forces of disintegration, then, "Hamlet" shows the beginnings of three: epic cæsura (1), double-endings (6), and slurring (4).

Ben Jonson maintains throughout his works a very even quality of verse structure, in variation rather decidedly below that of "Hamlet." The figures for "Volpone" (1605-6) may be taken as representative:

<i>Place of Cæsura.</i>		Regular iambic lines...	31
In 3d ft.....	17	Variations from iambic	
End of 3d ft.....	7	ft.	20
In 4th ft.....	5	End-stopt lines	21
End of 2d ft.....	11	Double-endings	14

"Volpone" has fewer fourth foot cæsuras than "Hamlet" or any other post-Shakespearean play, but it justifies its place in the period by its large increase of double-endings over any previous drama.

One exception must be noted to the regular evolution of blank verse in this period, in Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess" (1609-10). More than half the play is written in couplets, and the blank verse is like that of "The Battle of Alcazar," having the verse-pause 16 times at the end of the second foot, 8 times in the third and 14 times at the end of the third. Moreover, the entire passage contains no example of a double-ending. These facts, however, are almost certainly to be explained on the ground that the play is an intentional anachronism. In the first place, in plays which Fletcher was writing within a year or two of this time, the double-ending is an almost constant quantity, and there is no rhyme at all. Again, we know that it was a common Elizabethan convention to produce pastoral work of any description in what was believed to be an earlier and simpler manner. Spenser, for example, wrote the "Shepherd's Cal-

endar" largely in a language and versification which he supposed to be Chaucer's. For these reasons I have excluded the "Faithful Shepherdess" altogether in making up my final percentages of cæsural position for the third period of blank verse.

In the verse of the "Tempest" (1610) we get the last mellow richness that precedes decay. Here the forces of disintegration are strongly present, but the power of Shakespeare's genius keeps all in subjection to the wonderful harmony of which he alone is master. In fifty lines of this play the cæsura is found in every possible position in the line, and is very evenly distributed among the four important places, the interesting fact being that the fourth foot now has more cæsuras (13) than any other place in the line. The most noteworthy thing in Shakespeare's late verse structure, however, is his utter disregard of the end of the line as a stopping place for the sense. The "Tempest" contains 41 run-on lines in fifty, a proportion 40% greater than that of any other drama examined. The forces of decay show the following increased proportions:

Epic cæsura	2	Slurred words or syllables	5
Anapestic feet	10	Double-endings	12

In the main body of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, the forces that have been at work to alter the structure of blank verse, produce their first marked result. "The Maid's Tragedy" (1610-11) is thought to contain much of Beaumont's work, while "Valentinian" (1610) is wholly or largely Fletcher's. Both plays display the same general tendency in verse form, but it is more marked in the latter, partly because of Fletcher's manner and partly because it was a later production; for analysis shows a remarkable chronological increase in the forces that tended to break down blank verse. The following figures indicate the metrical relations of the two plays and their position with regard to those preceding:

Place of cæsura.

	End of 2d ft.	In 3d ft.	End of 3d ft.	In 4th ft.	End of 4th ft.
Maid's Tragedy	12	10	11	11	3
Valentinian	5	3	12	17	6

In addition to its extremely large proportion of fourth foot cæsuras, "Valentinian" also has two in the fifth foot, thus showing the strongly increasing tendency to push the verse-pause toward the end of the line.

	End- stopt lines	Reg. iambic lines	Double- endings	Slurred words, etc.	No. of ana- pæsts
Maid's Tragedy.....	26	33	24	3	2
Valentinian.....	28	31	34	2	5

Evidently the most marked feature of the verse of a Beaumont and Fletcher play is its preponderance of double-endings. Even "The Maid's Tragedy" has twice as many as the "Tempest," while the still larger number in "Valentinian" is further increased by one Alexandrine and one case of a line with two extra syllables. Finally, it is noteworthy that the proportion of end-stopt lines is again rising. The average in all succeeding plays is 25 or 26 lines in 50, after having reached its lowest point in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. In general, the change in blank verse at this point is a change from music to ease. It has become the most facile possible vehicle for dramatic dialogue, but is no longer a great poetic form rich in cadences like those of Peele, of Marlowe, or of Shakespeare.

Webster's "Duchess of Malfi" may possibly have preceded "Valentinian," for though not printed till 1623, it has been assigned by some critics to a date several years earlier. His verse form evidences at once a decadent measure. On the one hand, he avoids the excesses of Fletcher's style, but on the other he does nothing to check the threatening resolution of blank verse into prose. Occasional frankly prose lines occur, and so prone is he to run from the one form to the other that it was impossible to find a single unbroken passage of fifty blank verse lines in the play. Moreover, the verse portion itself is so full of anapæstic feet and slurred syllables that much of it is difficult to read metrically. Some important details concerning it are as follows:

Double-endings	4, with one Alexandrine
Slurred words, etc.....	12
Anapæstic feet.....	12
Epic cæsura.....	2

There are, however, still 31 lines of regular iambic verse, so that on the whole the work is fairly metrical.

Middleton's "The Changeling" (1623) exhibits the same general characteristics together with some interesting peculiarities of its own. Analysis of its caesural pause shows it to have departed as far from the old Surrey type of verse as can well be imagined. A fifty-line passage contains 2 pauses at the end of the second foot and 12 in the fourth foot. The verse is awkward and unmusical, a fact caused not so much by an insufficient number of regular lines, for there are still 35 in 50, but by the exceedingly unrhythmical character of the irregular lines. Many of them are in fact merely a queer kind of prose. There are 12 anapaestic lines and three cases of slurring, but the worst confusion is caused by carelessness in length of line. Besides 16 double-endings, there are three lines with two extra syllables and three Alexandrines, all within the compass of fifty lines!

After such irregularities as these, it required little to bring about a more or less complete resolution of blank verse into prose. This little was accomplished most surely, perhaps, by the work of Broome, whose dramas from 1632 to 1645 or thereabouts, are mostly incapable of scansion, and have been printed indifferently as verse or prose. This, then, is the lowest point of blank verse, the inevitable result of the principles of variety invading to excess the principle of uniformity in a decadent age when great poets were no longer at work.

There was, however, one good if not great poet remaining, and in his verse it is good to feel that there is still vitality in Marlowe's "mighty line." Ford, though decadent in his plots, was the reviver of a more poetic form of blank verse than any since that of "The Maid's Tragedy" which it resembles in many ways. "The Broken Heart," indeed contains a smaller proportion of double-endings, 19 instead of 24 in 50. The caesural pause is well distributed, the late date of the play being shown by a remarkable number of pauses near the end of the line, 16 in the middle and 4 at the end of the fourth foot. Analysis of the rhythm no longer shows the anapaestic foot to an abnormal extent, for the number has fallen to Marlowe's four in fifty. Slurred syllables, again, have sunk to one, and the general result of this partial return to uniformity is the good, though not great, blank verse with which Ford closes the period of the old drama.

In the foregoing I have tried to give in as general terms as the subject would permit, an account of the rise, develop-

ment, and decay of English blank verse in its first great period—the dramatic period. It remains to give as concisely as possible the main facts upon which that account is based. To these have been added a few tables in which are given, concerning these plays, certain facts not mentioned in the main part of the paper. The reason for omitting them there is that, though of possible value in other connections, they seemed to have no vital relation with the laws of verse development. They were, indeed, those facts which seemed mere accidents or, at most, showed individual peculiarities, rather than those essential facts upon which theories are built. Of this character are Tables VII, VIII, and IX.

The permanent principle of blank verse development, according to these facts, is certainly to be found in connection with the cæsural pause. Table II shows how naturally upon this basis, the work of our first dramatic period, with marvelously few exceptions, falls into three groups. The first goes from Surrey through the date of "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay;" the second, from the "Jew of Malta," through "King John;" the third from "Hamlet," through "The Broken Heart." For convenience these may be referred to as Groups I, II, and III.

Percentage of Cæsuras *at end of* second foot.

Group I	48.5%
Group II	30%
Group III	17%

Percentage of Cæsuras *in or at end of* third foot.

Group I	29%
Group II	50%
Group III	47%

Percentage of Cæsuras *in or at end of* fourth foot.

Group I	9%
Group II	11%
Group III	28%

Relation between number of cæsuras *in middle* and *at end of* third foot.

Group I	Mid-foot cæsura more frequent by 30. (except for "Misfortunes of Arthur").
Group II	Mid-foot cæsura more frequent by 20.
Group III	End-foot cæsura more frequent by 17.

Number of *cæsuras at end of fourth foot.*

Groups I and II Except for "The Misfortunes of Arthur" which contains 5, the number in both groups together is 6.

Group III The number here is 20.

Number of *cæsuras in fifth foot.*

Groups I and II 3 cases.

Group III 6 cases.

Number of *cæsuras before the end of second foot.*

Group I (containing 8 plays) 52 cases.

Group II (containing 5 plays) 37 cases.

Group III (containing 9 plays) 48 cases.

These figures indicate a fair degree of regularity among the three groups in the distribution of this last type of *cæsura*. The larger proportion in Group I, however, seems to indicate that, as blank verse broke away from its first rigidity, the earlier tendency was to keep the pause near the beginning of the line, the later to throw it toward the end.

Proportion of the common and uncommon *cæsural positions*.

Uncommon—13% (In 1st ft.; end of 1st ft.; in 2d ft.; in 5th ft.)

Common—87% (End of 2d ft.; in 3d ft.; end of 3d ft.; in 4th ft.; end of 4th ft.)

TABLE I—INDIVIDUAL VARIETY IN USE OF CÆSURAL PAUSE.

	Greatest number found in one place.	Number of other places.
Surrey	38	4
Ferrex and Porrex.	35	3
Loerine	19	7
Spanish Tragedy.	21	6
Tamburlaine	23	6
Misfortunes of Arthur.	21	8
Battle of Alcazar.	16	8
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.	21	6
*Jew of Malta.	18	6
James the Fourth.	21	6
*David and Bethsabe.	15	7
*Edward the Second.	14	8
King John.	16	6
*Hamlet	15	7
*Volpone	17	7
Faithful Shepherdess.	16	6
*Tempest	13	8
*Maid's Tragedy.	12	6
*Valentinian	17	8
*Duchess of Malfi.	19	8
*Changeling	15	6
*Broken Heart	16	6

* Remarkable for greatest evenness in distribution of cæsural pauses among the important places of the verse.

TABLE II—COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF CESURAL
PAUSES.

	End of 2d ft.	In 3d ft.	End of 3d ft.	In 4th ft.	End of 4th ft.	
Surrey	38	7	2	2	1	Group I.
Ferrex and Porrex	35	6	8	0	0	
Lochrine	19	12	7	3	2	
Spanish Tragedy	21	11	4	5	0	
Tamburlaine	23	10	7	2	0	
Misfortunes of Arthur	21	2	11	3	5	
Battle of Alcazar	16	10	5	8	1	
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	21	11	3	4	0	Group II.
Jew of Malta	14	18	10	4	0	
James the Fourth	21	6	8	7	0	
David and Bethsabe	13	15	7	4	1	
Edward the Second	12	8	14	7	1	
King John	14	16	8	4	0	Group III.
Hamlet	10	7	15	10	2	
Volpone	11	17	7	5	1	
Faithful Shepherdess	16	8	14	6	1	
Tempest	12	10	6	13	1	
Maid's Tragedy	12	10	11	11	3	
Valentinian	5	3	12	17	6	
Duchess of Malfi	8	7	19	8	1	
Changeling	2	15	8	12	1	
Broken Heart	9	10	6	16	4	

TABLE III—COMPARISON OF END-STOPT LINES.

Surrey	37	} Group I—The number of end-stopt lines averages 32.6 (37-29).
Ferrex and Porrex.....	29	
Loerine	36	
Spanish Tragedy	32	
Tamburlaine	30	
Misfortunes of Arthur...	29	
Battle of Alcazar.....	37	
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	31	
Jew of Malta.....	22	} Group II—The number of end-stopt lines averages 29.6 (35-22). An ex- planation of 35 end-stopt lines in Ed. II has been given elsewhere.
James the Fourth.....	32	
David and Bethsabe.....	32	
Edward the Second.....	35	
King John	27	
Hamlet	21	} Group III—The number of end-stopt lines averages 21.9 (28-9).
Volpone	21	
Faithful Shepherdess	21	
Tempest	9	
Maid's Tragedy	26	
Valentinian	28	
Duchess of Malfi.....	24	
Changeling	25	
Broken Heart	22	

TABLE IV—VARIATION IN METRE OR VERSE ACCENT.

	Reg. iambic lines.	No. of irreg. ularities.	Trochaic in 1st ft.	No. of anapests.
Surrey	36	15	10	3
Ferrex and Porrex.	44	6	5	0
Loocrine	43	7	4	1
Spanish Tragedy	35	15	8	3
Tamburlaine	32	18	14	3
Misfortunes of Arthur.	38	12	6	3
Battle of Alcazar.	30	20	16	0
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	30	28	16	4
Jew of Malta.	23	31	22	5
James the Fourth.	36	14	11	1
David and Bethsabe.	33	17	15	2
Edward the Second.	21	29	14	4
King John	35	15	13	0
Hamlet	32	18	15	2
Volpone	31	20	13	4
Faithful Shepherdess	35	17	8	4
Tempest	30	24	9	10
Maid's Tragedy	33	18	13	2
Valentinian	31	19	13	5
Duchess of Malfi.	31	23	11	12
Changeling	35	19	5	12
Broken Heart	33	19	15	4

TABLE V—TABLE VI—DISINTEGRATING FORCES.

	Rhymes.	Double- endings.	Two extra syllables.	Alexan- drines.	Epic caesuras.	Slurred words or syllables.
Surrey	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ferrex and Porrex.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loerine	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spanish Tragedy	2	0	0	0	1	0
Tamburlaine	1	0	0	0	0	0
Misfortunes of Arthur....	0	0	0	0	0	0
Battle of Alcazar.....	1	1	0	0	0	0
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay	1	1	0	0	0	0
Jew of Malta.....	0	1	0	0	0	0
James the Fourth.....	5*	1	0	0	0	0
David and Bethsabe.....	3	2	0	0	0	0
Edward the Second.....	1	1	0	0	0	0
King John	2	4	0	1	0	0
Hamlet	0	6	0	0	1	4
Volpone	0	14	0	0	1	0
Faithful Shepherdess	2†	0	0	1	0	1
Tempest	0	12	0	0	2	5
Maid's Tragedy	0	24	0	0	0	3
Valentinian	0	34	1	1	0	2
Duchess of Malfi.....	1	4	0	1	2	12
Changeling	2	16	3	3	0	3
Broken Heart	0	19	1	0	0	1

* and one quatrain.

† triplets.

TABLE TABLE †TABLE
VII— VIII— IX—

	Incomplete lines.	Defective lines.	Speeches ending in mid- dle of line.
Surrey	0	0	..
Ferrex and Porrex.....	0	0	0
Loerine	0	0	0
Spanish Tragedy	1	1	2
Tamburlaine	0	0	0
Misfortunes of Arthur.....	0	0	0
Battle of Alcazar.....	0	0	0
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.....	0	0	0
Jew of Malta.....	4	1	0
James the Fourth.....	0	2	0
David and Bethsabe.....	0	0	0
Edward the Second.....	1	0	0
King John	0	0	1
Hamlet	0	0	2
Volpone	0	0	1
Faithful Shepherdess	0	2	1
Tempest	2	1	0
Maid's Tragedy	0	1	2
Valentinian	0	0	0
Duchess of Malfi.....	0	1	3
Broken Heart	1	1	3
Changeling	2	1	1

* Lines marked thus show loss of light syllable in the first foot. This form is very common in Chaucer's verse.

† Table IX is the least valuable of the series, for a fifty-line passage is too short to show accurately the facts with which it deals.

A list of the passages examined in connection with this study follows. The first and last lines of each passage are quoted. In the text of the Mermaid Series, which was used in several instances, the lines are not numbered.

Surrey, Fourth Æneid, ll. 163-213.

"Then from the seas the dawning 'gan arise"

"First tokens gave with burning gleads of flame."

Ferrux and Porrex, Act IV., sc. ii., ll. 141-190.

"To thee he showed. Depart, therefore, our sight"

"His heart, stabde in with knife, is reit of life."

Loerine, Act I., sc. i., ll. 115-164.

"From thence upon the stronds of Albion"

"Descend upon this my devoted head."

Spanish Tragedy, Act III., sc. xiv, ll. 58-108.

"I tell thee, some, my-selfe have heard it said"

"And welcome Bel-Imperia! How now, girle!"

Tamburlaine, Part II., Act V., sc. iii., ll. 28-77.

"Blush, heaven, to lose the honor of thy name!"

"And weary death with bearing souls to hell."

Misfortunes of Arthur, Act V., sc. i., ll. 117-174.

"What ruth (ah), rent the woful father's heart!"

"I still be fear'd, and look'd for every hour."

Battle of Alcazar, Act V., sc. i., ll. 110-159.

"Stand, traitor, stand, ambitious Englishman,"

"Short be my tale because my life is short."

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Feast given by Friar to King and Emperor.

"Lordings, admire not if your cheer be this,"

"So thou consent to give her to my wife."

Jew of Malta, Act I., sc. i., ll. 1-54.

"So that of thus much that return was made."

"The ships are safe thou say'st and richly fraught."

James the Fourth, Act III., sc. iii., ll. 1-50.

"Thy credit, Bartram, in the Scottish court,"

"There found I all was upsy-turvey turned."

David and Bethsabe, Act I., sc. i., ll. 83-133.

"My lord the King, elect to God's own heart,"

"Cusay will fly about the King's desire."

Edward the Second, Act V., sc. v., ll. 45-96.

"The queen sent me to see how you were used."

"Thou wilt return again, and therefore stay."

King John, Act II., sc. i., ll. 549-598.

"Which we, God knows, have turned another way"

"Gain, be my lord, for I will worship thee."

Hamlet, Act III., sc. iv., ll. 31-81.

"Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!"

"Could not so mope."

Volpone, Act III., sc. vi.

"Thou hast, in place of a base husband, found"

"Out at our lips, and score up sums of pleasure."

Faithful Shepherdess, Act I., sc. ii.

"Then softly thus: I love thee, Perigot,"

"Than if angry Heavens with their quick flames."

Tempest, Act V., sc. i., ll. 33-84.

"Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,"

"Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell:"

Maid's Tragedy, Act IV., sc. i., last 50 lines.

"The beams of your forgiveness, I am soul-sick"

"Set her in rest, and wash her stains away."

Valentinian, Act IV., sc. iv.

"Is not the doom of Caesar on this body?"

"For Caesar fears to die, I love to die!"

"All leave our-selves: it matters not where, when"

"For covetous to live, I should weep with ye."

"But what I have been which is just and faithful,"

"And then the sharpest sword is welcomest."

Duchess of Malfi, Act IV., sc. ii.

"She and I were twins:"

"And for my sake, say, thou hast done much ill well."

"Why, fare thee well."

"Upon thy pale lips I will melt my heart."

Changeling, Act II., sc. i.

"O sir, I'm ready now for that fair service"

"This ominous, ill-faced fellow more disturbs me"

Broken Heart, Act II., sc. i.

"Swarms of confusion huddle in my thoughts"

"For my sake put on a more cheerful mirth:"

* In some plays it is impossible to find fifty consecutive lines of blank verse.

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(Continued on inside of back cover.)

LOWELL'S CONCEPTION OF POETRY.

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PARSONS.

In his lectures on the Nature and Elements of Poetry* Mr. Stedman has said: "Lowell has sprinkled the whole subject [of poetry] with diamond dust, and he, of all, perhaps could have given the best report of its tricky spirit." A little more than two years after these words were written, a lecture upon the subject, delivered by Lowell many years before, was given to the world by his literary executor.† Although the lecture "may well be prized" to quote Mr. Norton's words, introductory to it, "as the expression of a genius, which, if not mature, is already powerful and aquiline in vision and sweep of wing," yet its suggestive treatment of the theme is by no means as exhaustive as that which we find in scattered bits through his other writings. Those writings furnish us with the *disjecta membra* of one of the noblest conceptions of the noblest of the arts. It will be the attempt of this paper to gather together these scattered thoughts and present them in orderly succession, and thus to fulfill, if possible, with some degree of completeness, Mr. Stedman's desire for a report from Lowell of the "tricky spirit" of poetry.‡

Certainly no one was better fitted than Lowell to give such a report. Perhaps the reason why he wrote no comprehensive essay upon the subject was that he felt so keenly the difference between the professor of poetry and the poet [II. 143]. "Must we peep and botanize," he says in his ad-

*Page 27.

†The Century Magazine, Jan. 1894.

‡The whole discussion will be presented, as far as possible, in Lowell's own words. The great fullness under certain heads is due to the writer's desire to make the paper a comprehensive index to the subject in Lowell's writings. He has purposely refrained from quoting from the Century article. The references are to the Riverside edition of Lowell's works.

dress upon Wordsworth [VI. 99], "on the rose of dawn or the passion flower of sunset? I should rather take the counsel of a great poet, . . . and say, . . . be satisfied if poetry be delightful, or helpful, or inspiring, or all these together, but do not consider too nicely why it is so." But he was not kept from his task by ignorance of the true nature of poetry. He had the divine gift in himself. His versatile nature enabled him to succeed in many fields of labor, but he had only one deep, abiding ambition. Full as his Letters are of wisdom and sparkling fun, one lays down the volumes at last with profound sadness. During the last half of his life Lowell seemed always to be looking back with vain regret to the days when "Fancy claimed that right in me which Fact has since, to my no small loss, so successfully disputed" [III. 28]. His poetry remains to-day, in some respects at least, the best that the American mind has yet produced, yet one cannot help asking what might have been if his poetic gifts had not been sacrificed upon the altar of a professorship and the diplomatic service. If he could have devoted himself with all his powers to poetry, if he could have had the opportunity for that "seclusion" and "deepened meditation," which he said enabled Spenser "to converse with his genius disengaged from those worldly influences which would have disenchanted it of its mystic enthusiasm" [IV. 287], if he could have had that time to "brood" [Letters, I. 308], which he found so necessary to the accomplishment of his best work, Mr. Stedman's appreciative paraphrase of Lowell's own words might have been true:

"The world had not lacked a poet
Such as it had
In the ages glad
Long ago!"*

Turning now from Lowell's fitness to furnish us with an authoritative statement of what poetry is to his ideal of the

*New York Tribune, Aug. 13, 1891.

poet's office and work, we are met at the outset by a fact which he emphasizes again and again, that the poet has a certain definite relation to the age in which he lives and sings. The life of every work of art, he tells us, "is the joint product of the artist and of the time." [II. 127-8]. "The higher kinds of literature . . . are born of some genetic principle in the character of the people and the age which produce them" [II. 131-2]. "Mere wealth of natural endowment is not enough; there must be also the co-operation of the time, of the public genius roused to a consciousness of itself by the necessity of asserting or defending the vital principle on which that consciousness rests, in order that a poet may rise to the highest level of his vocation." [II. 120]. Poetry, like the other higher forms of literature, is "the unconscious autobiography of mankind." [VII. 159]. It may not be understood by the age; indeed "the best poetry has been the most savagely attacked." [I. 226]. "None of our great poets can be called popular in any exact sense of the word." [IV. 414]. But the great poet must, nevertheless, "answer the intellectual needs of the time and reflect its lineaments." [IV. 10]. "Every age says to its poets . . . 'Tell me what I am like.'" [III. 64]. The age can see in the poet its own lineaments because the poet is its own child. When Dante was born "it was a time of fierce passions and sudden tragedies, of picturesque transitions and contrasts. It found Dante, shaped him by every experience that life is capable of,—rank, ease, love, study, affairs, statecraft, hope, exile, hunger, dependence, despair,—until he became endowed with a sense of the nothingness of this world's goods possible only to the rich, and a knowledge of man possible only to the poor." [IV. 127]. Spenser and Shakespeare were born in an age when "every breeze was dusty with the golden pollen of Greece, Rome, and Italy," [IV. 294], when there were undisturbed "depths of forests where superstitious shapes still cowered, creatures of immemorial wonder, the

raw material of Imagination." Indeed "what we mean when we say *Shakespeare*, is something inconceivable either during the reign of Henry the Eighth, or the Commonwealth, and which would have been impossible after the Restoration." [III. 4]. He died just at the right moment, for the first half of the seventeenth century was "a generation in which the poet was, and felt himself, out of place," [III. 3], and the last half of the century was "a time incapable, not merely of a great poet, but perhaps of any poet at all," so chilly was the "skeptical atmosphere" to that "enthusiasm which, if it be not genius, is at least the beautiful illusion that saves it from the baffling quibbles of self-consciousness." [III. 102]. Lowell knew well that "there is a sense in which the poet is of no age," [IV. 48], that a poem "should be true of the whole compass of human nature," not merely of "some north-and-by-east-half-east point of it." [IV. 270]. But to be of no age a poet must share fully in the one age in which he lives. This is true "because nothing that has not been living experience can become living expression, because the collective thought, the faith, the desire of a nation or a race, is the cumulative result of many ages, is something organic, and is wiser and stronger than any single person, and will make a great statesman or a great poet out of any man who can entirely surrender himself to it." [IV. 236].

One aspect of the influence of the age upon the poet Lowell selects for special emphasis. What he says scattered through many essays is summed up in the single sentence, "No English poet can write English poetry except in English." [I. 261]. "Shakespeare, like all other great poets, instinctively used the dialect which he found current," [III. 10], the language that had become "by the mingling of divers speeches" "the noblest vehicle of poetic thought that ever existed." [III. 1-2]. "Dante, endeavoring to conform himself to literary tradition, began to write the *Divina Commedia* in Latin, and had elaborated several cantos of it in that dead

and intractable material. But that poetic instinct, which is never the instinct of an individual, but of his age, could not be satisfied, and leaving the classic structure he had begun to stand as a monument of failure, he completed his work in Italian. . . . The epic which he wished to write in the universal language of scholars, and which might have had its ten lines in the history of literature, would sing itself in provincial Tuscan, and turns out to be written in the universal dialect of mankind. Thus all great poets have in a certain sense been provincials." [IV. 235], but only 'thus have they won the ear of the world.

But, in the second place, to approach nearer the heart of the subject,—what is Lowell's conception of the office or mission of the poet? In his Letters [I. 318], he says of himself: "I shall never be a poet till I get out of the pulpit,"—another version of his familiar autobiographical sketch in the "Fable for Critics:"

"The top of the hill he will ne'er come nigh reaching

Till he learns the distinction 'twixt singing and preaching."

[X. 85.]

Yet no reader of Lowell can fail to see that he is profoundly convinced that "poet and prophet" are "interchangeable terms." [VI. 113]. "All great poets have their message to deliver us, from something higher than they." [IV. 262]. "The poet's office is to be a Voice, not of one crying in the wilderness to a knot of already magnetized acolytes, but singing amid the throng of men, and lifting their common aspirations and sympathies [so first clearly revealed to themselves] on the wings of his song to a purer ether and a wider reach of view." [IV. 357]. "If it be the most delightful function of the poet to set our lives to music, yet perhaps he will be even more sure of our maturer gratitude if he do his part also as moralist and philosopher to purify and enlighten; if he define and encourage our vacillating perceptions of duty; if he piece together our fragmentary

apprehensions of our own life and of that larger life whose unconscious instruments we are, making of the jumbled bits of our dissected map of experience a coherent chart." [IV. 413]. "Poetry frequents" itself, and teaches men to frequent, "those upper chambers of the mind that open toward the sun's rising." [VII. 211].

Specifically, the mission of the poet is to glorify and "make novel the familiar," [III. 335], to idealize the commonplace. [VII. 39]. He treats "To-day as if it were as good as Yesterday." [III. 364]. In common with all true artists, he helps us "to make the best of nature, and not to grope vaguely after something better than nature." [III. 363]. "Where we have never seen anything more than the ordinary Toms and Dicks and Harries whom an inscrutable Providence has seen fit to send into an already over-populated world," the genius of the poet "sees Falstaffs or Don Quixotes or Squire Westerns." [VI. 54]. "He invents nothing, but seems rather to re-discover the world about him, and his penetrating vision gives to things of daily encounter something of the strangeness of new creation." [III. 64].

"Suppose a man in pouring down a glass of claret," he writes in one of his most eloquent passages, "could drink the South of France, that he could so disintegrate the wine by the force of imagination as to taste in it all the clustered beauty and bloom of the grape, all the dance and song and sunburnt jollity of the vintage. Or suppose that in eating bread he could transubstantiate it with the tender blade of spring, the gleam-flitted corn-ocean of summer, the royal autumn, with its golden beard, and the merry funerals of harvest. This is what the great poets do for us, we cannot tell how, with their fatally chosen words, crowding the happy veins of language again with all the life and meaning and music that had been dribbling away from them since Adam." [I. 194].

In the midst of the commonplace and the familiar the mission of the poet is to keep alive the holy, the true, the

ideal. Lowell has a righteous contempt for mere realism. "It appears to me," he says, "that it is the business of all imaginative literature to offer us a sanctuary from the world of newspapers. . . . The so-called realist raises doubts in my mind when he assures me that he, and he alone, gives me the facts of life. Too often all I can say is, if these are the facts, I don't want them. The police reports give me more than I care for every day. But are they the facts? I had much rather believe them to be the accidental and transitory phenomena of our existence here. The real and abiding facts are these that are recognized as such by the soul when it is in that upper chamber of our being which is farthest removed from the senses, and commences with its truer self." [VII. 310]. Especially does Lowell protest against the type of realism, represented by the French School and by such writers as Swinburne, which confounds "what is common with what is vulgar," [IV. 20], and breaks down "the maidenly reserve which should characterize the higher forms of poetry." [II. 123]. What he says of the *Dunciad* he must have thought of much of this modern writing: "A true poet could not have written such a satire, . . . which is even nastier than it is witty. . . . One's mind needs to be sprinkled with some disinfecting fluid after reading it." [IV. 48]. But he says triumphantly, in his *Letters* [I. 377], summing up the whole matter, "The true church of poetry is founded on a rock, and I have no fear that these smutchy back-doors of hell shall prevail against her." "Beauty," he says elsewhere,—he means by the word all beauty, including the moral—"Beauty, driven from every other home, will never be an outcast and a wanderer, while there is a poet's nature left." [IV. 48].

Such is Lowell's conception of the office of the poet. I know of no better summing up of all the essential duties involved in it than his own in the noble words of the poem, *An Incident in a Railroad Car*:

It may be glorious to write
 Thoughts that shall glad the two or three
 High souls, like those far stars that come in sight
 Once in a century;—

But better far it is to speak
 One simple word, which now and then
 Shall waken their free nature in the weak
 And friendless sons of men;

To write some earnest verse or line,
 Which, seeking not the praise of art,
 Shall make a clearer faith and manhood shine
 In the untutored heart. [VIII. 123.]

Such is Lowell's conception of the mission of the poet: what light does he throw upon the poet-nature itself? First of all, the poet belongs to that larger class to whom is given the name genius. Lowell does not attempt any logical definition of this indefinable word. Indeed, to him the essence of genius is its illusiveness. He allows his thought to play about the conception, giving us profound glimpses into the mystery. "That indefinable newness and unexpectedness which we call genius" [I. 242]; "an indefinably delightful something that we call originality, or, when it addresses itself to artistic creation, genius." [VI. 53]. "We may reckon up pretty exactly," he says, "a man's advantages and defects as an artist: these he has in common with others, and they are to be measured by a recognized standard; but there is something in his *genius* that is incalculable." [IV. 261]. Genius "implies always a certain fanaticism of temperament, which, if sometimes it seem fitful, is yet capable of intense energy on occasion." [VII. 13]. True genius is unconscious of itself. Percival "discovered his own genius, as he supposed,—a thing impossible had the genius been real." [II. 160]. "It is the open secret of all true genius" that "the many cannot miss its meaning, and only the few can find it." [I. 351]. Genius "kindles, lights, inspires, and transmits

impulsion to other minds, wakens energies in them hitherto latent, and makes them startlingly aware that they too may be parts of the controlling purpose of the world." [VII. 142]. "Genius is not a question of character," and here Lowell touches one of the most interesting phases of his "tricksy" theme. "With genius itself we never find any fault. It would be an over-nicety to do that. . . . How the author lived, what he wore, how he looked, all that is mere gossip, about which we need not trouble ourselves. Whatever he was or did, somehow or other God let him be worthy to write *this*, and that is enough for us. We forgive everything to the genius; we are inexorable to the man. Shakespeare, Goethe, Burns,—what have their biographies to do with us. . . . There is no work of genius which has not been the delight of mankind, no word of genius to which the human heart and soul have not, sooner or later, responded. But the man whom the genius takes possession of for its pen, for its trowel, for its pencil, for its chisel, *him* the world treats according to his deserts." [II. 241-2; cf. Letters, I. 99].

These last words suggest a distinction which Lowell draws between talent and genius: "Talent is that which is in a man's power; genius is that in whose power a man is." [II. 240.] In other words, the essence of genius is inspiration,—"fine frenzy," [VII. 284], "divine madness," [VII. 2], he calls it. Lowell says that "perhaps the most compendious lecture on poetry ever delivered" was contained in the remark of Dryden to one who said to him, "It is easy enough to write like a madman." "No," replied Dryden, "it is hard to write like a madman, but easy enough to write like a fool." [III. 128]. Lowell quotes with approval the words affixed to Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar that poetry is "a divine gift or heavenly instinct not to be gotten by labor or learning, but adorned with both, and poured into the wit by a certain Enthusiasm and celestial inspiration." [IV. 306]. "Praise art as we will, that which the artist did not mean to put into

his work, but which found itself there by some generous process of Nature of which he was as unaware as the blue river is of its rhyme with the blue sky, has something in it that snatches us into sympathy with higher things than those which come by plot and observation." [III. 90]. "The true poet is . . . experimented upon by life and nature, by joy and sorrow, by beauty and defect, till it be found out whether he have any hidden music in him that can sing them into an accord with the eternal harmony which we call God." [II. 144]. So "inspiration makes short work with the usage of the best authors and with the ready-made elegances of diction." [III. 97-8]. Dante's poem sings itself out of Latin into Tuscan. [IV. 235]. "What is precious in Wordsworth's poetry was . . . a gift rather than an achievement." [IV. 407]. Lowell's own poetry came in the same way. "I tried last night," he tells us in his Letters [I. 46], "to write a little rhyme—but must wait for the moving of the waters." "That poem got hold of me and squeezed all my life out for the time, and a good bit after." [Letters, II. 122]. "As for new 'Biglow Papers', God knows how I should like to write them, if they would only *make* me as they did before." [Letters, I. 308].

The discussion of poetic inspiration naturally suggests the kindred one of originality upon which Lowell has written with more or less fulness in no fewer than eight essays. The question of imitation he discusses with great insight in the essay upon Swinburne's Tragedies. His conclusion is that "truth to nature can be reached ideally, never historically; it must be a study from the life, and not from the seoliasts. Theocritus lets us into the secret of his good poetry, when he makes Daphnis tell us that he preferred his rock with a view of the Sicilian Sea to the kingdom of Pelops." [II. 128]. But originality cannot be defined as the mere negation of imitation. Originality is the positive quality imparted to an artistic product by genius. Lowell said all there is to be

said upon the question of originality in two lines of his poem, "For an Autograph:"

"Though old the thought and oft expressed,
 'Tis his at last who says it best," [X. 125.]

In his essays he enlarges again and again upon this text. "In the editions of Gray's poems, the thin line of text stands at the top of the page like cream, and below it is the skim-milk drawn from many milky mothers of the herd out of which it has risen. But the thing to be considered is that, no matter where the material came from, the result is Gray's own. Whether original or not, he knows how to make a poem, a very rare knowledge among men." [VII. 39]. "If the works of the great poets teach anything, it is to hold mere invention somewhat cheap. It is not the finding of a thing, but the making something out of it after it is found, that is of consequence. . . . Chaucer, like Shakespeare, invented almost nothing. Wherever he found anything addressed to Geoffrey Chaucer, he took it and made the most of it. It was not the subject treated, but himself, that was the new thing. . . . We must let him, if he will, eat the heart out of the literature that had preceded him, as we sacrifice the mulberry leaves to the silkworm, because he knows how to convert them into something richer and more lasting. The question of originality is not one of form, but of substance, not of cleverness, but of imaginative power." [III. 300-1]. Just as genius is itself unconscious, so originality, which is the fruit of genius, comes without observation. "If a poet resolve to be original, it will end commonly in his being merely peculiar." [IV. 395].

There is time only to mention, not to enlarge upon, the minor qualities which Lowell says belong to the poet-nature: "the eye" which is "the only note-book of the true poet;" [II. 135], the poet's selective faculty [III. 42-3]; his spontaneity and freshness; [VII. 223]; his "equanimity of conscious and constantly indwelling power," [VI. 109]; the

depth of his convictions, his "power of being franker than other men" [III. 269]; his faculty of burning his own smoke [a faculty which at least ought to belong to the poet] [III. 292-3]; his "brooding patience" [II. 81]; his complete consecration to his office [Letters, II. 62]. We must hurry on to Lowell's conception of the poet-nature on the sides of the emotions, the understanding, and the imagination. It is a strange fact that Lowell has almost nothing to say about emotion as a part of the equipment of the poet. Fervidness of feeling has always been considered one of the main sources of the poetic impulse, but Lowell almost passes it by. There are in all his writings hardly a half-dozen references to the place of emotion in poetry, and most of these bear only indirectly on the subject. He speaks of the naturalness which is always the result of great passion [IV. 32], of the way in which the poets break "strong passions" to the "light harness of verse," [VII. 70], of "an ardor which charges its words with imagination as they go," [VII. 285]. A few other passages, equally indirect in their reference, complete his very inadequate treatment of a most important part of the theme.

But of the understanding and the imagination he has much more to say. The understanding is the steadying element in poetry, the ballast and the keel underneath the snowy sails. Percival's verse, Lowell tells us, "carries every inch of canvas that diction and sentiment can crowd, but the craft is cranky, and we miss that deep-grasping keel of reason which alone can steady and give direction." [II. 141]. To the question whether Marlowe was a great poet Lowell answers that, though "he had some of the finest qualities that go to the making of a great poet," and though "his poetic instinct, when he had time to give himself wholly over to its guidance, was unerring," yet "for such a title he had hardly . . . reach enough of thought." [VII. 238]. Spenser's "mind, as is generally true of great poets, was founded on a solid basis of good sense." [IV. 350]. But common-sense, Lowell

is always careful to tell us, can never make a poet. A season of common-sense always "acts like a drought upon the springs of poesy." [VII. 7]. Mere "Fact . . . suffocates the Muse." [IV. 384]. "The question of common-sense is always, 'What is it good for?'—a question which would abolish the rose and be answered triumphantly by the cabbage." [III. 319]. Common-sense must be "aerated,"—to use a favorite expression of Lowell's [III. 119, 38]—with something higher than itself before it can become thoroughly a poetic quality. This higher something is "the primal requisite of a poet's imagination." [I. 280].

What imagination is Lowell does not attempt to say with scientific precision. It is too much akin to genius to admit of logical definition. He relates it to common-sense in the pithy words: Imagination is not "common-sense turned inside out," but "common-sense sublimed." [III. 270]. Imagination is not fancy. The two, he says, "may be of one substance, as the northern lights and lightning are supposed to be; but the one plays and flickers in harmless flashes, . . . the other condenses all its thought-executing fires into a single stab of flame." [VII. 287]. Fancy is apt to be superabundant in young poets, the imagination "ripens with the judgment." [VII. 116]. Imagination is "the great mythologizer." [II. 318]. "That indefinable aroma so magical in arousing the subtle associations of the soul" [III. 190], the witch who weaves the age's straw "into a golden tissue" [IV. 284], "the potent alchemy that transmutes the lead of our commonplace associations into gold" [III. 169]. But the figure which best satisfies Lowell in his attempt to tell what imagination is like is that which compares it to the lightning, "mysterious, incalculable, the more unexpected that we watch for it, and generated by forces we do not comprehend" [VII. 3], "flashing out unexpected vistas, and illuminating the humdrum pathway of our daily lives with a radiance of momentary consciousness that seems like

a revelation" [IV. 412-3]. In the ideal world into which the imagination leads us—to change the figure—"with what splendor as of mountain sunsets are we rewarded! What golden rounds of verse do we not see stretching heavenward with angels ascending and descending! What haunting harmonies hover around us deep and eternal like the undying barytone of the sea! . . . How often do we not hear airy shapes that syllable our names with a startling personal appeal to our higher consciousness and our noblest aspirations!" [IV. 400-1].

Lowell distinguishes between different kinds of poetic imagination. "Parnassus," he says, "has two peaks; the one where improvising poets cluster; the other where the singer of deep secrets sits alone." [IV. 378]. The different kinds of imagination, or better the different offices of the imagination, he seems to sum up in three classes. First, the imagination is the "vision divine" [IV. 406], the "seer" of the things that are invisible, of the glory in life that is hidden to the unanointed eye. But this is not the pre-eminent function of the imagination. Above all things it is the "faculty divine" [IV. 406], that "plastic," "structural," or "shaping" faculty, that which, to use Shakespeare's phrase, "bodies forth the forms of things unknown." [VII. 240; II. 90; III. 324]. This is the faculty which gives to any poem "unity of design and balanced gravitation of parts." It is this form of imagination alone "which can unimpeachably assure to any work the dignity and permanence of a classic. . . . On a lower plane we may detect it in the structure of a sentence, in the limpid expression that implies sincerity of thought; but it is only where it combines and organizes, where it eludes observation in particulars to give the rarer delight of perfection as a whole, that it belongs to art. Then it is truly ideal, the *forma mentis aeterna*, not as a passive mould into which the thought is poured, but as the conceptive*

*Lowell seems to use conceptive here in a sense different from that in which he uses it in II. 90.

energy which finds all material plastic to its preconceived design. . . . Imagination, where it is truly creative, is a faculty, and not a quality; it looks before and after; it gives the form that makes all the parts work together harmoniously toward a given end; its seat is in the higher reason, and it is efficient only as the servant of the will." [III. 30-32].

The third function of the imagination is "where it serves the artist, not as the reason that shapes, but as the interpreter of his conceptions into words." Here "there is a distinction to be noted between the higher and lower mode in which it performs its function. It may be either creative or pictorial, may body forth the thought, or merely image it forth. With Shakespeare, for example, imagination seems immanent in his very consciousness; with Milton, in his memory." [III. 40]. Thus Milton's imagination loves "to diffuse itself," while Shakespeare's condenses "in the kindling flash of a single epithet." [IV. 99]. In the great poets, "thought, feeling and image" are precipitated at a touch "in an imperishable crystal." [VII. 17]. "The eternal longings and intentions and experiences of human nature . . . find their vent . . . in those vivid flashes of phrase, those instantaneous bolts of passionate conception, whose fullow of splendor across the eye-balls of the mind leaves them momentarily dark to the outward universe, only to quicken their vision of inward and incommunicable things." [VII. 1, 2]. To the great poet, thus, the Muse has given that "gift of the unexpected and inevitable word," [VI. 108], "that fatality of phrase which seems like immediate inspiration." [VII. 31], that "careless good luck" in epithet and simile, [VII. 205], that appreciation of sound and flow of numbers which make such a "large a part of the sense and sentiment of a verse." [VII. 5, 17, 31.]

From what has already been cited can be gleaned Lowell's attitude toward the question of poetic form. First, the distinction between true poetry and prose is "an inward one of

nature, and not an outward one of form" [II. 196], but second, in the best poetry "music and meaning float together accordant as swan and shadow on the smooth element of verse." [I. 246]. In a vigorous discussion of the first point in its relation to the second, Lowell says: "I believe that I understand and value form as much as I should, but I also believe that some of those who have insisted most strongly on its supreme worth as the shaping soul of a work of art have imprisoned the word 'soul' in a single one of its many functions. For the soul is not only that which gives form, but that which gives life, the mysterious and pervasive essence always in itself beautiful, not always so in the shapes which it informs, but even then full of infinite suggestion. . . . A book may be great in other ways than as a lesson in form, and it may be for other qualities that it is most precious to us. . . . Goethe's 'Iphigenie' is far more perfect in form than his 'Faust,' . . . yet it is Faust that we read and hold dear. . . . There have been men of genius, like Emerson, richly semimative for other minds; like Browning, full of wholesome ferment for other minds, though wholly destitute of form." [VII. 142-3]. And yet, and yet,—is nectar "of precisely the same flavor when served to us from a Grecian chalice or from any jug of ruder pottery?" [IV. 357]. To this "world-old question" we feel sure that Lowell would have given the answer, no. He himself defines a classic as "properly a book which maintains itself by virtue of that happy coalescence of matter and style, that innate and exquisite sympathy between the thought that gives life and the form that consents to every mood of grace and dignity." [IV. 266]. When a writer has the "fine literary sense" to write such a book, a sense "as rare as genius," there is secured for him "an immortality of fame." [III. 331].

Who, then, fulfils this great conception of what the poet should be? Who are the great poets? In Lowell's estimation there is only one who has realized it with all possible

human perfection, Shakespeare, "that magician of whom Dryden said so truly, 'within that circle none dare tread but he'." [VII. 121]. In Lowell's thought there must have been more than two peaks on Parnassus, for on one of them, the highest, Shakespeare sits alone. Next below him sit Homer, Dante, Goethe, making with the peerless Shakespeare and with Plato and Cervantes in prose, "the everlasting boundary stones." [Letters, I. 243]. Milton he cannot admit to the rank next below the king, because he could be successfully imitated. "No poet of the first class has ever left a school, because his imagination is incommunicable; while, just as surely as the thermometer tells of the neighborhood of an iceberg, you may detect the presence of a genius of the second class in any generation by the influence of his mannerism, for, that being an artificial thing, is capable of reproduction. Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, left no heirs either to the form or mode of their expression; while Milton . . . and Wordsworth left behind them whole regiments uniformed with all their external characteristics." [III. 38].

On the lower peaks of Parnassus crowd the other and lesser poets. In literature Lowell says "the difference between what is best and what is next best is immense." [VII. 151]. "In poetry, to be next best is, in one sense, to be nothing." [III. 189]. Yet he does not set any small value upon those who, though they have not reached the loftiest summits, have yet sung on lower levels songs which have sweetened and ennobled human life. Chaucer, the singer of "actual life," Spenser, of "imaginative life," Milton of "interior life," Gray, the "artist in words and sounds," Wordsworth, who "ever and anon mixed prose with some of the noblest poetry ever penned," even Pope, of whom nothing better could be said than that he is the representative poet of "conventional life," all have received justice at Lowell's hands. [III. 144†;

†Lowell was very fond of this story about Landor and Wordsworth. He tells it also in VII. 54; Letters II. 346.

VII. 31; IV. 25]. The great critic's poetic sympathies were as wide as the world, yet he loved with an especial and abiding affection those whom he discerned to be "the saints."

Lowell loved nature with a rare intensity, and knew how to catch and reproduce her wayward moods. But in company with the greatest poets, he "found man more interesting than nature." [VI. III]. And his appeal was always to what is highest and best in human nature. "I may have seemed sometimes," he said in concluding his lectures on the Old English Dramatists, "to be talking to you of things that would weigh but as thistle-down in the great business-scales of life. But I have an old opinion, strengthening with years, that it is as important to keep the soul alive as the body: nay, that it is the life of the soul that gives all its value to the body. Poetry is a criticism of life only in the sense that it furnishes us with the standard of a more ideal felicity, of calmer pleasures and more majestic pains." [VII. 315]. It is something to be thankful for that in this age when, as Lowell sadly expressed it, "poetry has become science," such a man as he should be found to champion its cause, and with a poet's magic to open men's eyes to the divineness of the poet's office.

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION.

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PARSONS.

We frequently read and hear attacks upon the church as an obstructive force in the path of human progress. We are told that truth has made its way only in the teeth of the intense opposition of those in whose hands has been the direction of the church's organization and policies. Science, so such critics tell us, has had to wage a perpetual warfare with religion as embodied in the thought and practice of the church. In considering such a charge as this it is well for us to recognize at the outset that it contains a large measure of truth. Human error has had its place in the history of the church as it has elsewhere. The monk was not able to erect himself above his time any more than was the physician. Human ambition and greed found their place within the church as well as outside it. Human nature is pretty much the same in one century as in another and in one form of organization as in another. Moreover the church is one of the great conservative forces of society. Men are very tenacious of anything in thought and in institutions which grips their affections and their moral nature. Conservatism, whether it exhibits itself in matters of our common speech, or in matters of politics, or in matters of religion, usually does not transfer its affection and its allegiance from the old to the new until it is convinced beyond peradventure that the new has earned the right to command affection and allegiance. Whatever we may say or wish to the contrary, human nature is at bottom intensely conservative. The philologist can testify to this fact as well as the scientist and the reformer. Jesus gave it a terse statement when he said, "No man having drunk old wine desireth new: for he saith, The old is good."

But when we have said this, have we said all there is to be said? The church has often stood in the way of truth, and has defended and promulgated error. It has more than once persecuted and put to death the truth seeker, the man who has sought to teach it what after years have gladly accepted. So has the state, so have all great organized bodies of men and women in whose hands has been authority over their fellow-men. But has the church and the religious spirit which it has fostered and embodied done anything for science and education? On which side is the balance of the account? Has the church stood in the way of truth more than it has advanced the cause of truth? Has the church put to death more truth seekers than it has aided in their search after truth? Is the sin of the church against education greater than the encouragement the church, through all the Christian centuries, has given to education? He must be a blind man indeed, and woefully ignorant of the progress of human thought during the last twenty centuries, who does not realize the incalculable debt which education owes to the church. Not only grace but truth came through Jesus Christ, and through the years since his birth and ministry the church, which has been his representative in the world, has been the greatest influence among men in the inculcation of the truth spirit and the developing and strengthening of the forces of education. It is worth our while to consider some of the facts on which this assertion is based, an assertion which I believe to be irrefutable.

In the first place, the church has had an inestimable influence in the inculcation and fostering of the truth spirit. One of the fundamental dicta of the Christian religion is, Lie not at all, and wherever the gospel has thoroughly got hold of a man it has taught him to speak and to do the truth. In so far as any man who claims to be a Christian fails to speak and to do the truth, in so far he is not a follower of Him who was the truth. Jesus Christ never asked any man to give

up his right of private judgment to become his follower. Once by the Sea of Galilee he bade certain men follow him, but he did not call them until they had had ample opportunity to comprehend his plans and purposes and to know his attitude toward life.* A man rushed up to him, full of enthusiasm, and said, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest." But Jesus said to him, "The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." Do not begin unless you are sure you are able to finish, was the meaning of one of his parables. Jesus wanted no man to come to him who did not have a clear comprehension of what was involved in the step and was ready, heart and soul and mind, to take it.

This truth spirit of the greatest of teachers we find reflected in the noble word of the greatest apostle: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." I know no finer statement of the truly scientific attitude. Not prove all things, and keep on endlessly proving, never reaching truth itself, but prove all things, and when you have got at truth and fact, hold them fast and make them a part of your life. Lessing said if he could have only one of the two he should prefer the urgent impulse after truth with the condition that he should always in error, to the possession of truth itself. But Paul's maxim is more nearly the embodiment of the scientific spirit. The human soul was made for truth and it can find no rest until it rests in truth. It cannot be satisfied with the urgent desire for truth any more than the body can be satisfied with the urgent desire for food. Paul's doctrine is good Christianity, and it is equally good science.

I need hardly remind the student of history that it was a Christian teacher and preacher who by his inculcation of the truth spirit which he had learned from his Master began the movement which more than any other has wrought for complete freedom of thought in the modern world. And it was a Puritan man of letters, one of the "great Christians" of the

*Chronologically John 1-4 precedes Mark 1:16-20.

world, who gave the finest expression to the thought that there is no power in the world so invincible as the simple unaided truth: "Though all the windes of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter? . . . For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, no stratagems, nor licencings to make her victorious: these are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power. Give her but room, and do not bind her."*

But the Christian church has been more than the inculcator of the truth-spirit; it has been one of the strongest influences in the development of the best scholarly type. What are some of the traits which we recognize as essential to the true scholar? I need not dwell on those which are most upon the surface—industry, painstaking, thoroughness, intellectual grasp and acumen. What I want to point out is the fact that the essence of the great scholarly nature is in its moral and spiritual equipment. Truthfulness is one of its supreme qualities, conscientiousness, a certain fine disinterestedness, the still more fundamental trait of humility, the self-forgetfulness which is the spirit of all true art and of all great achievement, a genuine love without which scholarship becomes a selfish mockery. How contemptible is the conceit of the second-rate scholar, the man who seeks to call our attention to himself as he leads us into the presence of his great subject! It is simply the other side of the student's failure to let his subject master him, to lose himself in his great work. And the scholar without love becomes a Rappaccini, willing to sacrifice the tenderest relations of life in order to prove his theory and establish the correctness of his investigation. The highest type of scholarship is the product of the Christian character and the Christian spirit. In scholarship, as in

* Milton, *Areopagitica*.

everything else, only he who humbles himself shall be exalted, only he who loses his own life shall truly find it, only he who learns to love fulfills the deepest law.

Again, the church has been more than the inculcator of the truth spirit, more than the developer of the noblest type of scholar. It has also been the preserver of learning. With all her faults the church has certainly this to her credit. In our arraignment of the sins of the monk, when we laugh at him as he is pictured in the pages of Chaucer, and join in the reformers' denunciations of his gluttony and lechery, his deceit and ignorance and hypocrisy, we are apt to forget what the thousands of extant manuscripts, some of them marvelously illuminated, ought to teach us—the love of learning that glowed with steady fervor in the old monasteries, the patient toil of the self-effacing monk, who wore his eyes and his frame out in a labor which he knew must be anonymous, but who still labored on for the love of the text and the love of his delicate art. We forget that it was the monks who preserved alive the knowledge of Greek. It was they who scattered over Europe the vitalizing seed which came to birth in the New Learning. The modern world, in a true sense begins with the Renaissance, that strange, bizarre, yet glorious time in the life of the world. And the Renaissance was made possible by the patient, self-effacing toil of the monk in his solitary cell. Of the Renaissance was born the Reformation, and to the Reformation we owe one of the priceless possessions of modern scholarship and modern manhood, freedom of thought, which is the foundation stone of our modern intellectual progress. It is therefore true that we owe to the oft-despised monk much of what has made our modern progress possible.

The church has thus been the inculcator of the truth spirit, the developer of the scholarly type, the preserver of learning. She has also developed the instrument of learning, the school. All our modern institutions of learning,

elementary and advanced, go back historically to the church schools of the Middle Ages. Out of them developed in the twelfth century the great universities of Europe, Paris, Bologna, Oxford. And when more than four centuries later our fathers came to our shores they brought with them the love of learning which established first Harvard College and then in turn, as the years and centuries have passed, all the colleges and universities of this land which are among the chief glories of our nation. To the Church therefore belongs the high honor of having set in motion and directed those influences which have developed to its highest degree of perfection the complex instrument of intellectual and moral discipline and adapted it to the needs of men.

But the past is past, we are living in the present and the future is knocking at our doors. What of the church and education to-day and to-morrow? Has there been any pause in the evolution, any cataclysm which has broken the continuity of the present with the past and made a closed chapter of what has gone before our time?

There is no need for us to dwell upon what is termed the secularizing of education. We are all acquainted with the tendency as it has exhibited itself in the educational life of the present. Some of us are old enough to trace most of the steps by which the secular spirit has become established and entrenched in modern education. In our colleges have come the loosening of denominational ties, the abrogation of the unwritten law that a college president must be a clergyman, the widening of courses of study far beyond the limited range of subjects originally outlined for the preparation of candidates for the ministry, the giving up in many quarters of compulsory church and chapel attendance, the gradual elimination of all formal recognition of the church and even of religion from an increasing number of the institutions of the higher learning throughout the land. And in the lower schools we know what has happened—the secularizing of the

text-book, the secularizing of the school exercises, the secularizing of the teacher, the secularizing of the scholar, not only in religious matters but often in morals, the secularizing of the spirit of the class room until in some states of the Union it is considered eminently proper to study the gods of the Greeks and Romans, but exceedingly bad form even to allude to the God of the Christian faith.

What shall we say about this state of things? There are two things which can safely be said, and which ought to be said again and again until by force of reiteration they begin to have an influence in the enlightenment and better establishment of our more or less chaotic educational life. In the first place, it is unquestionably well that the church has been forced by circumstances and by the change in public sentiment out of its control of the whole of human life. In the Middle Ages everything was related to the church. Its walls sheltered every human activity and every human relationship. To-day this is not true and it never again can be or ought to be true. Not only life in general but education has grown too large and too complex for the church to compass, for any individual or group of individuals to master or control. But is there no place left for the church in the modern scheme of things? Must it sit idly by while the tides of life sweep past it, itself

“A still salt pool, lock’d in with bars of sand,
Left on the shore.”

May it not be that in the future which is before us the church is to have a nobler part to play than any rôle which it has made glorious in the past? In its early history Christian civilization needed the outward control which the church gave it; it needed the authority of a master; it needed the absolute monarchy in the church as well as in the state; it needed parental law as well as parental counsel and inspiration. But the world has grown out of the period of infancy

and childhood and youth, and now the church sinks back to the place the parent should take after the child has come to years of maturity. Yet education, as well as everything else in human life, needs to-day as it has always needed a central principle of development, an inner spirit which shall inspire it and keep it on the upper levels of thought and aspiration. The church has been forced by circumstances out of its place of the control of all life, but there is left to it the nobler place of the inspirer of all life. No other organization has, as it has, the opportunity and the ability to lead and inspire those who are seeking to bring the forces of education to bear upon those who are to be educated. It can inspire the love of the truth as something which shall supplant in the true teacher the love of money, or of position, or of fame, any sordidness or self-seeking, which shall give the courage of conviction and the undying hopefulness of one who realizes the invincibility of the instrument he wields. It can inspire the love of the child, the love of the scholar, older or younger, such a love as shall not lose sight of the fact that human personality should be far more fascinating to the teacher than abstract truth, such a love as shall never sacrifice a personality to a subject or exalt a subject above a personality, such a love as shall believe with an unfaltering faith that the human mind and truth are made for one another and shall find its deepest joy in watching the mind and the heart unfold as truth is seen in vision and accepted in life. The church can inspire also those virtues without which the teacher's work is a mockery, the fundamental qualifications of the true teacher and the true scholar alike—inner purity, humility, reverence, self-forgetfulness. It can inspire in the teacher the sense of the holiness of his calling, it can call him to sanctify himself that those entrusted to his care may by the contagion of his character, through their respect and love for him, be sanctified also themselves. It can make the teacher realize as he could not otherwise realize it the great

truth—trite, no doubt, but eternally true—that after all it is the man behind the mind who is most in need of education and most worth educating.

This much can certainly be said of the place of the church of the future in the educational life of the world. And another thing can be said with equal truth. As has been already suggested, the pendulum has swung a long distance from where it was during the Middle Ages, or during the early days of New England. Once God was the center of the life of the school, the Bible was its great textbook, ethics was one of the great staples of instruction. Now God is hardly mentioned in the really up-to-date school-room, the Bible is banished, and even ethics is a tabooed theme. But the pendulum will without a doubt swing back. Our modern educational spirit is just as really sectarian as the spirit which it condemns and from which it has reacted. As President Faunce said not long ago: "If the Puritan school was narrow in its forcing of Bible history on every child, equally narrow is the modern school which banishes the visions of the prophets, the proverbs of the wise men of Israel, and Paul's praise of love, simply because these things are in the Bible. To discriminate against moral teaching on the ground that it is found in the Bible is sectarianism of the clearest kind." The Bible will certainly come back into the school curriculum, not because it is the Bible but because it is great literature and the most potent force that the world has ever known for character-building and intellectual and spiritual enlightenment. God will again be recognized as the center of intellectual as well as of religious devotion. Ethics will be reinstated in the school curriculum. The subject *must* be reinstated. With the failure of the modern home to meet its ethical responsibilities, the burden of the inculcation of personal ethics is being more and more thrown upon the school. Upon the school must largely rest the responsibility for checking the tendency of America to-day toward the loss of

the sense of righteousness, the increase of the spirit of lawlessness, the portentous spread of impurity, the development of the love of pleasure and of luxury, the growth of the class feeling, the abrogation of the spirit of the Golden Rule in business and in political and social life. The school must undertake the task of teaching, by precept and by example, according to the most intelligent and approved modern methods, that there is a law of right which is supreme and all-commanding, that defiance of this law is sure to bring its penalty in suffering or soul-degradation, that obedience to this law is sure to bring satisfying joy and real abiding power, that not self-assertion but self-control is the noblest aim of life, that the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life mean utter ruin in the end, that the only wisdom for one's self is the wisdom which generously regards others and seeks to serve all men, that he who would find his life in business, in literature, in art, in the home, in politics, everywhere, must lose himself in self-forgetfulness and self-devotion.

Such a program cannot be carried out without the overcoming of great obstacles. We must have better teachers than the average of to-day. To get them we must pay higher salaries that they may secure the proper training and keep themselves up to the proper standards of daily life and work. The higher salaries will surely come when school boards and boards of regents and trustees and legislators come to have a real understanding of the problem. And they will come the more quickly if all the religious parties in the community can come together and frankly talk over the situation. Discussion will clear the air, and we shall find, I am sure, some common ground of teaching which all can stand upon without the compromise of any conviction, some common store of truth and principle which all will agree our children need if they are to become helpful citizens of the modern state.

In the light of what the future of education is to demand of the church there are some ideals which the church must keep before it and seek to realize in its own life and work. It must, first of all, keep aglow within the Master's ideal of the truth spirit. It must have a supreme love of truth. It must recognize that the illumination of God's spirit is the light of truth, that love is a mere sentimentality unless it is grounded in truth. "He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth," said wise President Porter, "will end by loving himself better than either." The church must itself supremely love the truth. Moreover it must recognize the inalienable right of every man sincerely to seek the truth and to find it in his own way. It must recognize too that truth can take care of itself, that it cannot be overthrown, and therefore the church must let it grapple freely with criticism in every form. Truth will surely stand; what does not stand is as surely not truth and is not worth our allegiance. I have no sympathy with those who would build a fence about Christianity and the Bible and warn off all intruders with the spring guns of denunciation and ridicule. Lowell never spoke a truer word than this:

"Science was Faith once; Faith were Science now
Would she but lay her bow and arrows by
And arm her with the weapons of the time.
Nothing that keeps thought out is safe from thought.
For there's no virgin fort but self-respect,
And Truth defensive hath lost hold on God."

Rather, welcome scientific investigation, higher criticism, rationalism, philosophical speculation—welcome every storm which beats upon the rock of faith. If it is rock it will stand; if it does not stand, our hearts tell us that God will provide for our feet some surer, safer resting place.

Again, the church must undertake with more earnestness and thoughtfulness than it has yet shown the religious education which the school has dropped out of its teaching. There

are signs that the church is beginning to wake to a recognition of its responsibility. Such organizations as the Religious Education Association are full of promise. But the church has hardly begun to realize its opportunity. It has sporadic teaching classes for children, pastor's classes, and the like, but these are not part of a carefully thought out system. It has the Sunday-school, but this at present is only embryonic. It has not at all kept pace with the day school. It is for the most part unscientific and unpedagogical. The church must make it what it should be and make it the starting-point of larger things. If this is to be done the executive force of the church must be increased. The work is too large and too burdensome to be in the care of one man. Every church of any size must have its assistant minister whose principal care shall be the religious education of the children of the church. He must have something of the training and education of the teacher. Our theological seminaries must contain chairs of pedagogy and men must be trained to give in our churches systematic instruction in the vital matters of religious knowledge and the religious spirit. All this will cost money, you object. Of course it will, but the money will some day be forthcoming. A tithe of what is spent to-day lavishly on personal pleasure and luxury would pay every bill. I am hopeful that some day there will come a time like in some respects to that in which men poured out their treasures upon the altar of the church in order that the cathedrals might be built and the shrines of the saints fittingly adorned. But in that new day men will not merely give of their wealth to erect in stone and mortar magnificent symbols of the faith. They will see in every human spirit a temple of the Most High God, and they will feel it the privilege of their lives, the supreme act of their love and devotion, to see that so far as in them lies everyone within the reach of their aid is helped to become a building worthy of the indwelling of the eternal Spirit.

And let me say, as I close, that if the church is to be the inspiration and the leader of the future education it must lay determined emphasis upon a trained ministry. Piety without training is almost as helpless in such a work as training without piety. We need them both, a warm heart, sensitive to the touch of the Spirit, obedient to the call of duty and the obligation of truth and righteousness, and an alert and vigorous mind, trained in the best training of the schools, furnished with the best knowledge of the time and awake to the movements which are stirring modern society, such a heart and such a mind in one who understands by vigorous study and sympathetic contact the men and women he is trying to help. Only such men can save the church in this day when everything must prove its right to be, not only by an appeal to what it has done but by its ability to meet the present needs of the time. Where such men are at the helm we need not fear any estrangement between education and the church, but we shall find them united in hearty co-operation, each helping each to accomplish the great work which has been given to each to do, the development of mankind at last into the measure of the stature of the perfect humanity.

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(Continued on inside of back cover.)

LITERATURE AS A FORCE IN CHARACTER BUILDING.*

EDWARD S. PARSONS.

If I were to ask you what are the two subjects in education which are stirring the most interest to-day the world over, I feel sure that all who are qualified to speak would say, industrial education and moral training. And if I should question you still further, I think you would agree with me also that at bottom these two subjects are really one, that the first is fundamentally a part of the second. For in emphasizing with steadily increasing earnestness the need of industrial training, we are not seeking merely to supply a commercial demand, but are realizing that the school has not yet solved the problem of how to hold the student until its full influence upon him can be exerted, until he is fully developed to meet the opportunities and the tests which await him. In the recently issued report of the International Committee on Moral Training edited by Professor Sadler of the University of Manchester, Professor William James of Harvard was asked the following question by the committee: "If you had a free hand, what reform would you introduce in courses of study, or in educational organizations, or otherwise, in order to increase the ethical efficiency of school training?" His answer was: "I should increase enormously the amount of manual or motor training relatively to the book work and not let the latter predominate until the age of fifteen or sixteen." In short, Professor James says, to train the children in morals, give them industrial education, rudimentary in the early years, advanced as they grow to larger views and opportunities.

*An address delivered before the English section of the Colorado Teachers' Association, December 30, 1908.

The subject of moral training is a comparatively new one in the educational circles of America. As a speaker upon the platform of the N. E. A. last summer (1908) said: "In running through the annual reports (of the N. E. A.) one soon discovers a surprising dearth of matter on the teaching of morals." The very appearance of his subject on the programme, *Moral Training an Essential Factor in Elementary School Work*, he said was "a confession of neglect in previous years to give the teaching of morals the attention due to such a vital interest to education and democracy." But this neglect, in intelligent quarters, is a thing of the past. "The organization two years ago in London of an International Committee on Moral Training, the cordial hearing given this committee by the National Education Association a year ago, the special investigation of the problem of systematic moral instruction in public schools undertaken by the Association, for which a generous appropriation was made, the establishment of an executive office in Chicago by the International Committee, and the employment of a number of experts gathering statistics as to the best work being done along the line of moral training in the schools of eight European countries, indicate an awakening of interest in the subject greater than at any previous time in the history of education in this country." (Proceedings of the N. E. A. 1908, pp. 563, 564.)

I might add, also, that the recent session of the Religious Education Association, that rapidly developing influence in America, was largely devoted to the study of the same problems.

In moral training there are two things to be sought after:

- (1) The quickening in the individual of adequate ideals of life.
- (2) The formation in him of right moral habits.

There is a danger in all training that we shall be satisfied with the external thing. In the studies of moral training thus

far published there is a perfectly necessary emphasis on the cultivation of the child in moral habits. Most of the habits specified the teacher has always, indirectly at least, sought to cultivate—punctuality, neatness, cleanliness, orderliness, self-control, patience, perseverance, industry, generosity, respect, loyalty, reverence. But we are sometimes tempted to forget that the quality of these habits is to be gauged by the ideals which are behind them. The habit will eventually become what the ideal is which controls it. The stability of the habit is thus dependent upon its ideal content. The danger always is that after we have formed, in a more or less mechanical way, the moral habit we neglect to fill it with the ideal element upon which its quality, its stability and its effectiveness really depend.

The question then which confronts us is how shall we secure this training in the ideal elements of a moral life. How shall we build in the child this ideal substructure of the character habits. Here we reach the theme for discussion—by a very circuitous route, I fear you will think. But having reached it I feel sure you will agree with me when I say that there are few influences more potent in the development of this ideal element in human character than the influence of literature. We should be exaggerating its importance if we should give it the first place. Religion, the touch of human personality upon the spirit, in some cases the close association with nature, these we must realize are still more potent influences in quickening the ideal element in the child mind. But literature does not lag far behind. Its contribution is large and influential. It is interesting to see how widely this fact is recognized. In the valuable report from which I have already quoted, that of the International Committee on Moral Training, almost everyone who touches this phase of the subject at all bears witness to the effectiveness of literature on this side of moral development. In the reports from headmasters of English elementary schools in small towns

and country districts on moral instruction and training, "Scripture, history (especially biography) and literature" (the first and third are really one) "are most frequently mentioned as being of the highest ethical value." Among the teachers and managers of public elementary schools in large English cities, the report says, "literature takes first place as a medium of ethical instruction." Among the Welsh schools teachers have the same experience, "Next to Scripture . . . good poetry is of the greatest ethical value to Welsh pupils." The French and German teachers unite in the same testimony. "We" (in Norway) one report reads, "have no more excellent means of deepening the ethical consciousness of the pupils than the mother tongue and its literature." Switzerland, too, emphasizes the value of literature upon morals, and our American contributors to this study bear witness to the almost universal use of the best works of English and native authors in the ethical culture of the child in our schools.

Such being the universal testimony, what, we may next ask, are some of the ideals which good literature helps to plant and cultivate in the child nature. First and foremost we should place ideals of personal aspiration. Especially in the adolescent period the child feels a sense of dissatisfaction, a desire to grope after and attain something not yet reached, with seeming inconsistency also feeling illimitable power to attain the unattained. This aspiration and longing good literature can meet and purify and enoble. It can set the affections on the best things. It can cultivate too the moral judgment, helping the mind to discriminate between the evil, the good and the best. It can cultivate the sympathies, those unions in us of the imagination and the emotions. It can give the sense of brotherhood, of the essential humanity of every human being in every class. It can inspire the desire to be helpful to all human need, the ideal of a genuine life of service, and so lead the mind out into an understanding and appreciation of those motives which underlie the best phil-

anthropy and all those movements which seek the betterment of man in all conditions the world over. It can inspire those ideals which are the parent of the civic consciousness, of patriotism and that still more comprehensive spirit which is beginning to gain ascendancy in our time which realizes that God has made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth, and which someday is to disarm the nations and unite them in real co-operation for the higher ends of humanity.

Am I drawing an imaginary picture? I wonder if there are not some of you at least who have had something of this experience. If you will pardon a personal word—I never can forget the time (or the place, for that matter) when I was introduced by a college classmate to Lowell. It was only to

“The snow had begun in the gloaming,”

but it started me reading the poet who became one of the great inspirations of my life. I can never repay my debt to him for the ideals which he transferred to me of the worth of common manhood and the homely virtues, of the imperishableness and victorious power of real righteousness, of the duty of the strong to help the weak, of the glory and the beauty of a country which one can love and serve and die for. And then later in life the same friend opened the pages of Browning for me and gave me a new insight into the unseen but most potent spiritual forces, into those “truths that perish never,” that the worth of a soul is not to be tested by deeds but by ambitions and aspirations, that nothing that is good in this world is ever lost, that love is the greatest thing in this world and in all worlds, that a future life is the gladdest fact in a world overflowing with gladness, that no matter what seems, God is, and that because He is in his heaven, all’s right with the world. How can we estimate what we owe to the great poets! The story, the biography can give us the ideal content of life, but great poetry is the concentrated solution of ideals.

In it, to change the figure to one of Milton's, is the life blood of master spirits treasured up for a life, for manifold lives, beyond their life.

I have said that habit tends to become dry and unprofitable, at last to disintegrate, if not filled with the ideal. It is equally true that the ideal tends always to realize itself in the actual. In all genuine literature the ideal is so presented that it stirs the emotions and calls forth love. And what we really love, we become like. And so great literature tends to reproduce its spirit in habit—not formally and mechanically but according to the laws of growth. Beholding as in a mirror the glory of the ideal, we are changed by slow but certain development into likeness to the ideal. The ideal takes possession of the mind and the soul and works itself out into face and form and word and act. "A sainted soul," Emerson once wrote, "is always elegant," and in like manner a soul that has really learned to love great books and great poems has a saintliness of the inner nature which by the working of inevitable law will pervade and permeate the outward form and will transform the whole being and the whole life into the measure and the stature of the ideal.

It is time to turn to a few practical suggestions. In the first place, the teacher must set before himself this ideal of making literature contribute in a natural way to the building up of character and must therefore learn to select what shall best meet the need. The merely esthetic literature is hollow and motiveless. We must, on the other hand, seek, not the book or the poem which will moralize, but that which will in its whole texture and spirit illustrate the great truth and the great law we are seeking to enforce. Jesus did not, at least often, draw any moral from his parables. He told the story of the Good Samaritan, of the Publican and the Pharisee, of the Lost Son, and let the exquisite presentation of what was in his mind, so wonderful in literary finish as well as in depth and reach of thought and sympathy, carry its own lesson, enforce

its own moral. Let us use the Bible—our greatest literary deposit—and all the other great literature at hand in the same way, wisely choosing what will do the best work and then leaving it to do that work unaided.

(2) The teacher should avoid suffocating the ideal in literature with fact—to use Lowell's figure. We emphasize this often but it cannot be urged too often. Literature is not to be made the vehicle of the sciences, of geography and history and every species of instruction in the fact, unless we are ready to commit a crime both against art and against the child. Give the child the real treasure of the poem or the prose bit, its ideal quality, its imaginative and emotional reach and impulse. Only thus can it do its ethical work.

(3) The teacher must seek in every way to kindle interest in good reading. *Interest* is the supreme thing to be sought after; all else must be subordinate to it. The greatest work of the English teacher—the greatest work of the school in my judgment—is to stimulate and cultivate the love of good books. A friend of mine, a man of keen insight, once made the remark: "I have little fear of the future of the boy who has learned to love good books." Certainly no one can estimate their ethical influence. Negatively, they will keep the boy or the man from the power of much of the evil about him. Filling his mind with good they leave little place for the entrance of the evil. And positively, they will develop in him deeper knowledge, greater earnestness and wider sympathies, a keener appreciation of moral values, more insight into the deeper problems of life, more of an impulse and a longing which is the test of life because it is the beginning of new life.

(4) The teacher should help store the memories of pupils with good literature, especially with good poetry. Such a possession may not be appreciated at the time it is received, but later on it will become a priceless treasure. No one of us but regrets that he did not at the time when his memory was

easily impressed store it more fully with the great thoughts and feelings of the world as expressed in verse. Let us do what we can to prevent the children who are passing through our schoolrooms from having in manhood and womanhood the same vain regret.

And now as I close, let me say in the words of another what was said in this section last year on another theme: "Here as elsewhere the teacher's own insight and the height and reality of her ideal, supply this motive power."* No one can teach literature and no one can transfer to a child mind the ideal content of any great bit of literature and make it a moulding force in the child's character development who has not personal ideals and moral aspirations. So I call us all once more to pay more earnest heed to our own personal ideal, that those who look up to us from the pupil's desks may also be sanctified in the outer and in the inner life by the power of the ideals that dwell in us. Phillips Brooks once defined preaching as the passage of truth through personality. In this respect teaching and preaching are the same. There can be no real teaching of the essential things in literature except as these deeper elements are apprehended in their power and spiritual significance by the teacher himself, and then passed on to those whom he teaches by the contagion of his own conviction, his own enthusiasm, his own loyal devotion.

* Report on Moral Training, I. 187-8.

HOMES THAT MAKE CRIMINALS.*

EDWARD S. PARSONS.

We are gathered together in this conference to study methods of child saving. There is only one theme before us, and in the great field of what is technically known as "Charity and Correction," there can be no greater theme—except one. To save implies the need of saving, a condition out of which we seek to rescue the individual, man or woman, boy or girl. There is one thing better than to save, that is to prevent. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." How to keep a child from going wrong is a far more vital question than how to turn him back after he has started in the wrong path. How to prevent a person from becoming a criminal, that is the profoundest theme in the great field of "Charity and Correction."

How are criminals made? Some by heredity—not so many probably as we have often thought, but many. The congenital degenerate—the man or the woman who is a criminal from birth—this is not an unheard-of being. But, unlike the poet, the criminal is usually not born but made. For the most part, it is environment which makes or unmakes men or women. The criminal is usually the product of the evil influences which mass together in what we call "the street," or of the surroundings of the home which is no home, but merely a place of eating and sleeping, or, alas! sometimes of the home which is in any respects a real home but which has in it certain conditions which aid in releasing the evil that is in child nature, and in suffocating, or starving, the good without which no normal child comes into the world.

It is of some of these conditions in homes which in many

*The presidential address at the Colorado Conference of Charities and Corrections, March 1, 1903.

respects are real homes that I wish to speak to-night. Were I to talk of the evil influences of homes which are no homes, I should be talking to an audience which is out of sight and out of hearing. We have, with hardly any exceptions, come out of homes which in many respects have been real homes to us—protection, care, love, present in varying degrees, but really present. I want to speak of certain influences, actively or passively at work in many such homes which tend to make criminals of the children in them, influences which may be checked short of this result, but which if allowed to do their perfect and logical work would degrade the children of the home to the level of the criminal character and the criminal lot.

What is the essence of the criminal nature? It is unquestionably the spirit of lawlessness. The first meaning the dictionary gives of the adjective criminal is "contrary to law." When a man or a child becomes a law unto himself, when he ceases to know the meaning of obedience, and refuses to follow any regulations but the whim of his own unregulated spirit, when he breaks the restraints rightly put about him by those to whom he ought to be in the subjection of authority or of love, he becomes *ipso facto* a criminal; he has taken his first steps in that path which will lead him, unless some good influence draws him aside from it, straight to the disgrace and the ignomy of the man whom the law of the land brands with that blighting name. He is a criminal at heart, though he may never become one in the eyes of the law, which are blind to all but surface facts.

In an article published sometime ago in one of our weekly papers, the author of John Ward, Preacher, Mrs. Margaret Deland, discusses in a spirit meant to be comforting, what she calls "The New Obedience." "'What can I do about it?' cries a despairing mother; 'my daughter won't listen to anything I say!' 'That boy of mine,' vociferates an angry and mortified father, 'is an unlicked cub. I can't do anything with him!' And father and mother suffer together, some-

times in bitter recriminations, sometimes in miserable sympathy; but saying over and over, 'We can't do anything about it; the children simply won't obey.'" And then she describes "the girls who swagger along the streets with loud talk and loud dress, the flirting, giggling, idle girls;" and "the boys who begin to smoke at twelve, who hang about pool rooms at fifteen, and 'see life' long before they are twenty"—and declares that they "are not necessarily the children of base or neglectful parents." She traces the cause back to the new spirit of the age, the demand for personal liberty, and she says the time has gone by when authority can reign in the home life, that "instead must come something quite different—the fair presentation of a reason—the calm, clear explanation—then personal liberty is given its opportunity! Will the soul take it? In other words will the boy behave himself? Sometimes; oftener and oftener, as he exercises this new dangerous and divine prerogative of choice. But what a new obedience it is!" "But if he will not take the right choice," she goes on to say, "let him take the consequences," and she proceeds to emphasize, as she closes the article, "the right of the individual to work out his own salvation; by suffering and by sinning, too, if it is necessary, and by self restraint!"

What Mrs. Deland says is very plausible, and no doubt momentarily comforting to those who realize what a hopeless wreck they have made of their responsibilities. But under the veneer of plausibility, her words contain what, in my humble judgment, is crass, sentimental nonsense. They remind one of the old priest Eli's words when he was told of the punishment soon to come upon his wicked sons whom he had failed to restrain from their wickedness. "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good." For what is liberty? We need not be told that the only liberty that means anything and is worth anything is based upon, and is the expression of, law. Liberty which has not its roots in obedience is not liberty but is license and lawlessness. Mrs. Deland has mis-

used the word. Love which does not, in the home or out of it, command obedience, is not love at all but is weak sentimentalism. For love as well as liberty is founded upon law, and the spirit which seeks in the name of love to substitute for discipline in the home a wishy-washy reign of influence is seeking to build the structure of a human character without laying a foundation stone. Phillips Brooks once said, "A hard theology is bad, but a soft theology is worse." A hard home discipline which compels obedience with frown and threat and rod is bad, but a mushy home-training, which dissolves in tears and sighs and soft answers, which leaves the boy or girl to obey or not to obey according as the spirit of wilfulness may dictate, is far worse, and is a most potent influence in the development of a lawlessness which is incipient criminality, criminality in the germ.

A mother in tears said to Mr. Brockway of the Elmira Reformatory, "Please be easy on Willie, please be easy on Willie. He has always had this habit of taking things, ever since he was a little boy." "No, Madam," replied the wise warden, "No, Madam, God helping me, I will *not* be easy on Willie."

Criminality may thus come out of a flabby, invertebrate home discipline. It may also be the result of over-wrought, and consequently weakened nerves. We hear much, in these days of child study and the psychology of adolescence, of the intensity of the nervous and emotional life of the years between thirteen and eighteen. The nature boils and seethes with new feelings, with vague, unexplained longings, with the turbulence of new passions seeking to express themselves and struggling against restraint. To keep all this sea of battling waves back there is needed the strongest possible masonry of unimpaired physical health and of a steady, unjaded nervous system. How often just here is the breach made. Some weakness of the physical powers, some nervous flaw, is the spot where the beating intensity of passion finds its opportunity.

and in a moment all is lost. Therefore, anything which tends to weaken the physical nature, to break down or undermine nervous energy, is the ally of temptation in its assaults upon the boy or the girl in this stormy time, and is helping to hurry the child on in the road toward criminality. Permitted indiscretions in food, irregularity in habits, loss of sleep, indulgences to humor the child or his parents—these all have their bearing on the moral life of the man or the woman. I have no patience with the theory that a child should be grown-up before he really begins life, that he should at the earliest possible opportunity eat the food his elders eat, share their amusements with them, be present at their social festivities, ape their parties even to their late hours and their elaborate refreshments. John Fiske has shown conclusively in several of his books that the higher the organism in the scale of evolution, the longer the period of infancy. The amoeba in the swamp has no period of infancy; the new being begins the life of the adult as soon as it leaves the mass of the parent. With man, the most highly organized of all beings on earth, the period of infancy is longest. And what is true of the physical life is true of the social as well. All other things being equal, it is the man or the woman who is longest a child who has the most complete personality in after years. For the choicest possession capable of being hoarded in the silent years of infancy and adolescence is nervous force. It is the human electricity, accumulated in the storage batteries of the brain, ready for the heavy drafts of power sure to come in the years of labor and responsibility. No child can live a grown-up life before sixteen or eighteen or twenty and store up a full quota of this vital energy. No normal child who keeps late hours can store it up. Nothing breaks down nervous strength so quickly as loss of sleep. Keep a mature person without sleep and he will in time go mad. Deprive a child of his natural sleep and he, too, will in time go mad; little by little the nervous system will be undermined and fall in ruins, dragging often the moral nature with it.

"But they are children only once; let them have a good time while they are young," say the fond parents, and as a result there is, for example, not once in a while, but often, the school dance, with its accompaniment of late hours, and irregularity of eating, and its complete disarrangement of the intellectual life of the child. "Yes, they are children only once," and they have a right to the peace and quiet of childhood years. They have a right to be shielded as long as possible from the nervous strain of our over-wrought American life. If they are not so shielded, no one need be surprised to hear that in a moment of unusual stress and excitement, the will gave way because the nervous energy behind it was exhausted, and the girl stepped outside the bounds of right and honor, and became a besmirched woman, that the boy broke the law of the land, and at the same time broke his father's and his mother's heart.

Criminality, as I have said, is largely a matter of environment, and it is true that many homes which could provide a good environment, have failed to do so through thoughtlessness, carelessness, absence of the sense of responsibility, unwillingness to give up selfish ease and make the sacrifice necessary to achieve the result. So the child goes out of its home to seek its amusements and companionships elsewhere, and too often finds them in the midst of evil surroundings which lead along the criminal way. "Children are noisy and they wear out carpets and injure furniture, but I should rather have them try my own nerves" says a wise mother, "and make it necessary to spend money on new carpets and repairs than to have them go elsewhere for their pleasure where I do not know what they are doing or what influences are about them." And another says, "Children in their play litter up the yard so that it cannot be kept neat, but I should rather have the neighborhood come to my yard and make it untidy than to have my boys go straying about into other people's yards." The mother or the father who is happiest when the child is

out of sight is not likely to be of much use in providing the proper home environment for the child. And so he races the streets, home only for his meals and to sleep, a little waif, homeless, almost an orphan. Does it not make your heart ache to go along the streets in the late evening and see children playing under the electric lamp, or darting in and out of the shadows of the houses in their play? For no one who thinks can fail to understand the protection there is in the sunlight, and how great temptations assail the unwary and the thoughtless under the cover of the darkness. How criminal is the negligence of the father and the mother who do not provide the right attractions at home for their children because they themselves are so deeply immersed in business, or the lodge, or society, that they have no time for the discharge of the greatest duties which ever came to any human being. No children belonging to homes of the sort about which we are talking to-night need run the streets after dark if the right spirit is in the father or mother. Books, wisely chosen and read aloud, are an unfailing source of magnetic influence. Then there are games and music. An hour of reading or home play, then bed and a long night's refreshing sleep—these are among the greatest safeguards of young life up to the close of the adolescent period. It is a sad thing for a child if he has a father or a mother too tired or too selfish to give at the end of the day, the most impressible hour in the twenty-four, the time and the energy sufficient to throw about him this safeguard of parental interest and affection. To take any other course is to banish all safeguards and to permit unchecked the growth of the germs of the criminal life.

Once more, criminality, I have said, is the result of the lawless spirit. I have been speaking of passive influences in the modern home which permit its development. Let me speak of one positive influence too often present and active toward such evil courses. Many homes especially in this frontier civilization of ours have been wrecked by the work of

our divorce courts. We talk of the evils of polygamy in Utah, but we wink at polygamy in our midst, tandem polygamy as some one called it. The divorce mill exists mainly for the encouragement of lust. I can sympathize with the vestryman in one of the Chicago Episcopal churches, a man who had held his office for years and was perhaps the most respected member of that great church, who when he learned that his daughter was to marry a man who had allowed the wandering eyes of his lust to fall upon her and had through the laxity of one of our Colorado courts secured a divorce from his lawful wife that he might make another legally his paramour, called together the rest of the vestry of the church and placed in their hands his resignation, saying that he could never hold up his head again before them with such a blot on his family life. Thank God for his honesty and for his belief in right and goodness! But the worst work of the divorce mill is not the brutalizing of those who resort to it nor the broken hearts of those who are wronged by it. It is a Moloch to whose deadly embrace the little children are thrown. They are the victims. They see the brute in man and woman. They live in an atmosphere of bitter cynicism, jealousy, hatred, and, alas, too often their lives are blasted. The divorce mill with its easy attractiveness robs them of love and home and all the sweet influences which belong to childhood, and which are the only perfect antiseptic against the deadly infection of evil. How often, only those most intimately acquainted with the facts can tell us, does the work of the divorce mill find its completion in the records of the juvenile court, or the industrial school, or the charity hospital. To protect the children and keep them from criminal lives, therefore, if for no other reason, let us put ourselves squarely on the side of the best public opinion of the country and abolish as far as possible the divorce mill. Let us do our best to help educate men and women in love and self-restraint until the ape and the tiger die out of them. Let us lend our aid to all who are trying to banish from

human life sensuality and the reign of the other most brutal and heartless passions, and to bring in the day of unselfishness and self-control, of faith and hope and love.

As I close, I come back to the point from which I started. There are many children lost, wandering in the mazes of the world's temptations and sins, gone astray many of them through ignorance of the world's ways, through the strength of inherited passions. Let us do what we can to save them, imitating the example of Him who braved the storm on the mountains that He might bring home the one sheep that had wandered from the fold. But it is better to prevent than to save. Let us call for higher ideals of home life, for a deeper sense of responsibility on the part of those to whom God has given the greatest of all gifts, a little child. Let it be known and realized in every American home that there is no service more divine, more worth the doing, than rearing to a noble manhood or womanhood a little child. Better than to win a great fortune, or to write a great book, or to be known and talked about as a social or a political success—better than all this is it to be a good father or a good mother.

JONSON AND MILTON ON SHAKESPEARE.*

EDWARD S. PARSONS.

In his notes upon Milton's poem, "On Shakespeare, 1630," Prof. David Masson remarks:

One might almost suppose, from the wording of these lines, that there was a proposal, in or about 1630, to erect a London monument to Shakespeare. It may be, however, that Milton had no such suggestion to move him, but merely thought for himself that Shakespeare did not need a monument. (Cambridge Edition, Milton's "Poems." III, 162.)

Indefatigable student though he was, Professor Masson seems never to have noticed—nor, as far as I can discover, has any one after him pointed out—the interesting parallelism between this poem by Milton and lines 19-24 of Ben Jonson's, "To the Memory of my Beloved Master, William Shakespeare." Jonson's verses were prefixed to the First Folio of Shakespeare's works, Milton's to the Second Folio, which appeared nine years later. For comparison I place the lines together:

JONSON.

My Shakespeare, rise! I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
A little further off, to make thee room:
Thou art a monument without a tomb,
And art alive still, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read and praise to give.

MILTON.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in piled stones?
Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
Under a star-pointing pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart

*Reprinted from the *Nation* of November 12, 1908.

Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
 Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
 Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
 Dost make us marble with too much conceiving,
 And so sepulhred in such pomp dost lie
 That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

It will be noticed that Milton's poem is in the same metre as that of Jonson's, the heroic couplet. The address to the poet is the same in each, "My Shakespeare." And the subject is the same in each, the most fitting "monument"—the same word being used in each poem—for Shakespeare. Jonson affirms that the poet is "a monument without a tomb," alive still in his living book, and in the appreciation and praise of his readers. Milton asserts that, though Shakespeare is dead—thus correcting Jonson—yet he is not in need of any such "weak witness of his fame" as a memorial of "piled stones," but that he has built for himself "a livelong monument" in the "wonder and astonishment" of those who read him, bereaving them of their fancy in such a way as to make them "marble with too much conceiving," and so to lie

sepulhred in such pomp
 That Kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

Such being the striking parallels between the two poems, it seems to the writer that the probable origin of Milton's lines was as follows: Milton, in looking over the First Folio, came upon Jonson's verses. As he read them, his own imagination kindled and he developed his own poetic conception, which he felt to be an advance upon Jonson's and to put the truth more accurately than his. When it became known that a second edition of Speakspeare's plays was to be issued, Milton sent the lines to the editors in the hope that they might have the same place in the new edition which had been occupied, in the earlier volume, by the poem which had suggested them.

Whether all this be true or not, it seems at least probable that Jonson should have the credit of inspiring the later and greater poet.

ROUSSEAU AND WORDSWORTH.

HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE.

Everywhere in Wordsworth we find resemblances in thought and feeling to Rousseau; nowhere does Wordsworth make any acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the "father of romanticism." So far as I know, he never even mentions Rousseau's name. At first sight this neglect seems strange; but the reasons are not far to seek. First and most important is the fact that Wordsworth got his Rousseau mostly at second or third hand. When Wordsworth was growing up, Rousseau's ideas and feelings were common property; they were, as M. Legouis* says, in the air all over Europe. Cowper, who influenced Wordsworth as strongly as any English poet influenced him, had embodied many of the ideas of the *Emile* in his *Tirocinium*. Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*, who proclaimed Rousseau the first of the human race, tried to conform his life in all respects to the principles of the master, and what is more, obliged his wife to model herself on the principles of Rousseau's heroine Sophie. Richard Edgeworth, Day's friend and the father of the celebrated authoress, came in 1771 to present to Rousseau his six-year old son, whom he had brought up scrupulously in accordance with the *Emile*, and had made an ideal young savage of marvelous strength and agility, bold and generous. This boy never knew what it was to obey; he became absolutely intractable, and refused obstinately to do anything he didn't like—that is to say, any kind of work whatever. The poet James Beattie proved to his son the existence of God by sowing cress in rows which made the initials of the child's name, and causing him to remark that such a combination

*Emile Legouis: *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth*.

could not be accidental.”* This expedient is recommended by Rousseau in the *Emile*. M. Legouis goes on to show that Southey was brought up on the principles of the *Emile*; that Lamb, Lloyd, Poole and Hazlitt were enthusiastic admirers of Rousseau, and that William Godwin, whose *Inquiry into Political Justice* strongly influenced Wordsworth, was an ardent disciple of Rousseau, and went so far as to declare that “in spite of a perpetual mingling of absurdity and error, the *Emile* is the principal reservoir of philosophic truth now existing in the world.”†

Clearly Wordsworth could hardly have escaped the indirect influence of Rousseau; how far he escaped direct influence is another question. The *Emile* and the *Confessions* were in his library;‡ and there is fairly good evidence that he read at least the *Emile*. In his *Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*, he quotes one or two famous sentences from the *Social Contract*.

“Tout homme né dans l’esclavage naît pour l’esclavage, rien n’est plus certain; les esclaves perdent tout dans leurs fers, jusqu’au désir d’en sortir; ils aiment leur servitude, comme les compagnons d’Ulysse aimaient leur abrutissement.”

This, according to Professor Caird, is the only direct quotation Wordsworth ever made from Rousseau; it seems sufficient, however, to show that he had read the *Social Contract*. It is safe to say that if in his ardent youth he ever opened that work of “inflamed geometry,” with its brilliant and false generalizations, its zeal for liberty and equality, its superficial appeal to the reason, and its profound appeal to the passions, he did not lay it down unread. *A priori*, there would be strong probability that he would read the *Social Contract*; this probability, re-enforced by his quotation, amounts to proof. *A priori*, there would be a strong improbability that he would read the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. The descendant of Cumbrian

*La Jeunesse de Wordsworth, p. 57.

†La Jeunesse de Wordsworth, p. 58. ‡Idem. p. 59, footnote.

yeomen might have been deeply stirred by the impassioned logic of democracy in the *Social Contract*; probably he would have been equally deeply disgusted with the impassioned rhetoric of sentimentality in Saint-Preux and Julie. He himself could write passionately of liberty; he could not write passionately of love. Rousseau's fiery hyperbole would have seemed to him even false than it does to us. Wordsworth's stern morality would have rebelled against the glorification of the reformed harlot, of whom the heroine says: "She is a hundred times more to be respected than if she had never been guilty." Still less would he have sympathized with the heroine herself who, having yielded her virtue to her lover and afterward dutifully married the man designated by her father, says with satisfaction: "I have done what I ought; my virtue remains unstained, and my love without remorse . . . I even honor myself for the past." Of the four great books of Rousseau, then, it seems pretty certain that Wordsworth read the *Social Contract*, probable that he read the *Emile*, not unlikely by that he read the *Confessions*, and improbable that he read the *Nouvelle Heloise*. As we have seen, the data are extremely few; it appears that the direct and immediate influence of Rousseau upon Wordsworth is so slight as to be practically negligible.

This, then, is the first and more important reason why Wordsworth so completely ignores his great predecessor. The second has already been hinted at in what has been said of the *Nouvelle Heloise*. Whatever may have been the intellectual relationship of Wordsworth to Jean Jacques, it is clear that the two men were temperamentally antipathetic. The cold moral purity of the Englishman could never have tolerated the erotic sensibility, the "burning sensuality" of the Genevese. He would have shrunk from it as from the plague. The erotic visions which Jean Jacques calls celestial, he would have described by the opposite epithet. He would have been even more revolted by Rousseau's occasional indecency and his

morbid exhibitionism. Rousseau's abandonment of his children must have been in Wordsworth's eyes an unpardonable offense, aggravated, if possible, by the sophistical defense in the *Confessions*, where the philosopher tells us that in placing his newborn children in the public almshouse he regarded himself as a member of Plato's Republic. Wordsworth himself tells us in his *Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns*, that it would slightly disturb his pleasure, even in the works of the greatest writers, to know that they were bad men: how much more "with that class of poets, the principal charm of whose writings depends upon the familiar knowledge they convey of the personal feelings of their authors." Rousseau above all others belongs to that class; his works cannot possibly be separated from himself; everywhere they are highly subjective. We have seen that Wordsworth must have held the man Rousseau in horror; it is not strange, then, that he never mentions the name or the books of Rousseau.

Yet, as M. Legouis says, "without his ever saying it, and whether he wishes or no, Wordsworth is, in fact, full of Rousseau." We have seen that he was "on all sides surrounded by disciples and admirers of Jean Jacques;" even without this, "his work alone would suffice to reveal to us the influence exerted on him by the Genevese philosopher—perhaps the greatest influence which he felt; the more profound because it can not be localised in any one part of his work, nor in one period of his life, but is everywhere." This influence is not less, but greater, because it came indirectly, as part of Wordsworth's intellectual inheritance.

Perhaps the most obvious point of similarity between Wordsworth and Rousseau is their belief in the natural goodness of man. They both reject the doctrine of original sin: man is naturally good, and the closer he has kept to nature the less he has been corrupted. A score of passages illustrating this belief might easily be quoted from each writer. I shall cite only two or three. In the second book of *Emile*

Rousseau writes: "Let us lay it down as an incontestable maxim that the first instincts (*mouvements*) of nature are always right; there is no original perversity in the human heart; not a single vice can be found there of which we cannot tell how and where it entered." Similarly in Book IV, the Savoyard Vicar tells us that to do right we need only follow our instincts: "I have only to consult myself as to what I am to do: all that I feel is good, is good; all that I feel is evil, is evil." He goes on to prove at some length that a certain love of goodness and nobility is innate in men, and seems to think he has proved thereby that goodness is innate. In the *Confessions* Rousseau makes a similar mistake: "Up to this time I had been good; henceforth I become virtuous, *or at least intoxicated with virtue.*" The Savoyard Vicar's conclusion is: "There is therefore in the foundation of our souls an innate principle of justice and virtue."

Similarly in the eighth book of the *Prelude* Wordsworth speaks of "the sanctity of nature given to man," and tells us that

"The human form
To me became an index of delight,
Of grace and honour, power and worthiness."

Man is "instinct with godhead;" not even the misery of London, he says,

"could overthrow my trust
In what we may become."

Even after the disillusionment brought by the outcome of the Revolution, he tells us:

"Also about this time did I receive
Convictions still more strong than heretofore
Not only that the inner frame is good
And graciously composed, but that no less
Nature for all conditions wants not power
To consecrate, if we have eyes to see,
The outside of her creatures."

In the *Recluse*, after speaking of the goodness and beauty of the world, he writes:

“We shall moreover find
(If sound, and what we ought to be, ourselves,
If rightly we observe, and justly weigh)
The inmates not unworthy of their home,
The Dwellers of their Dwelling.”

From this belief that man is naturally good, there follows plausibly admiration and love for the man who is nearest to the ideal natural man—the peasant. Wordsworth's love of the peasant is too well known to need illustration: it is the source and inspiration of a great part of his poetry: including most of the *Lyrical Ballads*. In Rousseau it is certainly less important and probably less sincere. It is a part of his protest against the social conventions of his time. Thus in the *Confessions* he tells how, after boring himself by taking lunch at the chateau of the Montmorency to please Madame de Luxembourg, he came back with delight to sup with the mason Pilleu and his humble household. In *Emile* he tells us that he will choose his pupil from the rich: “we shall thus be certain that we have made one more man, whereas he who is poor can become a man by himself.” The “natural education” of the poor man will “render him fit for all human conditions.” Wordsworth's love of the peasantry is of course much more than a mere reactionary admiration. He loves them because he has been brought up among them and knows them. Even as a boy he felt the poetry and mystery of the shepherd's life.

“A rambling schoolboy thus
I felt his presence in his own domain
As of a lord and master, or a power
Or genius, under Nature, under God
Presiding, and severest solitude
Had more commanding looks when he was there.

. . . As he stepped
Beyond the boundary line of some hill shadow

His form hath flashed upon me, glorified
 By the deep radiance of the setting sun;
 Or him have I descried in distant sky
 A solitary object and sublime
 Above all height
 Thus was man
 Ennobled outwardly before my sight."*

From this glorification of the peasant, Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction follows naturally enough. In the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* he writes: "The language of these men (peasants) is adopted . . . because such men hourly communicate with the best objects from which the best part of language is originally derived. . . . Such a language is more permanent and far more philosophical . . . than that which is frequently substituted for it by Poets." We are not now concerned with the validity or invalidity of this well-known theory, but merely with its derivation from the worship of peasant life which Wordsworth shares with Rousseau. It is interesting to note that Rousseau in the *Confessions* expresses a distaste for French poetry, on account of the conventionality of its language, and that one of the very few passages of French verse which he quotes and admires is an old peasant song which his aunt used to sing to him, and which would have delighted the heart of Wordsworth.

The love of humble life, then, in both Wordsworth and Rousseau, is deducible from their theory of the natural goodness of the human heart. Not, of course, that they first laid down the theory, and then made the application: the Frenchman might have been capable of this; but Wordsworth, like a true Englishman, certainly went from particular to general: he loved peasants before he ever formulated a theory of human goodness. In both men the theory is the philosophic basis; and for our purposes it makes little difference whether it came before or after the application. In the same way the cult of childhood in both Wordsworth and Rousseau rests back upon

*Prelude, Bk. VIII.

their belief in original goodness. Here, as in the cult of the peasant, Wordsworth goes far beyond Rousseau. Jean Jacques believes that the child's impulses are all good, because they are natural and uncorrupted by convention or civilization. He looks back upon childhood as a golden age of unconscious happiness. He loves it because it is fresh, instinctive, unspoiled: he continually reverts to its happy innocence in his reveries; he delights to recall in minute detail its incidents and adventures, even the most trivial.

"Since I have passed maturity and am declining toward old age," he says, "I feel that these recollections are being born again, while the others are effaced; and are engraving themselves in my memory with lines whose clearness and charm increase from day to day; as if, feeling my life already escaping, I were seeking to grasp it again by its beginnings. The least incidents of that time please me, only because they are of that time. I recall all the circumstances of places, times and persons. I see the maid or the valet walking about in the room, a swallow coming in at the window, a fly lighting on my hand while I was reciting my lesson; I see all the arrangements of the room we were in: M. Lambercier's desk on the right, a print representing all the popes, a barometer, a large calendar, raspberry bushes which from a high garden outside shaded the window, and sent some shoots within."* He relates in the fullest detail such incidents as the planting of a walnut tree and the building of a tiny aqueduct or canal to water it, and the theft of apples.

In all this, Wordsworth is completely at one with him. For Wordsworth, too, childhood is the golden age:

"I was the Dreamer, they the Dream."†

He takes delight in the simple instincts of the child, its freshness and naiveté, its happiness in little things. In the *Prelude* he recounts fully various happenings of his childhood,

*Confessions Bk. I †Prelude Bk. III.

and dwells fondly on them: skating, stealing bird's eggs, rowing out on the lake at evening and being terrified by the huge dark mountain, which seemed to pursue him.

"Unfading recollections! at this hour
The heart is almost mine with which I felt
The paper kite high among fleecy clouds
Pull at her rein like an impetuous courser."*

He even chronicles his childish delight in the good old game of "tit-tat-too," although the name was too much even for the Lyrical Ballad theory of diction.

"With pencil and smooth slate
In square divisions pencilled out, and all
With crosses and with cyphers scribbled o'er,
We schemed and puzzled, head opposed to head.
In strife too humble to be named in verse."†

Like Rousseau, Wordsworth takes delight in all the healthy animality and sport of childhood: but unlike Rousseau, he does not stop here. He goes on to a strange spiritualization of childhood; he venerates the child as a being fresh from the spiritual world, the possessor of mystical insight and supernatural vision. The baby in arms "holds mute dialogues with his mother's heart:" he possesses "creative sensibility;"

"Feeling hath to him imparted power
That through the growing faculties of sense
Doth, like an agent of the one great mind,
Create, creator and receiver both,
Working but in alliance with the works
Which it beholds. Such, verily, is the first
Poetic spirit of our human life."‡

Wordsworth is here a little obscure, but he evidently attributes to the infant some transcendental creative power of uncertain character. In the great Immortality Ode, he goes still further, addressing "a six years Darling of a pigmy size:"

*Prelude, Bk. I. †Idem. ‡Prelude, Bk. II.

"Thou whose exterior semblance doth belie
 Thy soul's immensity:
 Thou best philosopher, who yet dost keep
 Thy heritage, thou eye among the blind,
 That, deaf and silent, read'st the Eternal Deep,
 Haunted forever by the Eternal Mind,—
 Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
 On whom those truths do rest,
 Which we are toiling all our lives to find,
 In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave;
 Thou, over whom thy Immortality
 Broods like the day, a master, o'er a slave,
 A Presence which is not to be put by."

The magnificent poetry of this passage cannot redeem it from plain and obvious absurdity. Any healthy child of six would exchange its hopes of immortality for a new doll or a box of candy. Rousseau was a paradoxer, but he never carried paradox to this exalted height. Compare his plain account of youthful recollections in old age, quoted above, with the following lines from the ninth book of the *Excursion*:

 "Ah! why in age
 Do we revert so fondly to the walks
 Of childhood,—but that there the Soul discerns
 The dear memorial footsteps unimpaired
 Of her own native vigour; thence can hear
 Reverberations; and a choral song
 Commingling with the incense that ascends,
 Undaunted, toward the imperishable heavens,
 From her own lonely altar?"

Rousseau never transcendentalizes his emotions in this way: he loves to recall his childhood, but he does not deify it. He could never have agreed with Wordsworth that

 "Our childhood sits,
 Our simple childhood sits upon a throne
 That hath more power than all the elements."*

*Prelude, Bk. V.

Hence the difference between Rousseau and Wordsworth in educational theory. Rousseau believes that the child is naturally good, but not divine or incorruptible; he therefore wishes so far as possible to isolate him from corrupt society till he has reached years of discretion. As M. Legouis says, "he gives his confidence to the child with one hand only to take it away with the other; to preserve the child's pristine goodness he feels obliged to take the infinite precautions which the most suspicious distrust might inspire."*

Rousseau tells us in the *Emile*:

"The first education should be purely negative. It consists not in pointing out virtue or truth, but in guarding the heart from vice and the mind from error. If you (the teacher) can do nothing and let your pupil do nothing; if you can bring him sound and healthy to the age of twelve, without his knowing how to distinguish his right hand from his left, from your first lessons the eyes of his understanding will be opened to reason, . . . soon he will become in your hands the wisest of men; and beginning by doing nothing, you will have turned out a prodigy of education . . . The most useful rule of all education is not to gain time: it is to lose it."†

Rousseau wishes to "transport the child to a Utopia where nothing shall exist except for his instruction."‡

But for Wordsworth the goodness of the child is strong, active, divine; it is "a power which acts on the real world and which transmutes to good the mingled elements of which the world is composed." Hence Wordsworth has no sympathy with hothouse methods of education. In the *Prelude* he speaks scornfully of the followers of Rousseau.

"They who have the power
To manage books and things, and make them act
On infant minds as surely as the Sun
Deals with a flower.—
Sages who in their prescience would control
All accidents, and to the very road

*La Jeunesse de Wordsworth, p. 59. †Emile, Bk. II.

‡La Jeunesse de Wordsworth, p. 59. §Idem, p. 60.

Which they have fashioned, would confine us down
 Like engines: when will their presumption learn
 A wiser spirit is at work for us,
 A better eye than theirs, most prodigal
 Of blessings, and most studious of our good.”)

So Rousseau would keep the child from all books: “at twelve Emile will scarcely know what a book is.”* Wordsworth would let the child range at will in a library: books are

“Powers
 Forever to be hallowed; only less
 For what we are and what we may become
 Than Nature's self, which is the breath of God.”

To Rousseau, the purity of the child is passive and corruptible: to Wordsworth, it is active and divine.

M. Legouis has remarked that Wordsworth is almost always at one with Rousseau in fundamental principles, and at odds with him in their application. We have seen that this is true in regard to the cult of man; it is true also in regard to the cult of nature. We must admit in the first place, however, that Rousseau's love of nature is partly reactionary. He was never happy in the city; he “was able to write and think only under the open sky.”† “All the time I lived in Paris was employed in seeking means to enable me to live in the country.”‡ Like Byron he was a misanthropist, in spite of his humanitarian theories: to him, as to Byron, nature was a refuge from men. But to Rousseau nature was far more than this. His love of nature was probably intensified by his hatred of men; but it dates from his earliest years, is unquestionably spontaneous, and passionately sincere. “To see the spring-time was for me to awaken in Paradise.”‡ From the time when as a child he was sent to Bossey, he loved out-door nature. The happiest days of his life were spent at Les Charmettes, and in the various walking tours so delightfully described in the *Confessions*. “I love to walk at my

* Emile, Bk. II. † Confessions, Bk. IX. ‡ Confessions, Bk. VI.
 Prelude, Bk. V.

ease, and to stop when I choose . . . To take the road on foot, in fine weather, through a beautiful country, without haste—of all kinds of life I love that best.”* In the latter part of his life he passed two brief delightful months on the Ile de St. Pierre in the Lake of Bienné. Here he led a life much like Wordsworth’s at Grasmere, and for once realized his dreams of happiness. “They let me pass scarcely two months in that island; but I would have lived there two years, two centuries, or all eternity, and not once should I have wished for another state.”† Here he delivered himself to that delicious reverie which Sainte-Beuve calls “son Amérique à lui”—his own particular discovery. “In awakening from a long and sweet reverie, I saw myself surrounded with verdure, flowers and birds; I let my eyes wander in the distance over the romantic shores which bordered a vast stretch of clear and crystal-line water; these dear objects mingled with my dreams; and coming back by degrees to myself and my surroundings, I could not mark the line of distinction between reality and dream.”† These reveries were vague and often erotic; they had no necessary connection with his immediate surroundings. He tells us somewhere that he could have been happy with them even in the Bastille. In general, Rousseau’s love of nature is very simple; he enjoys the immediate sensations which he derives from it, without trying to philosophize them. Like Wordsworth and unlike Byron, he prefers quiet scenery; he has little to say of the higher Alps, and much of the foothills and the Swiss lakes. He loves nature for the immediate pleasure which he derives from it, and as a framework for his dreams.

Wordsworth’s love of nature is entirely spontaneous, and is not connected with any reaction from men or cities. Even London is “to him who looks in steadiness . . . sees the parts

*Confessions, Bk. IV. †Reveries, Fifth Walk.

as parts, but with a feeling of the whole,"* a part and parcel of universal nature,

"This did I feel in London's vast domain:
The spirit of nature was upon me there."†

Like Rousseau, he delights in the freedom of walking tours.

"The earth is all before me. With a heart
Joyous, nor scared at its own liberty,
I look about; and should the chosen guide
Be nothing better than a wandering cloud,
I cannot miss my way."‡

Like Rousseau again, he indulges in nature reverie; but his reveries are of a different kind. They are never erotic; they are less vague, and more thoughtful. Just as Wordsworth idealizes the peasant, and spiritualizes the child, so he philosophizes nature. It is true that the Savoyard Vicar of Rousseau declares that he finds "not only in the rolling heavens, in the star that shines upon us, but in the grazing sheep, the flying bird, the falling stone, the leaf carried by the wind . . . a supreme intelligence. . . a will puissant and wise." This is strongly suggestive of certain lines in the ninth book of the *Excursion*:

"To every form of Being is assigned
An active Principle . . . it subsists
In all things, in all natures; in the stars
Of azure heaven, the unending clouds,
In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
That paves the brooks . . . from link to link
It circulates, the Soul of all the worlds."

But there is a distinction here. The lines from the *Excursion* are pantheistic; those from the Savoyard Vicar deistic. Rousseau does not feel as Wordsworth does the immanence of a soul in Nature; but from the order of nature he deduces a governing intelligence,—a God. He does not feel in nature as Wordsworth does.

*Prelude, Bk. VII † Idem. ‡ Idem, Bk. I. Emile Bk. IV.

"A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused."

Nature is not to him as to Wordsworth.

"The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being."

In short, Rousseau's love of nature has no intimate connection with his deism; he loves nature as a refuge from men, and as a source of delicious sensation; Wordsworth loves nature as a source of healthy sensation, and as a source of spiritual strength and spiritual vision.

In his political theories, Wordsworth early felt the influence of Rousseau through Godwin. But since Wordsworth is unimportant as a political theorist, and since in later life he gradually came over into practically the conservative position of Burke, I shall not here discuss his political relationship to Rousseau.

In religion, as we have seen, Rousseau and Wordsworth have little in common. Rousseau is a sentimental deist; Wordsworth is a pantheist. They are alike only in rejecting the theology of the schools, in pleading for natural as opposed to revealed religion. "There is one book open to all eyes," says the Savoyard Vicar, "the book of nature. It is in this great and sublime book that I learn to serve and adore its divine author. No one is excusable for not reading it, because it speaks to all men in a tongue intelligible to all."* A considerable part of the fourth book of the *Excursion* might be regarded as a sermon preached on this text. But as we have seen, Nature's message to Wordsworth was not the same as her message to Rousseau. To Rousseau she meant primarily delicious sensation; to Wordsworth she meant primarily spiritual strength and light.

It is in the matter of conduct that Wordsworth is most

*Emile Bk. IV.

clearly and markedly at variance with Rousseau. Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar tells us, as we have seen, that our instincts will surely lead us aright: the individual conscience is an infallible guide. It will be worth while to compare a sentence of the Vicar's with some lines from the earlier version of the *Ode to Duty*. "Conscience! Conscience!" cries the Vicar, "divine instinct, immortal and celestial voice; sure guide of a being ignorant and hunted, who makest man like God; it is thou who makest the excellence of his nature and the morality of his actions."* Clearly the Vicar takes no account of any external obligations. Wordsworth, too, believes in the natural goodness of instinct; but he has come to see that the individual conscience must sometimes be corrected by external standards, as watches are regulated by a chronometer.

"Serene would be our days and bright,
 And happy would our nature be,
 If Love were an unerring light,
 And Joy its own security;
 And blest are they who in the main
 This creed even now do entertain,
 Do in this spirit live; yet know
That man hath other hopes; strength which elsewhere must grow,
 I, loving freedom, and untried
 No sport of every random gust,
 Yet being to myself a guide
Too blindly I reposed my trust,
 Resolved that nothing e'er should press
 Upon my present happiness,
I shov'd unwelcome tasks away;
 But henceforth I would serve more strictly, if I may.

With all this Rousseau could never have sympathized; any external obligation was intolerable to him; any question of the infallible goodness of instinct would have seemed to him blasphemy.

The currents of literary influence often flow through chan-

*Emile, Book IV.

nels obscure and difficult to trace. We have seen that it is next to impossible to prove any immediate contact of Wordsworth with Rousseau; yet the resemblances between their ideas can not be dismissed as accidental. These resemblances become more important when we remember that both men are innovators in their respective literatures, and that from each of them has sprung a new and powerful poetry, unlike anything which preceded it. To say that Wordsworth's poetry could not have come unto being if Rousseau's prose had not been written, would perhaps be rash; to say that there is no connection between them would be absurd. We can not say exactly through what channels Rousseau's ideas came to Wordsworth; we can say that Wordsworth has taken them and given to them a new and more spiritual meaning.

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134

THE SUPERNATURAL IN HAWTHORNE AND IN POE.

By BENJAMIN MATHER WOODBRIDGE.

In an interesting essay on the *Origins of Hawthorne and Poe* (1), Mr. Paul E. More finds the source of the power with which these authors treat the supernatural in the legacy bequeathed to them from Puritan ancestry. None can deny that their treatment is vastly more convincing than the crude efforts of the English or German school of horror romancers. Doubtless differences of race and environment must be taken into consideration in accounting for the superiority of the American authors in this field. Our forefathers struggled fiercely against foes seen and unseen; they had to conquer nature with her nearest children—the savages,—and after that the devil in still another guise—witchcraft and heresy. It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that the red men who held their war-dances in the dim recesses of the forest, thence to issue forth spreading fire and slaughter—a pestilence that walketh at noonday—were, for our ancestors, a tangible and visible symbol of the witches who were wont to meet Master Satan in those same solitudes and devise new mischief for the colony—a terror that walketh by night. Surely the constant dread of such enemies emphasized the sterner aspects of the religion of the Puritans, and made the spiritual world very real to them.

"Hawthorne," says Mr. More, "ascribes the superiority of nature's work over man's to the fact 'that the former works from the innermost germ, while the latter works merely superficially,' and the same explanation may be given of the genuineness of his own work and Poe's in comparison with the un-

(1) *Shelburne Essays*, First Series. New York, 1905. in 12°.

reality of Mrs. Radcliffe's or Tieck's: the weird unearthly substance moulded by their genius is from the innermost core of the national consciousness." (1)

Mr. More's criticism of Hawthorne is not new: it is generally agreed that by ancestry, temperament and environment, Hawthorne was admirably qualified for the sympathetic understanding of Puritan life and ideals. Taken as a whole, his creative work might be called the spiritual epic of that New England which he knew and loved so well. Scott and his disciples had revealed to what good purpose history, made picturesquely real and living again, could be used in fiction. In his Scotch novels Sir Walter had shown the artistic possibilities of a vivid and sympathetic portrayal of national life: Cooper, following Scott's methods, had written the romance of the American forests, and if he is concerned with little but flesh and blood adventure, Brockden Brown, under the influence of the English "horror school," had thrown a halo of the weird and supernatural over stories of American life. Hawthorne knew how to portray Puritan character in its simple grandeur. He is himself a part of it: Puritan blood is flowing in his veins, Puritan environment has shaped his thought. Furthermore he is a consummate artist, both of technique and style. 'Tis a far cry from Scott to the historical fiction of Mlle. de Scudéri and her group: it is no less far from Hawthorne to the Gothic romance of the eighteenth century.

He is well aware that the sources of his inspiration and of his strength come from his native hills. "In the little tale which follows," he says in the opening paragraph of *The Three Fold Destiny*, "a subdued tinge of the wild and wonderful is thrown over a sketch of New England personages and scenery, yet, it is hoped, without entirely obliterating the sober lines of nature. Rather than a story of events claiming to be real, it may be considered as an allegory, such as the writers of the last century would have expressed in the shape of an eastern tale, but

(1) *Shelburne Essays*, First Series—pp. 52, 53.

to which I have endeavored to give a more life-like warmth than could be infused into those fanciful productions." This is the story of a man, who, having in youth conceived that a great future lay before him, spent his life wandering through foreign lands in search of it, but found it only on his return to his native village. Is there not here, as elsewhere, for example in *The Great Stone Face*, a conscious hostile criticism of those, who, blind to the poetry and romance of their own lands, or of nature and life itself, must seek their inspiration in exotic scenes and artificial stimulants? It is true, that, like the romanticists, one of whose favorite exoticisms was antiquity, Hawthorne is irresistibly drawn toward bygone days—to Puritan New England—but it must be remembered that for him the present and the future "are but the reverberations of the past."

Among the Puritans, too, he found the truest sympathy with the belief in the spiritual world which formed so large a part of his own thought. Supernatural forces are more real to him than any material phenomena. "The dominions which the spirit conquers for itself among unrealities become," he says, "a thousand times more real than the earth whereon they [i. e., those who lack imaginative faith] stamp their feet." Hawthorne was one of those who possess the "triple sight" which sometimes comes from blindness to material things. I would call him a Platonist, comparing his spirit world to the Platonic *ideas*. For him the material world is but a symbol, a projection as it were, of eternal ideas—the spirit become flesh. With such a view of the supernatural, although fully realizing the opportunities it offers for artistic treatment, he will not employ it for its own sake. Like Dante's *Canzonieri* it will be the viands of the Banquet—the inner vision of the *vates*, and will bring into clearer relief some of the deeper truths of the human heart. Life and its mysteries are too sacred to be used for pyrotechnic display; there is a profound meaning beyond, and the artist's task is to bring this meaning within the comprehension of his fellows. Hawthorne's greatness is in no small degree owing

to that "high seriousness," the roots of which may surely be found in Puritan New England.

But like many teachers of men he had long to wait before his work received its reward. Bitterly he learned that those who lack 'imaginative faith' are in the great majority, and there is probably much of his own experience in *The Artist of the Beautiful*. Owen Warland has spent his life in an endeavor to give form to his ideal of beauty, and has finally achieved it in a wondrous butterfly. This he carries as a gift to the woman—now the wife of a blacksmith—from whose love he had once hoped to draw his highest inspiration. His life long toil is crushed in an instant by the child of these earthly parents. "And as for Owen Warland, he looked placidly at what seemed to be the ruin of his life's labor, and which was yet no ruin. He had caught a far other butterfly than this. When the artist rose high enough to achieve the beautiful, the symbol by which he made it perceptible to mortal senses became of little value in his eyes, while his spirit possessed itself of the enjoyment of the reality."

Dante would have his works interpreted literally and allegorically, and he is at considerable pains in the *Banquet* to set forth the hidden meaning of certain of his *canzoni*. For those who have not eyes to see—who lack the 'imaginative faith,—Hawthorne leaves open the Sibyl's 'ivory gate,' through which issue deceptive dreams, and whoso will may take that road. Only an aged woman saw the maiden's corpse shiver when the minister's black veil hung down revealing his face to it alone, as he bent over the coffin (1). Again, if "most of the spectators testified to having seen on the breast of the unhappy minister a Scarlet Letter—the very semblance of that worn by Hester Prynne—imprinted in the flesh * * * certain persons, who were spectators of the whole scene, and professed never once to have removed their eyes from the Rev. Mr. Dimmesdale, denied that there was any mark whatever on his breast, more

(1) *The Minister's Black Veil*.

than on a new-born infant's. Neither, by their report, had his dying words acknowledged, nor even remotely implied, any, the slightest connection, on his part, with the guilt for which Hester Prynne had so long worn the Scarlet Letter."

In another essay (1), Mr. More discusses the idea of moral solitude as the result of sin, which pervades all Hawthorne's work. It may be interesting, at this point, to compare the Puritan romancer with A. de Vigny, who has perhaps given final expression to every form of romantic solitude. In him the *mal du siècle* appears under its most philosophical aspect. The underlying idea of his *Chatterton* is the solitude of the poet in a world of Philistines: the theme of *Moïse* is the solitude of the "superman": of *La Colère de Sanson* the solitude of the sexes: of *La Maison du Berger* the solitude of man in the face of nature: and finally in *Le Mont des Oliviers* it is "*le silence éternel de la Divinité*." Sainte Beuve has said that the romanticist's despair is largely due to the loss of religious faith—"la grande absence de Dieu." Hawthorne had felt that desolation, and it is characteristic of his deeply moral nature that he sought the cause, not in a cruel destiny which makes playthings of men, but there where the Hebrew thinkers had sought it: by sin is man banished from Eden: for sin is he condemned to wander with branded brows—a stranger among his fellows. We may constantly hear again those ringing words, "Cursed be the ground for thy sake."

Hawthorne's affinities are with those rugged elemental minds in which the sense of awe before life's mysteries is not blurred. This feeling strikes deeper than the childish wonder of the romanticists, which is always more or less artificial and seeks in reverie an escape from thought: it is the reverence for what is beyond the utmost reach of human understanding—it is the *fear of God*. Mr. More has partially pointed out the parallel with one of these spirits—that great Puritan poet of Ath-

(1) *The Solitude of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Shelburne Essays*, First Series, pp. 22-50.

ens, whose doctrine of "satiety begetting insolence and insolence calling down the inherited curse of Até" is the theme of *The House of the Seven Gables*. But more important still, it seems to me, is that principle at the foundation of the Aeschylean philosophy—wisdom through suffering—which Hawthorne might have adopted as a motto for his work. *The Marble Faun* and *The Scarlet Letter* offer two striking examples. It is also interesting to note that in Aeschylus we find perhaps the most remarkable instances in all classic literature of the sympathy and harmony of nature with the moods of his protagonists. I am thinking especially of the untamed spirit of Prometheus and the wild crag against which he is bound: of his appeal to universal nature and of the nymphs, "old ocean's daughters" who rise from the sea to comfort him. The surrounding landscape is as significant in Hawthorne's work as the heath in Hardy's *Return of the Native*. It is sown with the deeds of the living and haunted by the spirits of the dead.

Certain of Hawthorne's tales seem to imply a strange paradox in his thought. By sin man hides from him the face of his God, and raises a barrier to separate him from his fellows; yet from sin which is common to all men there is born a bond of kinship between them, and woe to him who disregards it. The most wretched of all men is he who is without human sympathy: and for those in whom it is stifled by selfishness is devised a punishment apparently suggested by a hideous scene in Dante's *Inferno*—a snake in the heart (1). The wealthy young man—a constant guest at *The Christmas Banquet*—is the most miserable of all who year after year gather at that ghastly feast. He might even demand the place of the host—the skeleton with the cypress wreath—and he could not be refused, for it is the right of the most miserable to occupy that chair. The young man has all that the world can give, but his eyes have never shed "lacrimae rerum" and human sorrow has never touched his

(1) Cf *The Bosom Serpent*, and *Inferno*, Canto XXV.

heart. *Ethan Brand* (1), the marble-hearted and *Lady Eleanore's Mantle* illustrate the same truth. As the old charcoal burner sits watching the kiln, he remembers his former innocence; "with what tenderness, with what love and sympathy for mankind, and what pity for human guilt and woe, he had first begun to contemplate those ideas which afterward became the inspiration of his life." He had found the unpardonable sin by making the intellect supreme and so deadening his heart that it "had ceased to partake of the universal throb. He had lost his hold of the magnetic chain of humanity. He was no longer a brother-man, opening the chambers or the dungeons of our common nature by the key of holy sympathy, which gave him a right to share in all its secrets; he was now a cold observer, looking on mankind as the subject of his experiment." Lady Eleanore, whose mantle, "wrought by a dying hand," had given her a beauty more than mortal, and then brought a plague which finally smote the proud woman herself, learned her lesson all too late. "The curse of heaven hath stricken me, because I would not call man my brother, nor woman sister. I wrapped myself in pride as in a mantle, and scorned the sympathies of nature; and therefore nature has made this wretched body the medium of a dreadful sympathy."

Perhaps these two tales point the way, however vaguely, to the solution of the paradox already noticed. Man tasted the forbidden fruit of knowledge, even as Ethan Brand had done, and thereby lost his innocence; yet he is not utterly lost, provided he does not seek to withdraw himself from the brotherhood of his fellows. This is a "dreadful sympathy" since its foundations are in sin; yet by compassion for suffering man approaches Calvary. Hawthorne seems especially fond of de-

(1) I recently came across an account by Jacopo Passavanti, a Dominican monk, of a charcoal burner's vision of the punishment of two guilty lovers. They tell their story and disappear "like a flash of lightning." (See D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, (Firenze, 1904, in 12°, Vol. I, p. 496 ff. Boccaccio retells and caricatures the same story, but otherwise as far as I can learn, charcoal burners have not been especially favored with such visions.

pecting characters in which the brain has killed the heart. He has returned to this theme in the person of Roger Chillingworth in *The Scarlet Letter*, and in the old magician of *Rappaccini's Daughter*. Possibly he believed that he himself must suffer in the circle of Purgatory where that sin is punished.

These characters are interesting also as revealing the power, in Hawthorne's conception, of spiritual over material forces—the triumph of mind over body. There are two stories of similar import of which I have not yet spoken. The first is *The Grey Champion*, who is the type of New England's hereditary spirit. Before this august warrior, Sir Edmond Andros, the royal governor, marching at the head of his troops to disperse a rabble of the oppressed colonists, sullenly retreats. "I have stayed the march of a king himself ere now," the old man replies to the nobleman's first haughty challenge. The second story is of a lady, who, having sinned against parents, husband and home, has sought refuge from her shame in a strange land. An old woman, whom I take to be the personification of a guilty conscience, meets her, and, revealing the awful consequences of her sin, leaves her lifeless in *The Hollows of the Three Hills*.

Finally there are two tales in the *Mosses from an Old Manse* which deal with supernatural forces in a different manner. I think the influence of Poe is distinctly visible in both form and content. Hawthorne's style, which in its restrained imaginative power and in a rhythm that seems in harmony with the mystic music of the spheres, is so admirably fitted for the high seriousness and profound insight of his work, here assumes an oriental luxuriance and brilliant coloring, while for once he seems to delight in supernatural agency for its own sake. The alchemist in *The Birthmark* with his morbid sensuousness and his command of occult scientific forces is distinctly a Poesque creation. Perhaps however, we may see in the denouement of the tale Hawthorne's answer to the romantic craving for a beauty more than mortal. In *Rappaccini's Daughter* we find the familiar cold observer and experimenter with men, but, although the old man pays the penalty of the life of his

child, the story seems to have little more than a purely artistic purpose.

I have tried to show that the supernatural or spiritual world is as real to Hawthorne as the material, and that the two are closely united in his work. Their relation, to borrow one of his own figures, is somewhat like that of a thought and a deed, the one the outward form or symbol of the other. He perceives the working of unseen forces in tangible reality, and, penetrating to the depths of one, he finds the other. He portrays realities that men may see therein the underlying spiritual forces, and spiritual forces that he may throw a clearer and more searching light into the human heart. His view of life is intensely moral—and he finds ethical purpose behind the workings of both material and supernatural powers.

With Poe, on the other hand, we enter into an entirely different atmosphere. First of all, he was not a Puritan by descent. The family came over from Ireland about the middle of the eighteenth century, and his parents were strolling actors. His childhood was passed at Richmond, where his associations were with the less serious view of life characteristic of the South. He showed an early passion for strong drink, which, combined with an undeniable neurotic element in his nature, unites him, outcast and wanderer as he was, rather with the Bohemians, not to say decadents, than with the Puritans. There is much truth in Baudelaire's assertion that his native land was a prison-house for him. His work shows little interest in character, or the deeper problems of life; he delights in highly colored scenes—in vivid sensation for its own sake. Like Pater, he values experience itself, and not the fruit of experience; he would escape from the world into an exotic *pays de chimères*, and there "dream dreams no mortal ever dared to dream before." In short he belongs with those who "on honey-dew have fed," and who seek in opium dreams ecstasies that nature cannot give. Like his own Dupin he is "enamored of the night for her own sake. * * * * The sable divinity would not herself dwell with us always, but we could counterfeit her presence.

At first dawn of the morning we closed all the massy shutters of our old building; lighted a couple of tapers, which, strongly perfumed, threw out only the ghastliest and feeblest of rays. By the aid of these we busied our souls in dreams—reading, writing or conversing, until warned by the clock of the approach of real darkness.” Poe’s own attitude could hardly be better exposed; for him the realm of the supernatural is distinctly separate from reality—it is a refuge to which he would fly even with artificial wings in quest of “madder music and stronger wine.” In much of his best work—*The Fall of the House of Usher* for instance, the sound of the machinery and the scent of those “strongly perfumed tapers” are all too perceptible.

Rousseau tells us that he loved to get a dizzy sensation by leaning over the verge of a precipice. Again in a significant passage of his *Confessions*, he exclaims, apropos of certain poems of the tribe of Kubla Khan, which he claims to have composed during a delirious fever: “O, si l’on pouvait tenir registre des rêves d’un fiévreux, quelles grandes et sublimes choses on verrait sortir quelquefois de son délire!” It is this same spirit, found over and over again in the romantic school, which caused Joubert to call them “les amateurs de délire.” Here is the beginning and we may see the latest terms of the progression in Baudelaire, Huysmans, and Oscar Wilde. Nothing, for these men, is too sacred to be sacrificed for the sake of a new sensation. Conscience is only one more string—one of the most precious surely—of an Aeolian harp; it shall sound with entrancing vibrations at the touch of crime and remorse.

Something of this spirit I find in Poe, and I would explain his superiority over the English “horror school,” first, in that he is a consummate artist, a true Parnassian; and second, in that the “innermost germ” from which he works is something marvelously like delirium tremens. His strong belief in the “unity of impression” which led him to condemn “long poems” is one of the mainsprings of the power of his tales. *Gordon Pym* is a good illustration of the way horror piled on horror palls before

the end of a long narrative. Moreover, Poe is not, like the Gothic romancers, describing scenes and lands he has never visited. This sounds paradoxical at first, for the greater part of his stories are laid in no time or place: the nearest approach we can ever make to the setting is *medievaldom* and "some dim decaying castle by the Rhine." Horace Walpole might fill Strawberry Hill with as many coats of mail as he chose: his horrors ring as empty as the helmets on the wall. He could gain no admittance to that "City of Dreadful Night" which Poe knew as well as de Musset's Fantasio knew every crook and cranny of his own tired brain. From his earliest childhood Poe was an ecstatic dreamer, and in more mature life he had sailed through seas of opium to reach his *pay de chimères*.

His first work was a little volume of verse—"Tamerlane and other Poems"—published in 1827. These show strong Byronic influence, and also that tendency toward dream poetry so characteristic of the romanticists, which grew constantly more marked in his work. A love of ideal beauty in the romantic sense, of that "beyond-the-world-beauty"—appears from the beginning, and with it grows the passion for "strangeness in beauty," sought in dreams ever more lurid and ecstatic. De Quincey, in the wildest flights of his imagination might have written portions of the poems as well as of the tales, and Poe acknowledged Coleridge as his master. The famous lyric *To Helen* (1831) celebrates the beauty of an ideal woman's face which is to be the guiding star of his life. This is perfectly natural romantic lyricism, though far from the austere views of the Puritans. Between it and the second *To Helen*, one of his latest poems, there are many which certainly place him under Joubert's definition.

Passing now to the tales, I wish to quote a significant paragraph from the *Philosophy of Composition*, which may serve as a prelude. "Regarding, then, Beauty as my province, my next question referred to the *tone* of its highest manifestation—and all experience has shown that this tone is one of *sadness*. Beauty of whatever kind, in its supreme development invariably

excites the sensitive soul to tears. Melancholy is thus the most legitimate of all the poetical tones." The author goes on to show that the most melancholy of topics is death, which is most poetical when allied to beauty. "The death then of a beloved woman," he continues, "is unquestionably the most poetical topic in the world, and equally is it beyond doubt that the lips best suited for such topics are those of a bereaved lover."

The work from which this citation is taken is an essay on the composition of the *Raven*. It follows point by point the *raison d'être* of every line of that poem with mathematical accuracy, and throws a significant light on the rest of his work. If we took him at his word, we should believe that his poems and romances were merely the products of a finely organized machine, without the slightest touch of the 'Divine Fire.' That, of course, we cannot do, but he has surely given us ample reason to regard his opium as something like machine oil. At best his spirit world is a most artificial night.

In accordance with the principle just stated, the master string of his lyre is tuned with death, and to an even greater degree this note permeates his tales. Not only in those of which it is the theme, as *Ligeia*, *Morella*, *Eleanore*, *Berenice* and *The Oval Portrait*, but its shadow falls over every one of his recognized masterpieces. His heroines are all moulded after a single pattern; they are not real, for he makes no effort to portray character; they are merely abstractions, called into being by his familiar, opium, to pass, like Helen, across the stage, dazzling the senses of this modern Faustus, and then to furnish forth a more sumptuous banquet for death. He says of Berenice: "During the brightest days of her unparalleled beauty, most surely I had never loved her. In the strange anomaly of my existence, feelings with me *had never been* of the heart, and my passions always were of the mind. Through the grey of the early morning—among the trellised shadows of the forest at noonday, and in the silence of my library at night, she had flitted by my eyes, and I had seen her—not as the living and breathing Berenice, but as the Berenice of a dream: not as a being of the earth,

earthly, but as the abstraction of such a being: not as a thing to admire, but to analyze: not as the object of love, but as the theme of the most abstruse although desultory speculation." These women are all tall, with raven hair and dark passionate eyes. He is constantly insisting on the "strangeness" of their beauty, and their lives are no less mysterious: all are deep in the study of some occult science, and upon all death has early set his mark. Poe is a veritable lover of death and reminds us irresistibly of Leopardi's Canzone, *Amore e Morte*:

"Fratelli, a un tempo stesso, Amore e Morte
 Ingenero la sorte.
 Cose quaggiu' sì belle
 Altre il mondo non ha, non han le stelle."

(Destiny brought forth at a birth two brothers, love and death. The world below has nothing so beautiful, nor have the stars.)

The case is no better with his heroes. I have spoken of the influence of Byron in his early poems, and like Byron he could draw but one type—himself. William Wilson, Baron Metzengerstein, Usher, and all the "U's" of his tales are formed in a single mould. They sprang from an old and noble family, with something neurotic in the blood; they are ecstatic dreamers, or men of violent and morbid passions of which the strongest is, in the last analysis, the search for strange sensations. They are invoked that they may bring that very treasure, if they have found it, to their creator. Many are cursed with the opium fiend and haunted by delirious remorse. We have tales of marvelous adventure, as *The Ms. found in a Bottle* or *The Descent into the Maclostrom*. The first may have been suggested by *The Ancient Mariner*, but here the message comes *d'outre tombe* with heightened color from death's seal upon it. Coleridge is said to have regretted the moral which he allowed Wordsworth to add to his poem. There is no ethical motif in Poe's story; he is interested only in the experiences and sensations of the hero during the terrific tempest and on the gigantic

battleship. This vessel is "embued with the spirit of Eld" and its crew "glide to and fro like the ghosts of buried centuries. * * * To conceive the horror of my sensations," continues the luckless writer, "is, I presume, utterly impossible; yet a curiosity to penetrate the mysteries of these awful regions predominates even over my despair, and will reconcile me to the most hideous aspect of death. It is evident that we are hurrying onward to some exciting knowledge—some never to be imparted secret, whose attainment is destruction. Perhaps this current leads us to the Southern Pole itself." The *Ms.* was cast into the sea as the ship was swallowed in the whirlpool. *The Descent into the Maelstrom* may be said to continue this adventure, for it describes the sensations of a man as he is whirled down such a gulf and then back to the surface. Again, in the *Pit and the Pendulum*, a victim of the Inquisition analyzes with something like scientific precision his mental state during the most horrible nervous torments. Bearing in mind the naturalists' favorite simile for their artistic method—the surgeon at the operating table—we might give Poe the title of the naturalist of the unnatural.

One of the most famous among his juvenile poems is a sonnet *To Science*, on the old theme of its conflict with art—Science is there condemned as one

"Who would not leave him [the poet] in his wandering
To seek for treasure in the jeweled skies."

Later in life, Poe learned to extract the "honey of romance" even from science and Hans Phael sends down to weary men "such stuff as dreams are made of" from his aerial explorations.

The first of the tales of ratiocination, *The Gold Bug*, is particularly interesting as an illustration of Poe's treatment of a well worn theme—the search for hidden treasure. It is a favorite with Stevenson, who tells his stories with all a healthy boy's delight in the plot. Neither he nor his heroes care a straw for the gold: it is simply an excuse for putting to sea.

under the Jolly Roger, as like as not, in quest of adventure—real flesh and blood adventure. Poe's interest is all in the riddle and the acumen with which the hero solves it. So in the detective stories—*The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *The Mystery of Marie Rouget* and *The Purloined Letter*—the fascination is not in the crime, though there is a morbid emphasis on the physically horrible, nor in the execution of justice, but in the creation of a mystery, which the keenness and sagacity of his Dupin may unravel. Similarly the motif of *Hop Frog* and *The Cask of Amontillado* is a horrible and cunningly contrived revenge.

Poe deeply resented the insinuation that he was a disciple of Tieck and the weird German school. "Terror," he said, "belongs to all countries and all times." Without disputing this assertion, I may indicate some other traits which he shared with his Teutonic cousins. I have already noticed his love of the purely musical elements of poetry, on which the German romanticists insisted strongly. Again we find in Poe's lighter work that *romantic irony*, or self-parody of which they were so fond. For instance in *The Angel of the Odd*, *The Spectacles* and *The Premature Burial* he ridicules his own methods and his favorite type of hero. *Mellonta Tauta*—a nonsensical account of an aeronaut's excursion closes with the following comment: "I shall cork this Ms. up in a bottle and throw it into the sea." In the *Thousand and Second Tale* Poe has made over the denouement of the Arabian story-teller; the king's "conscience" awakes, and suddenly remembering how long he has been married, he condemns his charmer to be "throttled" like her predecessors. *Loss of Breath* is an example of what Brandes (1) calls "disintegration of the ego," and it has its prototype in Adalbert von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*—the story of a man who has lost his shadow—and the numerous imitations of that work, as Hoffmann's *Story of the Lost Reflexion*. Finally the Doppelgängerei motif, so much exploited by the Germans, ap-

(1) George Brandes, *Main Currents in XIX Century Literature, The Romantic Movement in Germany*, New York, 1902, in 8°.

pears again and again in Poe's work—for instance in the *Black Cat* and *William Wilson*.

This romantic irony or self-parody comes, in the last analysis from the never ending quest for new sensation. After running through the resources of their imagination, these weary decadents turn upon themselves and take delight in ridiculing their own gods. Doubtless an overdeveloped self-consciousness plays its part also; the author wishes to make manifest that his "ego" is superior to all its creations. Then, too, horror pushed beyond its limits ends in laughter, and for Poe, at least, horror is the keynote. Within this limited field he is supreme, but his horizon is narrow—he is far from seeing life whole.

Yet, to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, we must give him credit for abstaining from one field in which some of his disciples, as Baudelaire, loved to revel—I mean, sexual pathology. Whatever suggestions of this theme there may be in Poe are passed over rapidly and never developed. I should like to attribute this, by a reversal of that common apology of wanton rhymers "Casti mores, musae lascivae" to an Anglo-Saxon repugnance in handling such themes, or to reverence for some sacred memories of his own married life. I think it probable, however that the true reason is one which has been already touched upon—the unsubstantial nature of his characters. They are not flesh and blood, but whostly phantoms flitting through an opium dream. Their passions, like his own, are of the mind, and the purely physical horror in which he sometimes revels is merely a frame for the more fascinating terrors of the soul.

There remain to be considered some stories in which Poe comes into closer comparison and contrast with Hawthorne. I have said that the latter delighted in descriptive sketches of familiar New England scenes, as *The Custom House* or *The Old Mause* over which he has thrown a veil of poetry that can come only from a sympathetic and loving knowledge. When Poe describes, it is *The Island of the Fay* or *The Domain of Arnheim* with their gorgeous color and dazzling magnificence.

They are as far as possible from any suggestion of the real world.

Again we have seen that Hawthorne was much interested in mesmerism, and the strange power of one personality over another, as for example, in *The Scarlet Letter*. He watches the use or abuse of this power and studies its effects on the characters concerned. Mesmerism appears constantly in Poe's stories, but his is a morbid interest in the phenomena of one of the "occult sciences." In the *Case of M. Valdemar* this power is used to keep life in a body from which all consciousness has departed. The wretched victim cries with St. Paul for deliverance "from the body of this death," and the remains fall into loathsome decay as soon as the spell is lifted. The operator is merely trying an experiment to prove to the physicians his power of contending with death itself for the possession of a corpse. What condemnation would the creator of Roger Chillingworth pronounce upon such a treatment of this theme?

If in these stories the contrast with Hawthorne is more obvious than the similarity, the likeness is more striking, superficially, at least, in the tales of conscience. At first sight, indeed, *The Black Cat*, *Metzengerstein*, *William Wilson*, *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Man of the Crowd* seem quite in Hawthorne's manner. In all but the least of these there is a personification of conscience in some form or other, and in *The Man of the Crowd*, the wretched subject is trying in vain to escape from himself and the solemn contemplation of his guilt. He wanders tirelessly from one to another of his old haunts, seeking always human fellowship. I cannot help thinking of that solitary figure in *The City of Dreadful Night* who visits continually the ruined shrines of lost illusions:

"Because he seemed to walk with an intent

I followed him: who shadowlike and frail
Unswervingly though slowly onward went.

Regardless, wrapt in thought as in a veil:
Thus step for step, with lonely sounding feet,
We traveled many a long, dim, silent street.

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I ceased to follow, for the knot of doubt
 Was severed sharply with a cruel knife:
 He circled thus forever tracing out
 The series of the fraction left of life—
 Perpetual recurrence in the scope
 Of but three terms: dead Faith, dead Love, dead
 Hope." (1)

Poe says of his protagonist: "This old man is the type and genius of deep crime. He refuses to be alone. *He is the man of the crowd.* It will be in vain to follow: for I shall learn no more of him, nor of his deeds." Surely it is in this story that Poe most nearly approaches Hawthorne, yet even here the "I" follows the stranger purely from curiosity and when that is satisfied, leaves him. In other words: 'this phenomenon is called a troubled conscience. Mark it well; perhaps it may prove interesting.' The same is true in an even greater degree of *The Black Cat*, *William Wilson* and *The Tell-Tale Heart*. In the *Imp of the Perverse* the act of a criminal in confessing his guilt is explained as the inspiration of that demon. Another manifestation of the same power is the following: "We stand upon the brink of a precipice. We peer into the abyss; we grow sick and dizzy. Our first impulse is to shrink from the danger. Unaccountably we remain. By slow degrees our sickness and dizziness and horror become mingled in a cloud of unnamable feeling. By gradations, still more imperceptible, this cloud assumes shape, as did the vapor from the bottle out of which arose the genius in the *Arabian Nights*. But out of *our* cloud upon the precipice's edge, there grows into palpability a shape, far more terrible than any genius or any demon of a tale, and yet it is but a thought, although a fearful one, and one which chills the very marrow of our bones with the fierceness of the delight of its horror. It is merely the idea of what would be our sensations during the sweeping precipitancy

(1) Life divided by that persistent three = $\frac{LXX}{333} = .210$. *Author's note.*

of a fall from such a height. And this fall—this rushing annihilation—for the very reason that it involves that one most ghastly and loathsome of all the most ghastly and loathsome images of death and suffering which have ever presented themselves to our imagination—for this very cause do we now most vividly desire it.”

I have ventured to make this very long quotation from *The Imp of the Perverse* for the significant light it throws on all the stories of confession. A comparison with Rousseau's sentiments on the brink of a precipice is not without interest. This is Poe's characteristic attitude, (1) and if there is the slightest relation here to Puritan thought, it is quite beyond my comprehension.

In closing, I wish to call attention to two stories, which, in subject and treatment, offer respectively a comparison and contrast with two of Hawthorne's. The first is *The Masque of the Red Death*, of which the original idea may be found in *Shadow*. In both these tales a company of merry-makers has withdrawn from the plague-stricken city. They are sworn to drown in riotous gaiety and festival every thought of the public calamity. Close locked within their palace doors, they have naught to fear. In other words they have withdrawn themselves from sympathy with human suffering, but no more emphasis is laid upon this in Poe's tale than in the light-hearted narrative of Boccaccio. His interest is in the richly decorated palace, which in turn serves only to heighten the contrast when the pestilence visits the festivities as an audacious masker, to smite first Prince Prospero and then his courtiers. Hawthorne, while sacrificing none of the artistic effects gained by Poe, has added a more human interest and profound ethical truth to his *Lady Eleanor's Mantle*. The second story to which I refer is *Metzengerstein*, where we find the working of a family curse and Doppelgängerei. Its parallel in Hawthorne is *The House of the Seven Gables*. As always Poe's attention is concentrated upon

(1) cf. for instance, the above cited, *Ms. found in a Bottle*.

color and passion and maddened horror; the curse exists only to evoke the avenging spirits, and he has written melodrama, where Hawthorne's work approaches Greek tragedy in its chaste and sublime grandeur.

Perhaps neither of these men can be called truly classic: there is too great a predominance of the spiritual in Hawthorne to reach that perfect poise which is the glory of the ancient world. But of the two, bearing in mind Goethe's dictum,—“All that is morbid and diseased, I call the romantic; all that is sound and healthy the classic,” there can be no doubt as to which shall sit on the right hand and which on the left.

"MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING," AND BEN JON- SON'S "THE CASE IS ALTERED."

BY HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE.

It is generally admitted that the main plot of *Much Ado About Nothing* is derived from the twenty-second novel of Bandello, which may be briefly summarized as follows:

King Piero (Pedro) of Aragon, after defeating the French in battle, comes to Messina. Count Timbreo di Cardona, a favorite lieutenant of Piero's, falls in love with Fenicia, daughter of Lionato, a gentleman of Messina, and through a friend asks her in marriage. His suit is successful; but a young gentleman of Messina, Girondo Valenziano, also in love with Fenicia, plots to break off the marriage, and successfully practices on Timbreo the device which Shakspere's Don John employs to deceive Claudio. Timbreo then sends word to Lionato that he cannot marry Fenicia, since he has ocular evidence of her infidelity. Fenicia is prostrated, and is believed and reported to be dead; but revives, and is sent by her father to the house of his brother Girolamo. Meanwhile Girondo, overcome with remorse, confesses his guilt to Timbreo. Both seek the pardon of Lionato, who unexpectedly grants it, on condition that Timbreo shall marry the lady whom Lionato selects for him. A year later, Lionato brings Timbreo to Fenicia, whom he marries before he learns who she is.

When we compare this tale with *Much Ado*, the most striking difference is that the story contains no hint of the three characters who interest us most in the play,—Benedick, Beatrice and Dogberry. In regard to these characters, and in some minor matters, I think it can be shown with reasonable

probability that Shakspeare took hints from Ben Jonson's comedy, *The Case is Altered*.

The plot of *The Case is Altered* may be summarized as follows: Count Ferneze of Milan has one son, Paulo, and two daughters, Aurelia and Phoenixella. Paulo is in love with Rachel, supposed daughter of the old miser Jacques de Prie. (Jacques, as various critics have remarked, was probably suggested by Shylock.) Before going to the wars under Maximilian, Paulo confided his love to his friend Angelo. Angelo flirts with Aurelia, but is really in love with Rachel, and tries to seduce her. Paulo is captured by the French, and Maximilian brings back as prisoners the French general, Chamont, and his friend Gasper. Chamont and Gasper meanwhile, being unknown in Milan, have taken each other's names. It is agreed that the supposed Chamont shall be exchanged for Paulo. The supposed Gasper (really Chamont) is released and goes to the French camp to negotiate the exchange. Pacue, Chamont's servant, stupidly lets out the secret, and Count Ferneze in anger is about to put Gasper to the torture. Meanwhile Angelo has abducted Rachel: but as he is about to force her, Paulo, returning with Chamont, comes upon him. Angelo excuses himself, and all return to Milan in time to save Gasper from the wrath of Count Ferneze. It is then discovered that Gasper is really Camillo, the long-lost second son of Count Ferneze, and that Rachel is the sister of Chamont, kidnapped in her infancy by Jacques de Prie, who was at that time her father's steward. Paulo marries Rachel, and Chamont Aurelia. The fun of the play is supplied by Jacques de Prie, by the wit-combats between Aurelia and Angelo, and by the low comedy characters Juniper and Onion. Jonson devotes much space to the characterization of Juniper, whose humor, like Dogberry's, is the use of long words which he doesn't understand.

Although the main outline of the plot is sufficiently unlike Shakspeare's, the resemblances are noticeable enough to make the question of priority interesting. The date of *The Case is Altered* is fixed pretty closely by the facts that the first scene

contains a reference to Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (entered S. R. Sept. 7, 1598,) and that it is mentioned in Nashe's *Lenten Stuff* (entered Jan. 11, 1599). It cannot therefore have been produced later than December, 1598. But the reference to *Palladis Tamia* occurs in a scene which has no connection with the rest of the play, and was evidently written to satirize a rival dramatist, Anthony Munday, (Antonio Balladino). Dr. Small (*The Stage Quarrel*, p. 17) thinks that this scene "is a later addition made to a play already in existence for some months . . . It is likely that Jonson wrote *The Case is Altered* in 1597 or early in 1598." I have not space to quote Dr. Small's reasons, which are fully explained in the monograph referred to above. *The Case is Altered*, then, is to be dated certainly not later than December, 1598, and there is some ground for placing it as early as 1597.

The date of *Much Ado* has never been accurately determined. All that we know definitely is that it was written before 1600, when the quarto edition was published. It is generally assigned to the year 1599; Fleay is the only important critic who gives it an early date, and his vagaries on the subject are ridiculed by Dr. Furness (*Introduction to Variorum Ed.*, pp. xviii-xix.) Prof. Ward says (*Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.* Vol. II, p. 132), "There is no evidence that its composition was much anterior to its publication," and this expresses the consensus of opinion. On the whole, the evidence in regard to the two plays considered separately, seems to indicate a slightly earlier date for *The Case is Altered*.

This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the two plots. It is noteworthy that the resemblances of Jonson's play to Shakspeare's are not to the portions of *Much Ado* that derive from Bandello. If Johnson had been taking hints from *Much Ado*, it is strange that he should have avoided entirely the part of the plot which was from Bandello, particularly the striking episode of Don John's deceit of Claudio, which he could easily have worked in.

These indications of priority for Jonson make it worth

while to note resemblances between the plays more closely. In *The Case is Altered* Jonson gives us a romantic plot with persons characterized rather lightly. To these he adds two carefully developed comedy characters, Juniper and Onion. He adds also the contrasted sisters, Aurelia and Phoenixella, one gay, the other grave: and the wit-combats of Aurelia with Angelo. Angelo is the only one of these characters who is at all important in the main plot. In *Much Ado* we have also a romantic plot, with persons lightly characterized, and with the addition of two careful studies in low comedy, Dogberry and Verges, and of contrasted cousins, gay and sober, Beatrice and Hero. We have also the wit-combats of Beatrice with Benedick. It is noticeable, however, that both the low comedy and the high comedy figures are connected with the main plot more closely than in Jonson. Shakspeare, moreover, supposing him to have been influenced by Jonson, has combined the characters of the sober sister and the romantic heroine in the person of Hero.

I have not space to note minor resemblances in detail. Two or three may be worthy of mention. Shakspeare's Balthasar is not in *Bandello*; but there is a servant Balthasar in *The Case is Altered*. Lionato in *Bandello* is merely a poor gentleman of good family; in Shakspeare he is the presiding dignitary of the play, like Count Ferneze in Jonson. The secret of the deceiver's trick is revealed in Shakspeare (but not in *Bandello*) by a servant: this may have been suggested by Pacue's betrayal of Chamont's secret in Jonson. Both plays end with a dance, to be followed by a double wedding.

Taken by themselves, these parallels would be of small significance; but I think they support my main contentions that Shakspeare had Jonson's play in mind when he wrote *Much Ado*, that Dogberry was probably suggested by Juniper, and Beatrice by Aurelia, and that Angelo furnished a hint for Benedick. Let me conclude with a specimen or two of Aurelia's dialogue with Angelo and of Juniper's Dogberryisms.

Aurelia. Go to, sir.

Your wits are fresh, I know, they need no spur.

Angelo. And therefore will you ride them.

Aur.

Say I do.

They will not tire, I hope?

Ang.

No, not with you.

—Act II, Sc. 4.

Compare:

Benedick. I would my horse had the speed of your tongue,
and so good a continuer . . .

Beatrice. You always end with a jade's trick: I know
you of old.

—Much Ado, Act I, Sc. 1.

Francisco, in *The Case is Altered*, has been making conventional love-speeches to Phoenixella, in the presence of Aurelia and Angelo. Angelo mocks him:

Ang. Come, I will not sue me stately to be your servant.
But a new term, will you be my refuge?

Aur. Your refuge! Why, sir?

Ang. That I might fly to you when all else fail me.

Aur. An you be good at flying, be my plover.

Ang. Nay, take a way the p.

Aur.

Tut, then you cannot fly.

Ang. I'll warrant you: I'll borrow Cupid's wings.

—Act II, Sc. 4.

Compare the jesting conversations of the different couples in *Much Ado*, Act II, Sc. 1.

More like Beatrice, perhaps, is Aurelia's speech to her grave sister, as they enter together:

Aur. Room for a case of matrons, coloured black!

I would I had some girls now to bring up;

O, I could make a wench so virtuous

She should say grace to every bit of meat

And gape no wider than a wafer's thickness,
And she should make French curtsies so most low
That every touch should turn her over backward.

Juniper apologizes for Onion much as Dogberry apologizes for Verges:

Juniper (to Count Ferneze): . . . Sir, you appear to be an honourable gentleman, I understand, and could wish, for mine own part, that things were condent otherwise than they are; but, (pointing to Onion) the world knows, a foolish fellow, somewhat proclive and hasty, he did it in a prejudicate humour: marry now, upon better computation, he wanes, he melts, his poor eyes are in a cold sweat.

—Act I, Sc. 5.

Other Dogberryisms of Juniper are:

“’Tis too heavy, too tolerable.”

—Act IV, Sc. 1.

“Speak legibly, the game’s gone, without the great mercy of God.”

—Act IV, Sc. 1.

Still more suggestive of Dogberry is Juniper’s pride in his fine clothes. “Keep state,” he admonishes Onion, “look not ambiguous now.”

I may add that the name *Dogberry* might easily have been suggested by *Juniper*.

A NOTE ON "HENRY V."

BY HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE.

It is well known that Gonzalo's description of an ideal commonwealth in *The Tempest* is borrowed from Montaigne's essay *Of Cannibals*. There is a parallel nearly as close which I have not seen pointed out, between Henry V's great soliloquy on ceremony and a passage in Montaigne's essay *Of the Inequality that is between us*. It is true that Florio's Montaigne, of which we know that Shakspeare owned a copy, was not published until 1603, and that the first quarto of *Henry V* is dated 1600; but the soliloquy in question does not appear in the quartos: it is found in no edition before the folio of 1623. The resemblance extends to one of Henry's speeches to Williams earlier in the scene, which also appears first in the folio. Let me quote a few lines from the two speeches with sub-joined parallels from the essay. I quote from Florio, though possibly enough, Shakspeare may have read the essay in the original.

"The king is but a man, as I am . . . all his senses have but human conditions: his ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man . . . Therefore when he sees reason of fears, as we do, his fears out of doubt be of the same relish as ours are."

—Act IV. Sc. 1, ll. 101-109.

"Let him (the king) lay aside his riches and external honors and show himself in his shirt . . . View him behind the curtain, and you see but an ordinary man. . . . If he be angry or vexed, can his principality keep him from

blushing, from growing pale? . . . Cowardice, irresolution, move and work in him as in another."

—Of the Inequality that is between us. Florio I, Chap. XLII.

"What drink'st thou oft, instead of homage sweet,
But poison'd flattery? O, be sick, great greatness,
And bid thy ceremony give thee cure!
Thinks't thou the fiery fever will go out
With titles blown from adulation?
Will it give place to flexure and low bending?"

'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
The intertissued robe of gold and pearl,
The farced title running fore the king

Not all these, laid in bed majestical
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave."

—Act. IV, Sc. 1, ll. 249-267.

"Doth the ague, the megrim or the gout spare him more than us? When age shall **once** seize on his shoulders, can then the tall yeomen of his guard discharge him of it? When the terror of ruthless-baleful death shall assail him, can he be comforted by the assistance of the gentlemen of his chamber? If he **chance** to be jealous or capricious, will our **louing** curtsies, or putting off of hats, bring him in tune again? His **bedstead** enchased all with gold and pearls hath no virtue to allay the pinching pangs of the colic.

'Fev'ers no sooner from thy body fly
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie
Tossing, than if thou rest
On coverlets home-drest.'

The first fit of an ague, or the first gird that the gout gave him, what avails his goodly titles of Majesty?"

—Of the Inequality that is between us.

The whole soliloquy, in fact, is full of echoes of the essay. Surely here we may track Shakspeare in Montaigne's snow.

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Elijah Clarence Hills



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THE PIKE'S PEAK REGION IN SONG AND MYTH

BY ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

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By Elijah Clarence Hills

THE lyrics and myths in this little volume were read before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Colorado College during the commencement week of 1912.

Much verse has been written descriptive of the Pike's Peak region, of which only a part is given in this collection. Some of the best lyrics have doubtless been omitted. On the other hand, there is a dearth of legends and myths, and none of those we have is well authenticated.

E. C. H.

SONGS



HELEN HUNT JACKSON



Though not born here, Helen Hunt Jackson ("H. H.") was attached to Colorado Springs by ties of sympathy and love, and here she spent the happiest days of her life. This poet of Christian resignation and sympathy with the afflicted, this singer of friendship's gentle bonds and of the loneliness of sorrow, this lover of children, birds, and flowers, is beyond question our greatest literary artist. And if Pike's Peak, where dwells the Manitou, is our Olympus, may not Cheyenne Mountain be considered our Parnassus, for on its summit, not unlike the Earthly Paradise described by Dante, Helen Hunt Jackson wrote some of her sweetest verses and finest tales. There she often meditated on the sorrows and rewards of human life, but with scorn and malice toward none; there she observed the stirring life of birds and insects, that go their busy ways heedless of the very presence of Man; there she sang of "the little poppies" that "ran like torchmen with the wheat," and of the "stars with rhythmic light."

What nobler hymn to

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN

than this inspired sonnet by our poetess!

By easy slope to west as if it had
No thought, when first its soaring was begun,
Except to look devoutly to the sun,
It rises and has risen, until glad,

With light as with a garment, it is clad,
Each dawn, before the tardy plains have won
One ray; and after day has long been done
For us, the light doth cling reluctant, sad
To leave its brow.

Beloved Mountain, I
Thy worshipper as thou the sun's, each morn
My dawn, before the dawn, receive from thee;
And think, as thy rose-tinted peaks I see,
That thou wert great when Homer was not born;
And ere thou change all human song shall die!

When the poetess went eastward over the level plains,
or westward over the mountain ranges and through the deep-
cut valleys, her heart yearned for the City of Light that
nestled at the foot of her beloved mountains, and she sang
of her

RETURN TO THE HILLS

Like a music of triumph and joy
Sounds the roll of the wheels,
And the breath of the engine laughs out
In loud chuckles and peals,
Like the laugh of a man that is glad
Coming homeward at night;
I lean out of the window and nod
To the left and the right,
To my friends in the fields and the woods;
Not a face do I miss;
The sweet asters and browned golden-rod,
And that stray clematis,
Of all vagabonds dearest and best,
In most seedy estate;
I am sure they all recognize me;
If I only could wait,

I should hear all the welcome which now
 In their faces I read,
 "O true lover of us and our kin,
 We all bid thee God speed!"

O my mountains, no wisdom can teach
 Me to think that ye care
 Nothing more for my steps than the rest,
 Or that they can have share
 Such as mine in your royal crown-lands,
 Unencumbered of fee;
 In your temple with altars unhewn,
 Where redemption is free;
 In your houses of treasure, which gold
 Can not buy if it seek;
 And your oracles, mystic with words,
 Which men lose if they speak!

Ah! with boldness of lovers who wed
 I make haste to your feet,
 And as constant as lovers who die,
 My surrender repeat;
 And I take as the right of my love,
 And I keep as its sign,
 An ineffable joy in each sense
 And new strength as from wine,
 A seal for all purpose and hope,
 And a pledge of full light,
 Like a pillar of cloud for my day,
 And of fire for my night.

Even in this land of sunshine there are occasional gray days, when the clouds hang low and hide the mountain-tops and rolling plains from our disappointed eyes. And on such days do we not sometimes, from beneath our canopy of mist, catch a glimpse of blue skies to the south? This theme

was well used by the poetess in a congratulatory sonnet, entitled

WITH THEM THAT DO REJOICE

All yesterday our sky was cold and gray;
A misty wall of cloud hid from our sight
The mountain-tops: the plains stretched cold and white.
And snow-flakes slowly floated down and lay
Like funeral flowers about the pallid day.
Sudden at noon the sky to south grew bright,
Turned blue, was radiant in full sunny light.
Beneath our clouds we sat, and looked away
Into this glowing south till sunset. So
Into my life's gray calm today there fell
Message that two I love had come to know
The one great earthly joy no words can tell.
Dear Hearts, I think light from your south will flow
To me until the tolling sunset-bell.

I am fond of Helen Hunt Jackson's charming lyrics; but I am not sure that I do not like even better her narrative poems. Thus, few ballads are stronger than that of the "King's Singer," the shepherd boy whose music rang "unearthly sweet" when he roamed free with his flocks upon the hillside; but when arrayed "with cloth of gold" he stood before the courtiers and played at the king's behest, his merry notes faded into "one faint sound" that brought him the scorn of courtiers and a king's dark frown; or that of the "Abbott Paphnutius," who found a rival saint in him who played that drunken men and women might dance in the market place; or the tale of a king who laid aside his crown, and care-free and joyous wandered through the world hand in hand with a beggar, while his people called him dead. And few lines are finer than those of the "Funeral March," which, in subtle rhythm, portray the shadows as they mock and taunt the funeral procession.

No better expression of our love and gratitude could be

given to Helen Hunt Jackson than the following beautiful lines from her own little poem called "Flowers On A Grave," with the substitution of the pronoun *her* for *him*,—a liberty which I have allowed myself to take:

What sweeter thing to hear, through tears, than this,
Of one who dies, that, looking on her dead,
All men with tender reverence gazed and said:
"What courtesy and gentleness were hers!
Our ruder lives, for years to come, will miss
Her sweet serenity, which daily shed
A grace we scarcely felt, so deep inbred
Of nature was it . . ."

After the death of Helen Hunt Jackson, her body was buried on the north spur of Cheyenne Mountain, at a place she loved well and where she wrote some of her most charming works. Here beneath the fragrant fir-trees, her grave was for five years (1885-1890) a place of pilgrimage, until the body was removed to Evergreen Cemetery in Colorado Springs. The position of the grave on the mountain top is still marked by a pile of stones, left by those who admired her writings. The romantic setting of "H. H.'s" grave has given rise to a considerable number of lyrics, of which the following are among the best:

CHEYENNE CANYON

Oh, Cheyenne Canyon, in thy dim defiles,
Where glooms the light, as through cathedral aisles,
Where flash and fall bright waters, pure as air,
Where wild birds brood, wild blossoms bloom, and where
The wind sings anthems through the darkling trees,
A presence breathes the tenderest melodies.

Songs that the finer ears of poets feel
But do not hear, ethereal chords that steal
Upon the soul, as fragrance of the flowers.

Unseen, unknown, from undiscovered bowers,
Enwraps the senses with a deep delight,
Pure as the stars and tender as the night.

For here in Nature's arms there lies asleep
One who loved Nature with a passion deep,
Who knew her language and who read her book,
Who sang her music, which the bird, the brook,
The winds, the woods, the mountains and the seas
Chant ever, in commingling harmonies.

Oh, Cheyenne Canyon! through thy dim defiles
The music floats as through cathedral aisles;
The singer silent, but the song is heard
In sigh of wind and carolling of bird.
All these the poet's melodies prolong,
For Nature now sings o'er her loved one's song.

STANLEY WOOD

THE MOURNERS ON CHEYENNE

(At the Grave of "H. H.")

There Summer cometh, shuddering at death,
Bowling her regal beauty in her dread
Long bitterness of loss, and scattereth
Dust, dust and bitter ashes o'er the dead.

There sobered Autumn in funereal weed,
With locks disheveled, leaves her ripest sheaf:
And while low winds a solemn requiem lead,
She, lingering, weeps her fill of wasting grief.

And Winter, from the battle fields of storm,
Scarred, worn, and woe-racked, yearly bringeth there
His calm white shroud, to spread above that form,
Keeping unjarred the peace he cannot share.

And Spring, with dew-bright eyes gladdened with hope,
 Brings hither all the first flowers of the lea;
 And while with brow toward heaven her eye-lids ope,
 She softly whispers "Immortality!"

ERNEST WHITNEY

HELEN HUNT'S GRAVE

God, for the man who knew him face to face,
 Prepared a grave apart, a tomb unknown,
 Where dews drop tears, and only winds make moan,
 And white archangels guard the narrow space.

God gives to His beloved sleep; the place
 Where His seer slept was set remote, for rest,
 After the forty years of desert quest,
 The Sinai terrors, and the Pisgah grace.

So, clear-eyed priestess, sleep! remembering not
 The fiery scathe of life, nor trackless years,
 Nor even Canaan's sun-kissed, flowery meads.

God shields, within his hollowed hand, the spot
 Where brooding peace rebukes unquiet tears.
 She sleepeth well who wrought such noble deeds!

VIRGINIA DONAGHE McCLURG

EDITH COLBY BANFIELD



Miss Banfield (1870-1903), a niece of Helen Hunt Jackson, spent the last three years of her life in Colorado Springs, and here she wrote some of her finest verses. In the little volume of lyrics entitled "The Place of My Desire" (Boston, 1904), Miss Banfield gives evidence of her acquaintance with the great English poets and her love of their works. Chaucer and Keats she calls her

"... morning poets, like the dawn
In loveliness and bright simplicity."
Shakspeare is to her "as the eternal ocean," which
"With its great pulses throbbing mightily,
Bears all the commerce of our human-kind,
And touches every shore in friendliness."

She admires "Spencer's silver stream" and "Milton's torrent harmonies;" Arnold, "austere and pure, steadfast as a star;" and Stevenson, "a bright and gracious presence" that has "the gift of love;" and she adds:

"It is sweet to sit in humbleness at Wordsworth's feet,
And with his eyes spell out the lettered hills."

Like Mrs. Jackson, she loves solitude and takes delight in trees and flowers. In her descriptive poems she sings chiefly of her beloved New England, but she also pays tribute to the "gigantic West:"

IN THE ROCKIES

I am a lover of New England ways,
Of country roadsides and familiar flowers,
Of haunts that I have known from early days,
And followed far through long and happy hours.
How may I look on the gigantic West?

How understand these mountains and ravines?
 How cease from saying, But my heart loves best
 The quiet East and all its wooded scenes?
 These are the mighty ones that I know not,
 Of ancient race and kingly lineage—
 Too great for me, still holding unforgot
 The lesser hillsides of my heritage,
 Like one of lowly birth who homesick clings
 To humble memories 'mid halls of kings.

Coming from the fresh sea-breezes of New England to the dry plains and brown mountains of Colorado, Miss Banfield was heartsick for the ocean she loved so well, and exclaimed:

SAILOR BLOOD

I come of a race that loves the sea
 And a driven ship is home to me.
 On land I faint and thirst and fail
 And grow heart-sick for the roaring gale;
 I dream of a home that hath no place,
 And the feel of the spray upon my face.

The mountains rise to a barren sky,
 And the level plains are parched and dry;
 Like a stagnant sea they mock my gaze
 With their limitless horizon haze;
 They have no breath, they mock at me,
 Whose soul cries out for the living sea.

I am scourged of the dust that sweeps the plains,
 And the great dry winds that bring no rains;
 I am scourged of the dust, I am choked and blind,
 And the health of waters I can not find,
 And my sailor blood makes wild in me
 For the wet of the storm, and the salt of the sea!

Child of the sea, how can I bear
The wide still plains and the desert air?
Sounds of the sea I hear by night
In dreams that have not sound nor sight,
And my heart doth yearn and strain by day
For the throb two thousand miles away.

Doth strain and hark for the distant roar
Of great tides booming along the shore;
Like a prisoned gull my heart doth beat
For the great wet winds and the dripping sheet,
And the crested waves and the bounding spray,
And the storms that brood o'er the ocean gray.

I come of a race that loves the sea
And a driven ship is home to me.
On land I faint and thirst and fail
And grow heart-sick for the roaring gale;
I dream of a home that hath no place,
And the feel of the spray upon my face!

But when the first summer came with its refreshing
showers and gray mists nestling on the mountain-side, the
poet's soul ceased to yearn for the distant land:

I see these mountains now forever with changed eyes,
Since I have seen them lovely through the summer storms,
And heard their thunders roll—their ceaseless thunders roll.
No more I call them barren, that so rise
Unto the rains of heaven. No more my soul
Doth yearn unsatisfied in a far land, since it hath seen
Hill bare and prairies over-crept with green.
Yea, even here I feel the distant sea
Pour out itself in rains to comfort me.

The three foremost poets of Colorado Springs have
doubtless been "H. H." Miss Banfield, and Ernest Whitney

(1858-1893). In 1889 Mr. Whitney came here from Yale University, where he had been an instructor in English. He soon came to love the "land of the undimmed heaven," with its "City of Sunshine" and its mountain peaks and nestling vales. No other poet has thus far written more verses descriptive of the Pike's Peak region than has Mr. Whitney. One of these, "The Mourners on Cheyenne," has already been given. Others follow under the various heads of Pike's Peak, Cheyenne Mountain, etc.

COLORADO



COLORADO

O "Colored Land!" beneath a turquoise sky—
Sun-kissed from dazzling peaks to opal plains—
What pulses throb within thy silver veins,
What forces strove in thee for mastery!

The Manitou here dwelt in days gone by
In crystal springs, to cleanse all mortal stains;
Here the swart Spaniard strove for golden gains;
Lone hunters saw thy virgin purity.

Now plenty's garnerers gild the quiet fields,
And marts are swayed by olive-sceptered peace;
To mighty multitudes her wealth she yields,

As shifting seasons pass and years increase;
For fair "Columbia," bending towards the west,
Now wears this crimson rose upon her breast.

VIRGINIA DONAGHE McCLURG

COLORADO

Thou hast thine eyrie in the lifted lands,
O Colorado, mountain-born and free;
Unvexed by terrors of the far-off sea,
On earth's high crest thy favored realm expands.

Nature bestowed thy dower with lavish hands,
The richest gifts within her treasury,
Which from creation she reserved for thee,
Thy ore-veined mountains and thy golden sands.

Far eastward, ocean-vast, thy plains extend;
Westward thy snow-crowned mountains meet the sky;
Heavens of unclouded blue above thee bend,

And the bright sun looks on thee lovingly,
To what God hath so wrought may great souls lend
The fadeless luster of achievements high.

J. D. DILLENBACK

COLORADO

Land of the undimmed heaven! where the earth
 Hath reared her noblest altar to the sun,
 A continent its basis, and when done
 Capt with the navel of creation's birth.

Here the new light first burst the world-cloud's girth;
 Here through the sky a bluer woof is spun;
 A kindlier heat is from the day-god won,
 Danae's boon freed from its curse of dearth.

The land of beauty and sublimity,
 The land of color, the world's wonderland,
 Earth's teeming mint where orient ores expand;

The haunted home of ancient mystery;
 And in this world of death, disease, and strife,
 The one true home of peace and hope and life.

ERNEST WHITNEY

COLORADO

I love the great brown land with clear blue sky;
 I love the sun-kissed plains and granite hills,
 The lofty summits and the sparkling rills,
 And painted cliffs where deep-worn canyons lie.

I love the thin, sweet air, which to the eye
 Makes distance seem as naught, and the breast fills
 With a new life. Here far from human ills
 May I abide in peace until I die!

The vast upland will breed a hardy race,
 Deep-chested, strong of heart, of goodly height,
 Who 'mongst all men shall hold an honored place.

If their minds be illumined with the light
 Of heaven, as their land, and if the grace
 Of God be sought, to help them walk aright.

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

OLD WINTER IN COLORADO

Old winter! at thy name what visions rise
Of fields outstretched, bewildering brown and bare,
Of ice and chill, and snowdrifts everywhere,
Or mists and rain and lowering cloudy skies.

Thou hast thy sunny side, thy gloomy guise
Is not for us; upon this ambient air
Thy breath is sweet as May, and thou doest wear
Such smiles! Each morn unfolds some new surprise.

O'er Colorado's mountains thou dost trail
Thy days so sun-bespangled that they seem
Steps to the infinite, and whirl on whirl

They circle westward like a golden sail
Upon the billowy blue, a radiant dream
Which nightward drifts upon their gates of pearl.

EMMA P. SEABURY

FROM "LESSONS FROM AN OLD MASTER"

What is the help that cometh from the hills?
Strong pulses, full drawn breath, and sinews tried?
Still may they cleanse the body of its ills;
But higher virtues have the hills supplied;
They train the soul to climb; they best provide
The health of spirit, sanity of mind,
Wherein the purest fires of life reside;
And noble souls of old were quick to find
God in the wilderness and on the mountain shined.

ERNEST WHITNEY

PIKE'S PEAK



PIKE'S PEAK

Lone, hoary monarch of the Titan peaks,
 Offspring of heaven and earth in planet jars,
 Bare-bodied savage, grim with unhealed scars,
 To thy wild band thy voice in thunder speaks;
 Thy sword-stroke is the avalanche that wreaks
 Quick vengeance on thy kneeling victim. Wars
 Come but to yield thee homage, and the stars
 Visit thee nightly, yet thy long gaze seeks

Unsatisfied the playmate of thy prime—
 O longing like to mine!—that goddess bright,
 The ocean stream. O deep embrace! that time

Forgets not, ere stern gods beyond thy sight
 Her dungeons sunk. Thy memory that! thy hope
 This ocean-seeking stream that cheers thy slope.

ERNEST WHITNEY

TO PIKE'S PEAK

Thou hast clothed thy steepest hillsides
 With the fragrant fir and pine,
 With the timid quaking-aspen,
 And the pale-blue columbine;
 And thy torrents downward rushing
 From the melting snow o'erhead,
 Bring a tender, plaintive music
 To the canyon's deep-worn bed.

Thou art ever changing color
 In thy coat of many hues,
 From the glowing orange-crimsons
 To the darkling greens and blues;

When the sun through rift in cloudland
Floods thee with his golden rays,
On thy slopes the purple shadows
Flit across the browns and grays.

When thy darkened form is outlined
In the rosy western sky,
From thy far-flung broken ridges
Magic castles rise on high,—
Castles with fantastic towers
Where the elf-king beck and calls,
While the evening's dying splendor
Streams between the blackened walls.

When the lightning's fiery serpent
Cleaves the air with sudden flash,
And the startled hills give answer
To the thunder's jarring crash,
Calm and fair thy sun-kissed summit
Looms above the mist and rain,
And to thee the melting storm-clouds
Seem a white and fleecy plain.

Fold on fold thy wrinkled foothills,
Rising, lifting up to thee,
Seem the heaving, wind-tossed billows
Of a vast, tumultuous sea,—
Thou, a stolid, massive island
With thy uplands bare and bleak,
With thy hollows and abysses,
And thy lofty, granite peak.

* * * *

Round thee surged the moving waters
When thou first didst lift thy head;
Thou wert then a rocky island
In the ocean's shifting bed;

But before thy slow uprising
Fled the sullen, restless sea,
As the mists of early morning
From the growing sunlight flee.

Thou hast seen the floodgates loosened
In these arid, burning skies ;
Thou hast heard the palm-tree rustle
Where the northern fir-tree sighs ;
Nature at thy feet hath fashioned
Many forms in living clay ;
Some she held in fond affection ;
Some she spurned and cast away.

Last of all was Man created,
Slower than the hare and hind,
Weaker than the bear or panther,
But endowed with cunning mind ;
Man alone knew good and evil
And could call things by their name ;
But, alas ! with greater knowledge
Followed greater sin and shame.

* * * *

Oh, majestic, mighty mountain,
Mocking Time's eternal flow,
When thou lookest on the mortals
As they toil and weep below,
Dost thou think to live forever,
Since of granite frame thou art,
While the life of Man is measured
By the beating of his heart ?

As the ancient, moss-grown boulder
Scorns the limpid, rippling stream,
Thou dost view the flight of ages
As an idly changing dream ;

But if water ever running
Wears the rock it rushes past,
So shall Time, the all-consuming,
Eat away thine heart at last.

Though all matter be immortal,
It is ever changing shape;
Soil that gives the ruddy apple,
Gives the luscious, purple grape;
Water makes the curling vapor,
Floating ice and drifting snow;
And the rock that forms the mountain
Makes the sandy plain below.

Death is but a changed condition;
Life is but a passing show;
Sea and mountain, earth and heaven,
Come, and pause a while, and go.
Length of life should not be reckoned
By the number of the years;
Less an age of senseless matter
Than an hour of love and tears!

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

TIMBER-LINE

I stood on the crest in the sunlight,
When the summer was growing old;
Yet the ages' trace on the mountain's face
Was frozen and white and cold.

I gazed at the distant meadow,
Green with its verdure spread,
Framing the brook, as it pathway took
Through the vale, like a silver thread.

As upward my vision I gathered,
Over forests wide of pine,
I saw them sway to the zephyr's play
Till they reached the timber-line;

Where in grandeur and sadness were lying
The broken, the dying, the dead,
Like the havoc made by the cannon's raid
In the ranks at the battle's head.

Naked and gaunt and frowning,
Like a giant stripped for fray,
The mountain stood above the wood
In the glare of the summer's day.

I thought as again I gathered
The scene in my vision's ken,
That nature's strife resembles our life,
The lives of mortal men.

Some like the valley are peaceful,
Some thrive like the evergreen pine,
Whilst others must stand a hapless band,
To die at the timber-line.

SURVILLE J. DELAN

COLORADO SPRINGS



COLORADO SPRINGS

City of Sunshine! in whose gates of light
Celestial airs and essences abound;
City of Refuge! from whose sacred height
Disease falls thwarted as a baffled hound,
Loosing its fang, long burning in the wound;
City of Life! thou hast a gift of years
For all; swift Death a thousand times disrowned
Within thy walls, and Fate, with waiting shears,
Heed thee, as thou alone of earth didst feed their fears.

ERNEST WHITNEY

FROM MY DOORWAY

A towering mountain range that bears within
 Its rocky breast
An unmolested store of precious ore;
This is the picture that I see when looking
 Toward the West.

Vast plains whose virgin soil might yield the world
 A harvest feast,
In undisturbed sleep their secret keep;
This is the picture that I see when looking
 Toward the East.

Ah, peaceful land of hidden wealth! The troubled
 Days draw nigh,
When all thy secret's known—thy quiet gone;
Thank God that where I upward look is
 His unchanging sky!

MARY G. SLOCUM

THE GARDEN OF THE GODS



GATEWAY OF THE GARDEN OF THE GODS

'Tis the gate of the mountains, the gate to the plains,
The gate to a world of new, unknown domains;
And the hosts of the east throng through it, wide ope,
For they read on its portals "The haven of hope."

'Twas the gate of the dawn of the first morning bright,
And still feels the glow of creation's new light.
Wide swung on the marge of the sea and the land,
Through it crawled the monsters that haunted the strand

In primeval ages. Its threshold was worn
By life's long processions while Eden, forlorn,
Still waited life's promises. Under its arch
Passed race after race in humanity's march,

When the bound of the west, to the mind of the east,
Was the gate where Alcides his wandering ceased.
What wonder the poet who under it trod
Deemed he walked through the gate of the Garden of God?

For it rose in a glory of transcendent gleams
Like the vision which shone on the prophet in dreams;
And he saw through its portals, through vistas sublime,
The wonders God works in earth's happiest clime.

ERNEST WHITNEY

THE GARDEN OF THE GODS

Beneath the rocky peak that hides
 In clouds its snow-flecked crest,
Within these crimson crags abides
 An Orient in the West.

These tints of flame, these myriad dyes,
 This eastern desert calm,
Should catch the gleam of Syrian skies,
 Or shade of Egypt's palm.

As if to bar the dawn's first light
 These ruby gates are hung;
As if from Sinai's frowning height
 These riven tablets flung.

But not the Orient's drowsy gaze,
 Young empire's opening lids
Greet these strange shapes, of earlier days
 Than Sphinx or Pyramids.

Here the New West its wealth unlocks,
 And tears the veil aside,
Which hides the mystic glades and rocks
 The red man deified.

This greensward, girt with tongues of flame,
 With spectral pillars strewn,
Not strangely did the savage name
 A haunt of gods unknown.

Hard by the gentle Manitou
 His healing fountains poured;
Blood-red, against the cloudless blue,
 These storm-tossed Titans soared;

Not carved by art, or man's device,
Nor shaped by human hand,
These altars, meet for sacrifice,
This temple, vast and grand.

With torrents wild and tempest blast,
And fierce volcanic fires,
In secret moulds has Nature cast
Her monoliths and spires.

Their shadows linger where we tread;
Their beauty fills the place;
A broken shrine—its votaries fled—
A spurned and vanished race.

Untouched by Time the garden gleams,
Unplucked the wild flower shines,
And the scarred summit's rifted seams
Are bright with glistening pines.

And still the guileless heart that waits
At Nature's feet may find,
Within the rosy, sun-lit gates,
A hidden glory shrined;

His presence feel to whom, in fear,
Untaught the savage prayed,
And, listening in the garden, hear
His voice, nor be afraid.

WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER

MANITOU



MANITOU

*Where the shadow of the mountain
Meets the sunshine of the fountain,
Listen to these voices singing
And the message they are bringing:*

Spirit Of The Springs:
Sister spirit of the stream,
Is it real or a dream?
Faces in their color change,
Voices take a wider range;
Nature's emerald bosom shows
Charm and color of the rose;
Tell me, spirit, is it true,
All things old give place to new?

Spirit Of The Stream:
Sister spirit of the spring,
Fresher, clearer voices sing
Of a whiter, later race
Taking the swart Indian's place.
Art to Nature gives her hand;
Fashion waves her magic wand,
And the languorous glamor cast
Veils the glory of the past.

Spirit Of The Springs:
Sister spirit of the stream,
It is real, not a dream!
Echoes as from Eden wake
Music such as seraphs make
In each glen and through each rift

Where your shining waters drift;
 While the songs of youth and maid
 Crown each cool and shadowed glade.

Spirit Of The Stream:

From the peak down which I flow
 With my water born of snow,
 To the valley lands that lie
 'Neath a warm and sunny sky,
 All the air is full of change,
 Change as sweet as it is strange;
 And my song forever chimes
 To these later happier times.

The Spirits Of The Springs And The Stream:

Whiter tepees crown our hills,
 Sweeter lips now touch our rills;
 Under Manitou's bright skies
 Fairer faces meet our eyes;
 And where crystal waters glide
 Happy lovers blush and hide;
 Dusky features fade away,
 Saxon faces come today.

*Flash on fountain, roll on river,
 Snow-crowned peak and sun-kissed vale;
 These are Nature's gifts forever
 Until Nature's self shall fail.*

EDGAR P. VANGASSEN

THE TOWN OF SUN AND SHADOW

Summer days of warping pavements, when
the steely skies are blue,
Off my thoughts fly to the westward to the glens
of Manitou—

To the canyons and the passes
And the green of mountain grasses,
And the pine and quaking aspen dabbled with
the morning dew;
And the rugged, outward-jutting rocks that look
like sentinels
Guarding well the toy-like village that far, far
below them dwells;
And the royal peak up yonder that in majesty
defies

Like a reincarnate Ajax all the lightning
of the skies
As it peers beyond the snowdrifts that are ever
in its view,
And lends dignity most solemn to the giddy
Manitou—

To the thoughtless, sprightly, pleasure-loving
town of Manitou.

When the sun in furnace-fashion seems to roast me
through and through,
Then I listen for the gurgle of the springs
of Manitou—

For the gurgle and their splashing
And the noisy, foamy crashing
Of the creek that hastens downward—hastens
as 'twere overdue,
Calling farewell to the strollers on the upper
avenue.

I can close my eyes and fancy blots the great,
hot hives of brick

From the purview of my vision as a juggler
 does a trick,
 And instead of streets and alleys, where moist
 humans palpitate,
 I am on the cool, red driveways that curve oft
 and undulate,
 And I see the broad piazzas that in other days
 I knew,
 When I danced in summer twilights in dear,
 merry Manitou.

I'm a long time from the mountains, and strange
 gods I now pursue,
 But my summertime allegiance never shifts
 from Manitou;
 To the dashing, giddy, royal
 Little mountain town I'm loyal,
 For the dog's too old for learning tricks in any
 measure new;
 Let the seashore claim the wretches who ne'er
 saw the Ute Pass skies,
 Or the gray old Cheyenne mountain, where the
 sweet Ramona lies,
 Or who never climbed the cogwheel, never felt
 the throb and thrill
 As one looks from Pike's Peak's shoulder to the
 war camp of Bull hill.
 Let them tour "where they're a mind to;" as for
 me, my heart is true
 To the town of shade and shadow,
 Out in snow-capped Colorado—
 To the little, perching paradise that men call
 Manitou.

(FROM THE CHICAGO RECORD)

MONUMENT PARK

IN MONUMENT PARK

Read the story of the stones!
We are in the house of thrones,
On the graves of empires dead
When the earth but giants bred,
And our race of petty men
Lived but in the prophet's ken.
Crumbled are their palace walls,
Roofless lie their empty halls,
And the pillars stand in vain
Bowed beneath their ancient strain.
Dust are all the kings today
Who amid these courts held sway.
Humbled are the temple gods,
And the broken idol nods
O'er the altar, bare and cold,
Where the victim knelt of old;
But the groups of regal forms,
Changeless through a thousand storms,
Mute historians of the past,
Tell the ancient tales at last.
Nay, what grace can artifice
Add to such a scene as this!
Then away with fancy's guess!
Better Nature's truthfulness,
Simple, beautiful, sincere.
She hath nobler history here,
Eloquent to every heart
More than utterance of art,
Solemn as a chanted hymn
In cathedral cloister dim.
Even the savage in this dell
Felt the soul within him swell
With the sense of higher things
Which the best of nature brings.

ERNEST WHITNEY

UTE PASS



UTE PASS

Vast corridor through Nature's roofless halls,
Pike beckons welcome far across the land
To this sole gateway through its granite walls,
By Chaos wrought with harsh primeval hand.

He scarred his pathway through the frightful chasm
With shattered ledge and splintered crag in air,
And cliffs that writhe as though, in torturing spasm,
Some hideous monster met the Gorgon's stare.

But only once he through the ravine stormed,
While year by year roamed Beauty in the path,
And wheresoe'er she stepped, that spot transformed
Bears her soft smile amid his work of wrath.

ERNEST WHITNEY.

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN



CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN

Far-off plains and mesas glow
With the joy of morning light,
Mountain streamlets, singing, flow
Fresh and pure and sparkling bright
Through fair field and shady glen,
In the shadow of Cheyenne.

High to heaven, peak on peak,
Towers the grand old mountain range,
Whose majestic outlines speak
Steadfastness amid all change;
Power and might beyond our ken
Here in shadow of Cheyenne.

How the voice of Nature calls!
Rousing a responsive cry:—
“Lord, Thy revelation falls
Not on heedless heart or eye,
But as saving grace to men
From the shadow of Cheyenne!”

LOUISA CARROLL THOMAS

TO A FIR TREE

(On Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado)

I have lain under thee long hours alone,
And listened to the music of thy moan,
Now the unworded wail of helpless grief,
Now the hushed whispering of leaf to leaf,
Now the soft note of cherished hope and cheer
That even the wild bird stops his song to hear,
Now the grim silence of a hopeless heart.

Yet evermore I feel thou hast a word,
 By which my soul to nobler aims is stirred.
 What is the secret that thou wouldst impart?
 What moveth thee, O Fir Tree? Canst thou tell
 Thy passion unto one who loves thee well?
 Or doth my awkward sense misread thy mood,
 Thou dreaming poet of the dreamy wood,
 Musician of the lonely mountain dell?
 Art thou still murmuring o'er that melody,
 Sweet mother of thy only memory,
 The legendary music of his lyre
 Who led thy forest folk in Arcady?
 Who taught them to the mountains to aspire?
 Who taught them to be beautiful, until
 Long lives of yearning passion gave us thee?
 For thou art lofty, lone and beautiful,
 To brighter, holier skies aspiring still,
 Yet loving sheltering cliffs, so to annul
 The wrenching storms and keep thy perfect grace,
 The pure ideal of this fane-like place.

Sweet the traditions of that earlier day
 When laughing dryads, in the woodland gay,
 In careless love of simple happiness,
 Learned how the poet's inspirations bless.
 I will not doubt a spirit in thy bole,
 That bears some near relation to a soul.
 Nay, who can tell me when that sacred flame,
 Called life, can first a soul immortal claim?
 Since life is life, let all life sacred be,
 Nor hold it lightly even in a tree.
 There may be truth in strong old myths concealed,
 Whereby life's deeper mysteries are revealed.
 Think we one ancient people only heard
 The voice of God, or strove to speak his word?

ERNEST WHITNEY

IN NORTH CHEYENNE CANYON

Aloft to the sunset light towers the ledge;
The ivy hangs heavily over the edge,
As a cataract ready to fall o'er its face
Had paused ere its plunge for the fear of the place.

The harebell and columbine cling to the cliff,
Where the frost-king hath carven his weird hieroglyph,
Like the spots of bright color on manuscript old,
Where the secrets of faith and of magic are told.

And here hover readers, the raven and dove,
From the same palimpsest reading hatred and love,
And turning to utterance mystic the spell
They have read from the runes on the rock in the dell.

'Tis a temple enchanted and hallowed of old,
And its priests are the fir trees so solemnly stoled,
Ever chanting in murmuring harmony low

In anthems the mysteries none other know,
Ever shedding their sweet benedictions of peace
On the soul that here seeketh in nature release.

ERNEST WHITNEY

THE SEVEN FALLS

These are man's seven ages in the stream
Of life eternal, hurrying with the roar
And rush of madness to the goal; and sore
With toil to make life's rugged pathway seem
Less painful. Half in air, as they did deem
Strong-binding earth no part of them, but bore
A life ethereal, and therefore wore
This cloud-white livery, bright with heaven's gleam.
Earth is the jagged cliff in Time's long course,

Life's death leap; o'er it, from an unknown source,
Life breaks, a living stream before, and still
Flows on mysterious missions to fulfill
Beyond the present, toward the unknown sea,
Down the long reaches of eternity.

ERNEST WHITNEY

HYMN TO COLORADO

To thee, our State, we consecrate
Our hearts with one acclaim;
We promise thee, where'er we be,
To honor thy fair name,
Thy flag unfold, Silver and Gold,
Let truth and right prevail,
With loyalty and liberty,
Hail, Colorado, hail!

Thy men shall be all brave and free,
Thy women pure and true;
May peace and love come from above
To bless whate'er they do,
O land of pine and columbine,
Of fruitful plain and vale,
Of upland bleak and lofty peak,
Hail, Colorado, hail!

To thee we sing, to thee we bring
The tribute of our praise;
Be thine the joy without alloy,
The ever happy days,
O land of light and sun-kissed height,
Far-famed in song and tale;
O fair and great Centennial State,
Hail, Colorado, hail!

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

MYTHS



THE UTE IDEA OF CREATION

The Great Spirit made Pike's Peak first of all by pouring ice and snow through a hole which he made in the sky by turning a stone round and round. He then stepped off the clouds on to the mountain top, and descended part way and planted trees by putting his finger on the ground. The sun melted the snow, and the water ran down the mountain-side and nurtured the trees and made the streams. After that he made fish for the rivers out of the small end of his staff. He made birds by blowing some leaves which he took from the ground under the trees. Next he created the beasts out of the rest of his staff, but he created the grizzly bear out of the big end, and made him master of all the others.

Man was created later, as follows: The daughter of the Great Spirit ventured too far from home, and fell into the power of the grizzly bear whom she was forced to marry. The red men were the fruit of this marriage. The men were taken under the protection of the Great Spirit; but the grizzly bears were punished by being compelled to walk on four feet, whereas before they had walked on two.

THE SWEET AND BITTER SPRINGS

In the interesting little volume entitled *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1847), by George F. Ruxton, Esq., a member of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, who visited this region in the spring of 1847, there is an interesting description of the Fontaines-Qui-Bouillant, or Boiling Fountains, in the picturesque little valley where now lies the village of Manitou. This hardy

traveler, after extraordinary adventures in Old and in New Mexico, came with his favorite pony Panchito and a train of mules across the mountains to the Arkansas River, and thence north to the slopes of Pike's Peak, which he describes as a hunters' paradise. Here he rested a while to enjoy the chase and the cool bubbling waters of the Boiling Springs. In the account of his first visit to these springs, Ruxton says: "The valley narrowed considerably, and, turning an angle with the creek, I was at once shut in by mountains and elevated ridges, which rose on each side of the stream. This was now a rapid torrent, tumbling over rocks and stones, and fringed with oaks and a shrubbery of brush. A few miles on the canyon opened out into a shelving glade; and on the right bank of the stream, and raised several feet above it, was a flat white rock in which was a round hole, where one of the celebrated springs hissed and bubbled with its escaping gas. I had been cautioned against drinking this, being directed to follow the stream a few yards to another, which is the true soda spring."

He then relates how his horses and mules drank greedily of the sulphur spring, and then licked and scraped with their teeth the white rock that enclosed it; while he proceeded up the stream to the other spring, "about forty yards from the first, but immediately above the river, issuing from a little basin in the flat white rock, and trickling over the edge into the stream. The escape of gas in this was much stronger than in the other, and was similar to water boiling smartly. I had provided myself" (he goes on to say) "with a tin cup holding about a pint; but, before dipping it in, I divested myself of my pouch and belt, and sat down in order to enjoy the draught at my leisure. I was half dead with thirst; and, tucking up the sleeves of my hunting-shirt, I dipped the cup into the midst of the bubbles, and raised it hissing and sparkling to my lips. Such a draught! Three times, without drawing a breath, was it replenished and emptied, almost blowing up the roof of my mouth with its effervescence. It

was equal to the very best soda-water, but possesses that fresh, natural flavor, which manufactured water cannot impart.

The Indians regard with awe the 'medicine' waters of these fountains, as being the abode of a spirit who breathes through the transparent water, and thus, by his exhalations, causes the perturbation of its surface. The Arapahoes, especially, attribute to this water-god the power of ordaining the success or miscarriage of their war-expeditions; and as their braves pass often by the mysterious springs, when in search of their hereditary enemies, the Yutas (Utes), in the 'Valley of Salt' [1], they never fail to bestow their votive offerings upon the water-sprite, in order to propitiate the 'Manitou' of the fountain, and ensure a fortunate issue to their 'path of war.'

Thus at the time of my visit the basin of the spring was filled with beads and wampum, and pieces of red cloth and knives, whilst the surrounding trees were hung with strips of deerskin, cloth, and moccasins, to which, had they been serviceable, I would most sacrilegiously have helped myself. . . . This country was once possessed by the Shoshone or Snake Indians, of whom the Comanches of the plains are a branch." Ruxton here says, by way of parenthesis, that the Utes of the mountains are also a branch of the Shoshone or Snake Indians, and then continues: "The Snakes, who, in common with all Indians, possess hereditary legends to account for all natural phenomena . . . have of course their legendary version of the causes which created, in the midst of their hunting-grounds, these two springs of sweet and bitter water; which are also intimately connected with the cause of separation between the tribes of 'Comanche' and the 'Snake.' Thus runs the legend:—

Many hundreds of winters ago, when the cotton-woods

[1] Or Bayou Salé, sometimes called, with a curious mixture of French and Spanish, the Bayou Salado. It is in South Park, and from it the Indians of this region chiefly secured their salt.

on the Big River were no higher than an arrow, and the red men, who hunted the buffalo on the plains, all spoke the same language, and the pipe of peace breathed its social cloud of kinnik-kinnek whenever two parties of hunters met on the boundless plains,—when, with hunting-grounds and game of every kind in the greatest abundance, no nation dug up the hatchet with another because one of its hunters followed the game into their bounds, but, on the contrary, loaded for him his back with choice and fattest meat, and ever proffered the soothing pipe before the stranger . . . left the village,—it happened that two hunters of different nations met one day on a small rivulet, where both had repaired to quench their thirst. A little stream of water, rising from a spring on a rock within a few feet of the bank, trickled over it, and fell splashing into the river. To this the hunters repaired; and whilst one sought the spring itself, where the water, cold and clear, reflected on its surface the image of the surrounding scenery, the other, tired by his exertions in the chase, threw himself at once to the ground, and plunged his face into the running stream.

The latter had been unsuccessful in the chase, and perhaps his bad fortune, and the sight of the fat deer which the other hunter threw from his back before he drank at the crystal spring, caused a feeling of jealousy and ill-humor to take possession of his mind. The other, on the contrary, before he satisfied his thirst, raised in the hollow of his hand a portion of the water, and, lifting it toward the sun, reversed his hand, and allowed it to fall upon the ground,—a libation to the Great Spirit who had vouchsafed him a successful hunt, and the blessing of the refreshing water with which he was about to quench his thirst.

Seeing this, and being reminded that he had neglected the usual offering, only increased the feeling of envy and annoyance which the unsuccessful hunter permitted to get the mastery of his heart; and the Evil Spirit at that moment entering his body, his temper fairly flew away, and he sought

some pretence by which to provoke a quarrel with the stranger Indian at the spring.

'Why does a stranger,' he asked, rising from the stream at the same time, 'drink at the spring-head, when one to whom the fountain belongs contents himself with the water that runs from it?'

'The Great Spirit places the cool water at the spring,' answered the other hunter, 'that his children may drink it pure and undefiled. The running water is for the beasts which scour the plains. Au-sa-quā is a chief of the Shoshone; he drinks at the head-water.'

'The Shoshone is but a tribe of the Comanche,' returned the other. 'Waco-mish leads the grand nation. Why does a Shoshone dare to drink above him?'

'He has said it. The Shoshone drinks at the spring-head; other nations of the stream which runs into the fields. Au-sa-quā is chief of his nation. The Comanche are brothers. Let them both drink of the same water.'

'The Shoshone pays tribute to the Comanche. Waco-mish leads that nation to war. Waco-mish is chief of the Shoshone, as he is of his own people.'

'Waco-mish lies; his tongue is forked like the rattlesnake's; his heart is black as the Mishi-tunga (bad spirit). When the Manitou made his children, whether Shoshone or Comanche, Arapahoe, Shi-an, or Pa-ne, he gave them buffalo to eat, and the pure water of the fountain to quench their thirst. He said not to one, Drink here, and to another, Drink there; but gave the crystal spring to all, that all might drink.'

Waco-mish almost burst with rage as the other spoke; but his coward heart alone prevented him from provoking an encounter with the calm Shoshone. He, made thirsty by the words he had spoken,—for the red man is ever sparing of his tongue,—again stooped down to the spring to quench his thirst, when the subtle warrior of the Comanche suddenly threw himself upon the kneeling hunter, and, forcing his head into the bubbling water, held him down with all his strength

until his victim no longer struggled, his stiffened limbs relaxed, and he fell forward over the spring, drowned and dead.

Over the body stood the murderer, and no sooner was the deed of blood consummated than bitter remorse took possession of his mind, where before had reigned the fiercest passion and vindictive hate. With hands clasped to his forehead, he stood transfixed with horror, intently gazing on his victim, whose head still remained immersed in the fountain. Mechanically he dragged the body a few paces from the water, which, as soon as the head of the dead Indian was withdrawn, the Comanche saw suddenly and strangely disturbed. Bubbles sprang up from the bottom, and, rising to the surface, escaped in hissing gas. A thin vapory cloud arose, and, gradually dissolving, displayed to the eyes of the trembling murderer the figure of an aged Indian, whose long snowy hair and venerable beard, blown aside by a gentle air from his breast, discovered the well-known totem of the great Wan-kan-aga, the father of the Comanche and Shoshone nation, whom the tradition of the tribe, handed down by skillful hieroglyphics, almost deified for the good actions and deeds of bravery this famous warrior had performed when on earth.

Stretching out a war-club towards the affrighted murderer, the figure thus addressed him:

'Accursed of my tribe! this day thou hast severed the link between the mightiest nations of the world, while the blood of the brave Shoshone cries to the Manitou for vengeance. May the water of thy tribe be rank and bitter in their throats!' Thus saying, and swinging his ponderous war-club (made from the elk's horn) round his head, he dashed out the brains of the Comanche, who fell headlong into the spring, which, from that day to the present moment, remains rank and nauseous, so that, not even when half dead with thirst, can one drink the foul water of that spring.

The good Wan-kan-aga, however, to perpetuate the memory of the Shoshone warrior, who was renowned in his tribe for valor and nobleness of heart, struck with the same aveng-

ing club a hard flat rock, which overhung the rivulet, just out of sight of this scene of blood; and forthwith the rock opened into a round clear basin, which instantly filled with bubbling, sparkling water, than which no thirsty hunter ever drank a sweeter or a cooler draught. Thus the two springs remain, an everlasting memento of the foul murder of the brave Shoshone and the stern justice of the good Wan-kan-aga."

This legend is interesting; but, unfortunately, Ruxton does not give the slightest clew to the source from which he drew it; and, moreover, it bears internal evidence of considerable embellishment at the hands of the Englishman who recorded it. [1]

[1] The French name of the springs, Fontaines-qui-Bouillent, calls our attention to the fact that this part of Colorado once formed part of the French colony of Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain in 1762, and retroceded to France in 1800. In 1803 the United States purchased it from France. As finally determined, the division-line in this immediate region, between Louisiana and the Spanish colonies, followed the Arkansas river west to the continental divide, which it followed in a northerly direction. During the greater part of the colonial period all the country about the present town of Colorado Springs, north of the Arkansas river and east of the main range of mountains, was French territory, and not Spanish, as is generally believed. This explains the prevalence of French names north of Pueblo, such as Fontaines-qui-Bouillent, Bayou Sale, Bijou, Platte, Cache-la-Poudre (or Cache-A-Poudre), etc. Even the spelling of Manitou and Cheyenne is French.

MYTHS OF THE
PIKE'S PEAK REGION

I

PIKE'S PEAK

In distant golden days, when all the land
Was fair and sweet and all the sky was blue,
The Earthly Paradise was situate
Upon the smiling slopes that rise to meet
The Rockies' mighty chain. Here dwelt in peace
A chosen race, for whom the luscious fruits
And strengthening yellow maize
Then grew untended by the hand of man,
And beasts that now are savage gladly came
And gave themselves a willing sacrifice.
But with the flight of time this happy folk
Grew weary of their quiet life, and longed
For other, greater joys, until their love
Of Manitou was turned to bitter hate,
And all the earth was filled with violence.

Then Manitou was wroth
When he beheld that this his chosen race
Was lower than the beasts. To cleanse the earth,
He opened wide the fountains of the deep
Till waters hid the land.
The lesser spirits of the hills and plains,
Who dwell among mankind and guide their acts,
Fleeing in fear before the rising flood,
Rushed toward the Western Gate
That leads to Heaven, bearing in their hands
Fragments of soil or bits of precious stone.

[Author's Note: I first read these myths in a little volume of prose entitled **Legends of the Pike's Peak Region**, by **Ernest Whitney**, assisted by **William S. Alexander**, Denver, 1892, and later, with variations, in several other works. It has been my aim merely to make coherent, and to put into verse, those portions of these myths that seemed to me of most importance. The descriptive matter, for the most part, is mine. The source of these myths is not known.]

With which to build elsewhere a better earth.
 But Manitou forbade that they should bring
 Their worldly spoil to Heaven;
 And so they dropped their treasures in a heap
 That towered high above the restless flood
 And formed a lofty Peak.
 A monument of precious earth and stone,
 Built by the Gods, the noble Peak still stands
 And marks the Gate to Heaven.

II

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN

One man, one woman, 'scaped the angry flood,
 And floated many days in a canoe
 Made of a hollow stalk of Indian corn
 (The corn, it seems, grew larger then than now).
 Until their vessel rested on the Peak.
 Floating on other stalks came beast and fowl
 To join them there; and all did freely eat
 The wrinkled kernels of the yellow maize.

The Manitou took pity on the few
 Who fled the sea and reached the Holy Mount.
 He loosed the Dragon Thirst, a monstrous beast,
 Which plunged into the tide
 And drank and drank until the earth was dry,—
 So dry and parched that Manitou had fear
 Lest not a drop be left,
 And bade the dragon cease.
 But when the greedy monster sought to rise
 At Manitou's command,
 Swollen with drink it fell to earth again.
 A crushed and shapeless mass, and there it died.

The dragon's body, with its wrinkled sides
 And horned back, still lies where then it fell.
 Its stony face looks toward the south and east,
 Whence come the mists that savor of the sea,
 As if it waited for another flood.

III

THE CANOE

When the dark waters fell,
The man and woman from the dizzy heights
Looked on the fertile plains that lay below,
And saw that they were fair.
Enamelled fields and winding brooks were bathed
In golden sunshine. Far as eye could reach,
The verdant plains rejoiced and bade them come.

Once more the god took pity on the two,
And fashioned for their use a stout canoe,
In which they glided down the mountain-side
The track they left behind may still be seen
Upon the eastern slope;
And the canoe, high curved at either end,
With two who ply the paddle, seems to ride
The tossing waves that from the granite Peak
Roll toward Saint Peter's Dome.
There shall it stand as long as man endures,
A token of the saving grace of God.

IV

THE GARDEN OF THE GODS AND PALMER
AND MONUMENT PARKS

In nestling vales and on the grassy plains
Beneath the Holy Mount, the chosen race
Increased in numbers more than all that were
Before them. And the gracious Manitou,
To prove his love, did stamp upon the Peak
The image of his face, that all might see
And worship him. Unto the Mount each day,
When first 'twas gilded by the morning light,
The people lifted up their souls in prayer,
And walked with Manitou. Theirs was the earth
Far as the face was seen o'er plain and hill;
No farther did they venture, lest they meet

With hidden foes. Fair was the land to see
 Where dwelt this chosen tribe in peace and joy,
 Envied by other races of mankind
 Who knew not Manitou.

But, lo! from out the north
 Came a barbaric host of giants great
 And tall, that pressed upon them with the force
 Of charging buffalo,
 And with the fierceness of the mountain lion.
 In numbing fear they fled
 Within the shadow of the Holy Mount,
 For in the sight of their titanic foes
 They were as grasshoppers.
 With the invading host came beasts diverse
 From all that were before them,—monstrous beasts
 That would devour the earth and tread it down.
 In prayer the children of the Manitou
 Called on their god for help,—
 Then came to pass a wondrous miracle:
 The face of Manitou was seen to turn
 And gaze upon the giants,
 Who each and all were straightway turned to stone.

As then they stood, these giants stand today:
 The scattered bands of warriors, red and brown,
 Are found to east and north, time-worn and scarred,
 With legs deep buried in the drifted sand;
 Some bolder than the rest are near the Mount,
 And some are far away in sheltered vales,
 As if they sought to hide;
 Some hold their shields uplifted as to meet
 The gaze of Manitou;
 Some crouch in horror of impending doom.
 A motley crew of mighty men are they:
 Tall grenadiers, erect as though on guard,
 And Chinese mandarins;

Giants with mortarboards and scholar's hoods;
Some without ears or nose,
And some with crooked noses, long and red.

The beasts the giants drove are stranger still:
Big, clumsy elephants with drooping trunks;
Slow-moving, patient camels, massive bears
With pointed jaws, and tawny, bearded lions;
Smooth, glossy beavers with flat, scaly tails,
And mild-eyed seals with bodies grayish-brown;
Ferocious crocodiles,
And timid turtles that are slow but sure;
Huge wood-frogs, reddish-brown,
That in the act of leaping changed to stone;
And mammoth penguins, too, half bird, half man.
Mingled with beasts and giants, odd to tell,
Are little goblins that came out to gaze,
Some starry night, and stayed too long, until
Surprised by dawn, they also turned to stone.

Unto the end of time
These strange fantastic forms shall stand as now,
A warning to all men who, hard of heart,
May dare defy the Father of us all.

V

CAMERON'S CONE

The chosen race was brave
When it beheld the gracious Manitou;
But when he hid his face in the gray mist
These men of little faith were sore afraid
And murmured in their hearts:
Nor dared to chase the deer or plant the maize
Until the clouds were parted and the face
Looked forth again. An embassy was sent
To pray the Manitou
That they might ever have his face in view,
By day resplendent in the golden light

Of the creative sun, and bathed at night
In the soft radiance of the silvery moon.

They sent four ancient chieftains, bold of heart
And purified by fasts and holy rites,
To scale the Mount that rose to Heaven's Gate.
But Manitou was wroth that men should dare
To tread upon the image of his face,
And in his anger seized the thunderbolts
And hurled them at the earth.
In deepest darkness all the land was wrapped,
Save where the flames ran down the mountain-side.
Terrific winds were loosed,
That scourged the trembling plains with blinding dust.
It rained a grievous hail on man and beast,
On tree and herb; and with volcanic shock
The hills were rent in twain.
Four days the Mount was hid from human eyes.
At last the storm was spent,
The winds were seized and bound, the hail was checked,
The twisted thunderbolts were laid away,
And dimly through the clouds the sacred Mount
Was visible. With terror men beheld
A mountain scarred and broken. Manitou
Had hurled the summit of the lofty Peak
Upon the chieftains ere they reached the top,
And gave them death. Half way 'twixt Peak and plain
The ancient summit lay,
And the stern image of the Manitou
Was cleft and blackened by the thunderbolts.
Unto this day, upon the lesser peak,
The face of Manitou is seen by men,—
A charred and riven face. And to this day
The winds are loosed, the thunderbolts are hurled,
And flames of fire run down the mountain-side,
When Manitou is wroth.

VI

THE BOILING SPRINGS OF MANITOU

Although the storm was lulled, for many weeks
The face of Manitou
Frowned on the world; the sky was overcast,
And the cold sun shone dimly through the clouds;
The sparkling streams that one-time danced with joy
Dragged their slow length along, and the fish died
And made the water foul, so that mankind
Did loathe to drink it; the cold east wind brought
A grievous plague of locusts, which devoured
The trees and herbs till no green thing remained.
Then starved both man and beast,
And all the earth was full of pestilence.

With humble, contrite hearts, the stricken race
Besought the Manitou
To pardon their transgressions and to stay
The deadly plague. Once more the Manitou
Took pity on the puny race of men,
And sent a lesser spirit from the sky,
Who came where plain and Holy Mount were one,
And smote a rock. Forth gushed a living well
Of bubbling water. Fair it was to see,
But bitter to the taste, for still the earth
Was foul with pestilence. He smote again;
Again he smote; well after well gushed forth,
Each sweeter than the other.
And then the spirit breathed the breath of life
Into the boiling springs,
That all who drank, repentful of their sins,
The ever troubled waters,
Should be made whole and cleansed of all disease;
And thus the plague was stayed.

Although the ancient race has passed away,
The mystic boiling springs of Manitou

Pour forth their healing waters as of yore,
That whosoever drinks be sound of flesh,
If he be pure of heart.

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

INDEX

SONGS

ANONYMOUS:

- The Town of Sun and Shadow.....194
—*Chicago Record*.

EDITH COLBY BANFIELD:

- In the Rockies.....176
"I See These Mountains Now Forever With
Changed Eyes"178
Sailor Blood.....177
—*The Place of My Desire*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER:

- The Garden of the Gods.....190

SURVILLE J. DELAN:

- Timber-Line186
—*Crude Ore*.

J. D. DILLENBACK:

- Colorado180

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS:

- Colorado181
Hymn to Colorado.....202
To Pike's Peak.....183

HELEN HUNT JACKSON:

- Cheyenne Mountain169
Return to the Hills.....170
With Them That Do Rejoice.....172
—*Helen Hunt Jackson's Poems*, Copyright 1892, by
Robert Brothers.

VIRGINIA DONAGHE MCCLURG:

- Colorado180
—*A Pilgrimage to the Rockies*.
Helen Hunt's Grave175
—*The Century Magazine*.

SONGS—Continued.

EMMA P. SEABURY:

Old Winter in Colorado.....182

MARY G. SLOCUM:

From My Doorway.....188
—*The Interior.*

LOUISA CARROLL THOMAS:

Cheyenne Mountain198
—*Mountain Sunshine*, Vol. II, No. 1.

EDGAR P. VANGASSEN:

Manitou192

ERNEST WHITNEY:

Colorado181
—*Pictures and Poems of the Pike's Peak Region.*

Colorado Springs188

Gateway of the Garden of the Gods.....189
—*Pictures and Poems.*

In Monument Park.....196
—*Pictures and Poems.*

In North Cheyenne Canyon200

Pike's Peak183
—*Pictures and Poems.*

The Mourners on Cheyenne.....174
—*Pictures and Poems.*

The Seven Falls.....200

To a Fir Tree.....198

Ute Pass197

"What Is the Help That Cometh From the Hills"....182

STANLEY WOOD:

Cheyenne Canyon173
—*Rhymes of the Rockies.*

MYTHS

The Ute Idea of Creation.....	203
— <i>Out West</i> , November, 1873.	
The Sweet and Bitter Springs.....	203
— <i>Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains</i> , by George F. Ruxton, London, 1847.	

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS:

Myths of the Pike's Peak Region:

I Pike's Peak	210
II Cheyenne Mountain	211
III The Canoe	212
IV The Garden of the Gods and Palmer and Monument Parks	212
V Cameron's Cone	214
VI The Boiling Springs of Manitou.....	216

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Some Spanish-American Poets

By

Elijah Clarence Hills

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By ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

SOME SPANISH-AMERICAN POETS.*

In the introduction to the first volume of his *American Letters* (*Cartas Americanas, 1a serie*, Madrid, 1889) Juan Valera, the eminent novelist and literary critic, and one-time minister to Washington, said: "In the natural and exact sciences, and in industry and commerce, English America . . . has prospered more; but one may say without boasting that in letters, with regard to both quantity and quality, Spanish America is in advance of English America." The distinguished Hispanic scholar, Professor James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1908), gives the reply courteous to Valera in these words: "He (Valera) rarely writes without establishing some ingenious and suggestive parallel or pronouncing some luminous judgment; but . . . his desire to please often stays him from arriving at a clear conclusion . . . his *saute complaisance* becomes a formidable weapon in such a performance as the *Cartas Americanas*, where . . . you set the look down with the impression that the writers of the South-American continent have been complimented out of existence by a stately courtier."

After reading many volumes of Spanish-American verses, one is led to believe that Hispano-American poetry, though more voluminous, is probably not a whit finer and nobler than that of English America; and that, on the other hand, it is in no-wise inferior. In attempting to study the poets of Spanish America, one is confronted with a bewildering array of mediocre poets, above whom seem to rise here and there a greater artist. But, after all, whatever one's choice of these artists may be, it will have been largely influenced by personal taste; and it is, therefore, with considerable diffidence that six poets have been chosen, not as certainly the best in every respect, but as

*This article has been given as a lecture at Harvard University, the University of Wisconsin, the University of California, and Colorado College.

representative of the best that Spanish America has given to the world of letters.

The two most notable women-writers of Spanish America are Avellaneda and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Much has been written about Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda y Arteaga (1816-1873), the romantic poetess, who was born in Cuba but went to Spain at the age of twenty, and is therefore generally considered a Spanish rather than a Cuban writer. Sor Juana Inés (1651-1695), the Mexican nun of the seventeenth century, is not so well known. Her worldly name was Doña Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Cantillana, and it is no wonder, therefore, that she preferred the simple pen-name of "Julia." The lady first saw the light of day in a village near Mexico City. Her father, Don Pedro Manuel de Asbaje, was a Basque of good family, and her mother was a Mexican lady of Spanish descent, Doña Isabel Ramírez. Tradition holds that Juana Inés was a precocious child, as tradition is wont to hold with regard to children who had in them the germ of greatness. It is said that when she was only three years of age she slipped away to school one day with an older sister, and learned to read and write before her mother knew that she was going to school at all. When still a small child she astonished her parents by announcing that as cheese dulled the intellect she would eat no more of it. At the age of seven or eight years Juana Inés began to write verses, her first composition being one in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. As there were no colleges for women in Mexico during the seventeenth century, our little lady is said to have begged her father to let her dress as a man and thus attend one of the colleges in Mexico City. This request was refused by an unsympathetic father; but he allowed her to begin the study of Latin with a tutor. With only twenty lessons, supplemented by much private reading, Juana Inés acquired so complete a command of Latin, if her biographers can be trusted, that she wrote and spoke it perfectly. But after all these exaggerated statements have been sifted, the fact remains

that the child had intellectual curiosity in an unusual degree, as may be gathered from this statement that occurs in her writings: "Since the first light of reason illumined me, I had so vehement and strong an inclination to letters, that neither the reproofs of others, of which I have had many, nor my own reflections, of which I have made not a few, sufficed to turn me from this natural impulse which God gave me. . . . Since in women the natural beauty of the hair is so highly esteemed, I cut off five or six finger-lengths of mine, . . . and imposed upon myself the law that when it grew again to where it was before, if I did not know this or the other thing which I had set out to learn in the meantime, I should cut it off again as punishment for my stupidity: . . . for it did not seem reasonable to me that a head so bare of ideas should be adorned with hair."

When still a young girl Juana Inés became a maid-in-waiting in the viceroy's palace, where her beauty and wit attracted much attention. But she soon renounced the worldly life of the court, and apparently moved by a determination never to marry, joined a religious order. In the convent of San Jerónimo she turned for solace to books. She was an indefatigable reader, and in time she accumulated a library of four thousand volumes, as well as several musical instruments and some scientific apparatus. Two years before her death Sor Juana received from the bishop of Puebla a letter that affected her greatly. The bishop censured her devotion to worldly studies, and urged her to give her mind thereafter entirely to God. The sister, who was now forty-two years old, complied with the advice even more fully than the good bishop had intended. After selling her books and instruments and giving the proceeds to the poor, Sor Juana made a general confession, wrote with her own blood a solemn declaration of faith, and renouncing all worldly things during the remaining months of her life, she gave herself entirely to religious meditation and penance.

On reading the verses of Sor Juana, one is immediately

struck by their unevenness. The defects and errors, of which there are many, seem largely due to hasty improvisation or to the dark and devious ways of Gongorism. In this connection, however, and in all fairness to the poetess, one must acknowledge that most of her verses, considering the period in which they are written, are extraordinarily free from Gongoristic exaggeration. Her better verses are of two kinds: those that give evidence of an unusual degree of cleverness and mental acuteness, and those that have the ring of spontaneity and sincerity. She was rather too fond of making a display of her cleverness on all occasions, and only in some of her erotic and religious poems does this fondness for display sink beneath a rising tide of tumultuous passion. As an exponent of erotic mysticism Sor Juana is most interesting. In the most passionate of her erotic verses there is an apparent sincerity which makes it difficult for the lay reader to believe that she had not been profoundly influenced by human love,—as when she gives expression to the feelings of a loving wife for a dead husband, or laments the absence of a lover, or tells of a great jealousy.

In addition to her lyrics, Sor Juana wrote three *autos* (short dramatic compositions in which the characters are biblical or allegorical): *The Scepter of Saint Joseph* (*El Cetro de San José*), *Saint Hermenegild* (*San Hermenegildo*), and *The Divine Narcissus* (*El Divino Narciso*) which is the best of the three and contains some beautiful mystic songs; and two secular plays: *Love is a Greater Labyrinth* (*Amor es Más Laberinto*), from the story of Theseus and Ariadne, and *The Obligations of a House* (*Empeños de una Casa*), an imitation of the *capa y espada* drama of Calderon. It was unfortunate for the fame of Sor Juana that her poems were first published (Vol. I, Madrid, 1689) under the bombastic title, *Castalian Inundation of the Unique Poetess and Tenth Muse* (*Inundación Castálida de la Única Poetisa, Musa Décima*), Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; but such titles were then in fashion.

As to the place held by this Mexican nun in Spanish

literature, critics, of course, disagree (if critics agreed, there would be no need of critics). Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Anthology of Spanish-American Poets*, Vol. I, declares Sor Juana superior to all other Spanish poets of the reign of Charles the Second; but this, after all, is not great praise, for good poets were not numerous during that period. Pimentel, in his *History of Mexican Poetry*, censures Juana Inés's frequent errors in diction and in prosody and her occasional Gongoristic expressions, and proclaims the Mexican friar, Manuel Navarrete (1768-1809), a greater philosophic and religious poet. But when all has been said and done, the fact remains that Sor Juana is Mexico's greatest poetess, and her finest poems may be read by all with pleasure and profit. Her most widely known verses, but by no means her best, are the quatrains in defence of woman. The following lines are a free rendering of some of the stanzas of this poem:

Oft you do everything you can
 To lead a woman into shame,
 And then, unjust and foolish man,
 You give the woman all the blame.

You seek to kiss her modest lip,
 You lure her with the sirens' call,
 You do your best to make her slip,
 And yet you blame her if she fall.

Your humor, Sir, so strangely grim,
 Completely lacks a sense of right:
 Why do you make the mirror dim
 If you desire it to be bright?

And who is worse, now tell me, pray,
 Who most excites old Satan's grin,
 The one who weakly sins for pay,
 Or the strong man who pays for sin?

Oh you should try, at any price,
 To shield a maid from sin and shame;
 But if you lead her into vice,
 You ought to love her just the same!

The three pre-eminent classic poets of Spanish America are Bello of Venezuela, Olmedo of Ecuador, and the Cuban Heredia. Of these, Don Andrés Bello (1781-1865) was the most consummate master of poetic diction, though he

lacked the brilliancy of Olmedo and the spontaneity of Heredia. Born in Caracas and educated in the schools of his native city, Bello was sent to England in the year 1810 to further the cause of the revolution, and he remained in that country till 1829, when he was called to Chile to take service in the Department of Foreign Affairs. His life may, therefore, be divided into three distinct periods. In Caracas he studied chiefly the Latin and Spanish classics and the elements of international law, and he made metrical translations of Virgil and Horace. Upon arriving in England at the age of twenty-nine years, he gave himself with enthusiasm to the study of Greek, Italian and French, as well as to English. These nineteen years in England were still a part of the formative period of Bello's life, for, unlike Sor Juana, his development was slow. He read and wrote incessantly when not engaged in giving private lessons in order to earn his livelihood,—for he received little support from America. He came to know many scholars, and he was especially intimate with James Mill, whom he is said to have helped to decipher an enigmatic document of Bentham, and with Blanco-White, and other Spanish men of letters who were living there in exile on account of their liberal views. Bello joined with the Spanish and Hispano-American scholars in London in the publication of several literary reviews, notably the *Censor Americano* (1820), the *Biblioteca Americana* (1823), and the *Repertorio Americano* (1826-1827), and in these he published many of his most important works. Here appeared his studies of Old French and of the *Song of My Cid*, his excellent translation of fourteen cantos of Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, several important articles on Spanish syntax and prosody, and the best of all his poems, the *Silvas Americanas*.

In 1829, when already forty-eight years of age, Bello removed to Chile, and there entered upon the happiest period of his life. Besides working in a government office, he gave private lessons until in 1831 he was made rector of the College of Santiago. In the year 1843 the University

of Chile was established at Santiago, and Bello became its first rector. He held this important post till his death twenty-two years later at the ripe age of eighty-four. During this third and last period of his life Bello completed and published his *Spanish Grammar* and his *Principles of International Law*, works which, with occasional slight revisions, have been used as standard text-books in Spanish America, and to some extent in Spain, to the present day. The *Grammar*, especially, has been extraordinarily successful, and the edition with notes by José Rufino Cuervo is still the best text-book of Spanish grammar we have. In the *Grammar* Bello sought to free Castilian from Latin terminology; but he desired, most of all, to correct the abuses so common to writers of the period, and to establish linguistic unity in Spanish America.

Bello wrote little original verse during these last years of his life. At one time he became very fond of Victor Hugo and even tried to imitate him; but his classical training and methodical habits made success difficult. His best poetic work during his residence in Chile, however, are translations of Victor Hugo, and his free metrical rendering of *La Prière pour Tous* (from the *Feuilles d'Automne*), is amongst his finest and most popular verses.

It is interesting that Don Andrés Bello, a distinguished scholar in linguistics and in international law, should also have been a pre-eminent poet. All critics, except possibly a few of the present-day "modernistas," place his *American Silvas* amongst the best poetic compositions of all Spanish America. The *Silvas* are two in number: the *Allocution to Poetry* (*Alocución a la Poesía*), and the *Silva to the Agriculture of the Torrid Zone* (*Silva a la Agricultura de la Zona Tórrida*). The first is fragmentary; apparently the poet despaired of completing it, and he embodied in the second poem an elaboration of those passages of the first work which describe nature in the tropics. The *Silvas* are in some degree imitations of Virgil's *Georgics*, and they are the best of Spanish imitations. The great literary critic, Menéndez y Pelayo, was willing to admit (*Antología de*

Poetas hisp.-am., II, p. CXLIH) that Bello is, "in descriptive and georgic verse, the most Virgilian of our (Spanish) poets." Caro, in his splendid biography of Bello (in Miguel Antonio Caro's introduction to the *Poesías de Andrés Bello*, Madrid, 1882) classifies the *Silvas* as "scientific poetry," which is quite true if this sort of poetry gives an esthetic conception of nature, expressed in beautiful terms and adorned with descriptions of natural objects. It is less true of the *Allocution*, which is largely historical, in that it introduces and sings the praises of towns and persons that won fame in the revolutionary wars. The *Silva to Agriculture*, which is both descriptive and moral, may be best described in the words of Caro. It is, says this distinguished critic, "an account of the beauty and wealth of nature in the tropics, and an exhortation to those who live in the equator that, instead of wasting their strength in political and domestic dissensions, they should devote themselves to agricultural pursuits." Bello's interest in nature had doubtless been stimulated by the coming of Humboldt to Caracas in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In his attempt to express his feeling for nature in poetic terms, he probably felt the influence not only of Virgil, but also of Arriaza's *Emilia or the Arts* and of the several poems descriptive of nature written in Latin by Jesuit priests, such as the once famous *Rusticatio Mexicana* by Father Landívar of Guatemala. And yet there is very little in the *Silvas* that is directly imitative. The *Silva to the Agriculture of the Torrid Zone*, especially, is an extraordinarily successful attempt to give expression in Virgilian terms to the exotic life of the tropics, and in this it is unique in Spanish literature. The beautiful descriptive passages in this poem, the noble ethical precepts, and the severely pure diction, combine to make it a classic that will long hold an honored place in Spanish letters.

Although the poetry of Ecuador is of relatively little importance as compared with that of several other American countries, yet Ecuador gave to the world one of the

greatest of American poets. Don José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780-1847) was born in Guayaquil when that city still formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Consequently two countries claim him,—Peru, because he was born a Peruvian and because, furthermore, he received his education at San Marcos University in Lima; and Ecuador, since Guayaquil became permanently a part of that republic, and Olmedo identified himself with its social and political life. Olmedo ranks as one of the great poetic artists of Spanish literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He is of the same neo-classic school as Quintana, and like him devoted to artistic excellence and lyric grandiloquence. Olmedo's serious poems are thoroughly imbued with the Graeco-Latin classical spirit. His prosody nears perfection; but it is marred by an occasional abuse of verbal endings in rhyme, and the inadvertent employment of assonance where there should be none, faults common to many of the earlier Spanish-American poets. His greatest poem is *The Victory of Junín* (*La Victoria de Junín*), which is filled with sweet-sounding phrases and beautiful images, but is, logically, inconsistent and improbable. Even Bolívar the Liberator, to whom the poem is addressed, censured Olmedo in a letter for using the *machina* of the appearance at night, before the combined Colombian and Peruvian armies, of Huaina-Capac the Inca, "showing himself to be a talkative mischief-maker where he should have been lighter than ether, since he comes from heaven," and, instead of desiring the restoration of the Inca dynasty, preferring "strange intruders who, though avengers of his blood, are descendents of those who destroyed his empire." *The Song to General Flores* (*Canto al General Flores*) is considered by some critics to be the poet's most finished work, though of less substance and inspiration than *The Victory of Junín*. This General Flores was a successful revolutionary leader during the early days of the republic, and he was later as bitterly assailed by Olmedo as he is here praised. Of a different type is the philosophic poem, *To a Friend upon the Birth*

of *His First Child* (*A un Amigo en el Nacimiento de su Primogénito*), which is filled with sincere sympathy and deep meditation on the future. With the coming of middle age Olmedo's poetic vein had apparently been exhausted, and the Peruvian poet Felipe Pardo addressed to him an ode in which he sought, though to no avail, to stimulate the older bard to renewed activity. Olmedo, as a poetic genius, loomed suddenly upon the horizon of Guayaquil, and after his departure, there was for years no one to take his place. In politics Olmedo was as prominent as he was in letters. A jurist of note, he was sent by his native city in 1810 to the Spanish Cortes at Cadiz, where he took an important part in the deliberations of that revolutionary body. Soon after his return to America in 1816 he was selected by Bolívar to represent Colombia at the Court of Saint James, and in England he became a close friend of Bello. After the secession of Ecuador from the earlier Colombia, Olmedo was honored from time to time with high political offices. The best edition of Olmedo's *Poesías* is that of Garnier Frères, Paris, 1896, with notes and a biographical article by Clemente Ballén.

The Cuban poet, Don José María Heredia (1803-1839), is better known in Europe and in the United States than either Bello or Olmedo, since his poems are more universal in their appeal. He is especially well known in the United States, where he lived in exile for over two years (1823-1825), at first in Boston and later in New York. Although Heredia died

"Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,"

his brief pilgrimage through life was crowded with varied experiences. Born in Cuba, he studied in Santo Domingo, and in Caracas (1812-1817), as well as in his native island. Accused of conspiracy against the Spanish government, he fled to the United States in 1823, and there eked out a precarious existence by giving private lessons. In 1825 he went to Mexico, where he was well received, and where he held several important posts, including those of member of Congress and judge of the superior court. In Heredia's

biography two facts should be stressed: that he studied for five years in Caracas, the city that produced Bolívar and Bello, respectively the greatest general and the greatest scholar of Spanish America; and that he spent only twelve years, all told, in Cuba. As he lived for fourteen years in Mexico, that country also claims him as her own, while Caracas points to him with pride as another child of her older educational system.

Heredia was most unhappy in the United States. He admired the political institutions of this country; but he disliked the climate, and he despaired of learning English. In one of his patriotic hymns, *To Emilia*, he says:

"The furious north-wind roars,
And borne upon its wings the stinging ice
Swoops down upon us and devours the earth.
A fog doth veil the splendor of the sun,
And hides from us the sky
Which on the dim horizon is confused
With the gray sea. The naked trees are scourged
By wintry blasts, and toss and groan in pain.
No living thing is seen amid the fields
Where desolation reigns and solitude.
Oh, shall my suffering eyes ne'er see again
The gently swaying leaves of graceful palms
As they glow golden in the western light?
Shall I not mock the glare of midday sun
'Neath the banana's loudly rustling leaves,
While gentle breezes fan my heated face?"

With regard to the English language, he adds:

Instead of thy sweet speech, I hear, alas!
The strange, harsh sounds of a barbaric tongue.

And in one of his letters to a friend in Cuba he says: "I do not understand how so great a people has come to use so execrable a jargon." Some of the North-American customs also seemed strange to him, as when he wrote: "Here one may kill a man with his fists without fear of punishment; but they hang without fail one who attacks another with a pointed knife. Thus it is that here table knives have rounded ends so as to avoid trouble."

Let me add by way of digression that Heredia, who was a cousin of the French sonnetist of the same name, was not

the only Cuban poet to suffer persecution. Of the seven leading Cuban poets, often spoken of as "the Cuban Pleiad," Avellaneda removed to Spain where she married and spent her life in tranquillity; and Joaquín Luaces avoided trouble by living in retirement and veiling his patriotic songs with mythological names. On the other hand, José Jacinto Milanés lost his reason at the early age of thirty years, José María Heredia and Rafael Mendive fled the country and lived in exile; while Gabriel Valdés and Juan Clemente Zenea were shot by order of the governor-general. Truly, in Cuba, the wages of poetry is death!

Heredia, unlike Bello and Olmedo, was not a classic scholar. His acquaintance with the Latin poets was limited and seldom does a Virgilian or Horatian expression occur in his verses. Though, strictly speaking, not a romantic poet, he was a close precursor of that movement. His language is not seldom incorrect or lacking in sobriety and restraint; but his numbers are musical and his thought springs directly from imaginative exaltation. Heredia's poorest verses are doubtless his early love-songs; his best are those in which the contemplation of nature leads the poet to meditation on human existence, as in *Niagara*, *The Temple-Pyramid of Cholula* (*El Teocalli de Cholula*), *In a Tempest* (*En una Tempestad*), and *To the Sun* (*Al Sol*). In these poems the predominant note is that of gentle melancholy. In Cuba his best known verses are the two patriotic hymns, *To Emilia*, and *The Hymn of an Exile* (*Himno del Desterrado*). These were written before the poet was disillusioned by his later experiences in the turbulent Mexico of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, and they are so virulent in their expression of hatred of Spain that Menéndez y Pelayo refused to include them in his *Anthology*. Heredia undertook to write several plays, but without success. Some translations of dramatic works, however, were well received, and especially those of Ducis's *Abufar*, Voltaire's *Mahomet*, and Alfieri's *Saul*. The Garnier edition (Paris, 1893) of Heredia's *Poesías* contains an interesting introduction by the literary critic, Elías Zerolo.

That great extent of fertile plains and lofty mountains, which is now called Argentina, was of comparatively little importance in the literary history of the Spanish colonies, as compared with the populous and cultivated vice-royalties of Mexico and Peru. Argentina was actually governed from Lima, Peru, till 1778 when the new vice-royalty of Buenos Aires was established. And yet today it is the rival of Chile for the hegemony of the Spanish-American states, and Buenos Aires is the largest and wealthiest Spanish-speaking city in the world.

Don Olegario Víctor Andrade (1838-1882) is generally recognized as one of the foremost poets of America (his *Obras Poéticas* were published by the Argentine government,—Buenos Aires, 1887). In art, Andrade was a disciple of Victor Hugo; in philosophy, he was a believer in modern progress and freedom of thought. His verses have inspiration and enthusiasm; but they are too often marred by excessive grandiloquence combined with incorrectness of speech. *Atlántida*, a hymn to the future of the Latin race in America, and *Prometeo*, an ode to the emancipation of human thought, are the poet's noblest works. The following translation of a few stanzas of *Atlántida* will give some idea of its content:

The passing centuries the secret kept.
 But Plato saw it dimly when beside
 The Aegean sea, he gazed upon the shadows
 Falling softly on Hymettus' peak,
 And spake mysterious words with restless waves
 That groaned beneath his feet. He knew the name
 Of this last child of Time, destined to be
 The Future's bride, where dwells eternal spring;
 And called it fair Atlantis.
 But God thought best to give the mighty task
 To Latin men, the race that tamed the world,
 And fought its greatest battles.

And when the hour was struck, Columbus came
 Upon a ship that bore the fate of Man,
 And westward made his way.
 The wild tumultuous Ocean hurled against
 The tiny Latin ship the black north wind,
 While whirlwinds roaring fiercely rode astride
 The lightning's blood-red steed.
 Forward the vessel moved, and broke the seal
 Of Mystery; and fair Atlantis woke
 At last, to find her in a dreamer's arms!

Often the victor over thrones and crowns,
 The restless spirit of the ancient race
 Had found fulfilment of its noblest dream, —
 Abundant space and light in distant zones!
 With armor newly forged, nor dragging now
 The blood-stained winding-sheet of a dead past,
 Nor weighted down by blackest memories,
 Once more it ventured forth in eager quest
 Of liberty and glory.

Before it lay a vast, unconquered world,
 Here, resting on the sea, 'neath tropic skies,
 And bathed in the white light of rising dawn,
 The Antilles lift their heads, like scattered birds
 That utter plaintive cries,
 And dry their snowy wings that they may fly
 To other, distant shores.

Here rises Mexico above two seas,
 A granite tower that even yet would seem
 To spy the Spanish fleet as it draws near
 Across the Aztec gulf;
 And over there Colombia, lulled to sleep
 By the deep roar of Tequendama's fall,
 Within its bosom hides unfailing wealth.

Hail, happy zone! — Oh fair, enchanted land,
 Belovéd child of the creative sun
 And teeming home of animated life,
 The birth-place of the great Bolívar, —hail!
 In thee, Venezuela, all is great:
 The flashing stars that light thee from above;
 Thy genius and thy noble heroism,
 Which with volcanic force and deafening crash
 Burst forth on San Mateo's lofty peak!

Outstretched below the Andes' mighty chain,
 Like one who weeps above an open grave,
 The Incas' Rome doth lie.
 Its sword was broken in the bloody strife,
 And in obscurity its face was sunk.
 But still Peru doth live!
 For in a virile race
 Defeat doth spell a new, a nobler life.
 And when propitious toil, which heals all wounds,
 Shall come to thee at last,
 And when the sun of justice shines again
 After long days of weeping and of shame,
 The ripening grain shall paint with flowers of gold
 The crimson cloak that o'er thy shoulder floats.

Bolivia, namesake of the giant* born
 At Mount Avila's foot,
 Hath kept his lively wit and valiant heart,
 With which to face the storm and stress of life.

* General Bolívar.

It dreams of war today; but also dreams
Of greater things, when 'stead of useless guns,
The engines made of steel
Shall boldly bridge the vales and scale the hills.

And Chile, strong in war and strong in toil,
Hangs its avenging arms upon the wall,
Convinced that victory by brutal strength
Is vain and empty if it be not right.
And Uruguay, although too fond of strife,
The sweet caress of progress ever seeks;
Brazil†, which feels the Atlantic's noisy kiss,
With greater freedom were a greater state;
And now the blessed land,
The bride of glory, which the Plata bathes
And which the Andean range alone doth bound!

Let all arise, for 'tis our native land,
Our own, our native land, which ever sought
Sublime ideals. Our youthful race was lulled
E'en in the cradle by immortal hymns,
And now it calls, to share its opulence,
All those who worship sacred liberty,
The fair handmaid of science, progress, art.
Our country turns its back on savage war,
And casts away the fratricidal sword,
That it may bind upon its haughty brow
A wreath of yellow wheat,
Lighter to wear than any golden crown.
The sun of ultimate redemption shines
On our beloved land, which strides ahead
To meet the future, and with noble men
Offers the Plata's overflowing cup
To all the hungry nations.

With the appearance in 1888 of a small volume of prose and verse entitled *Azul*, by Don Rubén Darío (1864-) of Nicaragua, came the triumph of the "movement of emancipation," the "literary revolution," which the "decadents" had already initiated in France, and in its train there came inevitably a general attack on poetic traditions. This movement was hailed with joy by the young men of Latin America, who are by nature more emotional and who live in a more voluptuous environment than their cousins in Spain; for they had come to chafe at the coldness of contemporary Spanish poetry, at its lack of color and its "petrified metrical forms." With the success of the movement there was for a time a reign of license, when poet vied with

†These lines were written before Brazil became a republic.

poet in defying the time-honored rules, not only of versification, but also of vocabulary and syntax. But as in France, so in Spanish America, "decadence" has had its day, though traces of its passing are everywhere in evidence, and the best that was in it still lingers.

When reproached by the Spaniards for their imitation of French models, the Spanish Americans make this reply: "We imitated your neo-classicism and your romanticism, both of which you borrowed from France: now we prefer to borrow directly." In this connection it is interesting to note that the decadent movement was felt later and to a less degree in Spain, and some Spanish-American writers even hold that it came to Spain from America. These writers also tell us modestly that their form of Castilian (which they call *neo-español*) is more expressive and ornate than that which is still spoken on the arid plains of the two Castiles, and that their bards are superior in number and in quality to those of Spain.

Today their poets are turning their attention more and more to the study of sociological problems or to the cementing of racial solidarity. These notes ring clear in some recent poems of Darío, and of Don José S. Chocano of Peru, and Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona of Venezuela. The following lines are a translation of an ode by Darío, which was addressed to Mr. Roosevelt when he was still president of this country. The meter of the poem is mainly the Old Spanish Alexandrine, but with a curious intermingling of shorter lines. In all fairness it should be stated here that Señor Darío, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, has said: "I do not think today as I did when I wrote those verses."

'Tis only with the bible or with Walt Whitman's verse,
That you, the mighty hunter, are reached by other men.
You're primitive and modern, you're simple and complex,—
A veritable Nimrod with aught of Washington.
You are the United States;
You are the future foe
Of free America that keeps it Indian blood,
That prays to Jesus Christ, and speaks in Spanish still.

You are a fine example of a strong and haughty race;
 You're learned and you're clever; to Tolstoy you're
 opposed;
 And whether taming horses or slaying savage beasts,
 You seem an Alexander and Nabuchadnezzar too,
 (As madmen today are wont to say,
 You're a great professor of energy).
 You seem to be persuaded
 That life is but combustion,
 That progress is eruption,
 And where you send the bullet
 You bring the future.

No.

The United States are rich, they're powerful and great
 (They join the cult of Mammon to that of Hercules),
 And when they stir and roar, the very Andes shake.

But our America, which since the ancient times
 Has had its native poets; which lives on fire and light,
 On perfumes and on love; our vast America,
 The land of Montezuma, the Inca's mighty realm,
 Of Christopher Columbus the fair America,
 America the Spanish, the Roman Catholic,
 Oh men of Saxon eyes and fierce, barbaric soul,
 This land still lives and dreams, and loves and stirs!
 Take care!
 The daughter of the Sun, the Spanish land, doth live!
 And from the Spanish lion a thousand whelps have sprung!
 'Tis need, Oh Roosevelt, that you be God himself
 Before you hold us fast in your grasping, iron claws.

And though you count on all, one thing is lacking:—God!

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS.

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THE VALUE OF POETRY IN THE SCHOOLS

BY ROGER HENWOOD MOTTEN.

To treat adequately the value of a subject in the schools, it is first necessary to know the value of the subject. The one which we are to discuss in this paper, has, in the opinion of the general public, a subordinate value. Poetry is regarded as a decorative art, something pretty, perhaps musical and entertaining, but as having no distinct thought, and on the whole a subject which requires little time for preparation on the part of teacher or student. The teacher of literature, prose or poetry, is regarded as a "hanger on," or, better, a "filler in," for it is generally assumed that any one can teach English because it is the mother tongue. Too often the teacher of poetry may be likened to the European guide, who, not appreciating that which he is showing, does a number of artificial thrills and expects the tourist to do likewise; so the teacher, not appreciating the real beauty and significance of the verse, pretends, and expects the student to reflect the pretension.

Perhaps it might be well to explain the subject upon which we are to place a value. To define poetry is impossible. All the text-book definitions which have been given, have so many exceptions that they are not adequate. They fail to tell you what poetry really is; but, perhaps with a few minutes consideration we can gain some working idea for this discussion. After careful study and looking at the subject negatively we must decide that poetry is not for mere decoration; it is not simply for pleasure; it is not, as some authorities have attempted to say, "the product of a child brain;" it is not groups of words arranged in musical form to express merely a pretty picture; it is not thought drawn out through five or six stanzas that might be expressed in one prose sentence. Poetry is infinitely more than all this. It is life, the vitalization of the past,

the expression of the present and the prophecy of the future. It brings to mankind, perhaps not a panacea for all ills, but at least a relief to troubled feelings and an expression for his joy. Personally, I think that real poetry is the expression of a man's deepest thoughts and emotions, the expression of his innermost thought and soul in rhythmical form—the essence of life expressed in the tune of a man's heart and soul.

The true poet realizes that he has a message, he feels the nobility of his calling, and those who do not place themselves in sympathy with the poet can never hope to comprehend his words. No more striking example of this can be given than Tennyson's attitude toward the poet and his mission. He says in "The Poet"

"Vex not thou the poet's mind
 With thy shallow wit;
 Vex not thou the poet's mind
 For thou canst not fathom it."

This is his conception of the poet's mind, that it is able to penetrate into the deeper things of life, and he is emphatic in declaring that scoffers cannot understand. In another poem he gives us an inspired stanza

"The poet in a golden elime was born,
 With golden stars above,
 Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
 The love of love."

The very birth of the poet, to his imagination, takes place under the most auspicious conditions in a "golden elime," and like the prophets of old, the poet is filled with the hate of evil and the scorn of everything bad and is inspired with the love of all that is uplifting. In the last few lines of this poem Tennyson shows his full belief in the power of the poet.

"And Freedom rear'd in that august sunrise
 Her beautiful bold brow,
 * * * * *
 And when she spake,

Her words did gather thunder as they ran,
And as the lightning to the thunder
Which follows it, riving the spirit of man,
Making earth wonder,

So was their meaning to her words. No sword
Of wrath her right arm whirl'd,
But one poor poet's scroll; and with his word
She shook the world."

Professor Shairp says that the "true end of poetry is to awaken men to the divine side of things, to bear witness to the beauty that clothes the outer world, the nobility that lies hid, often obscured in human souls, to call forth sympathy for neglected truths, for noble but oppressed persons, for downtrodden causes, and to make men feel that through all outward beauty and pure inward affection God is addressing them. The worship of wealth and all it gives, a materialistic philosophy which disbelieves in all knowledge unverifiable by the senses, luxury and empty display, worldliness and cynicism, with these true poetry cannot dwell. In periods and circles where these are paramount, the poet is discredited. His function as a witness to high truth is denied. If tolerated at all, he is degraded into a merely ornamental personage, a sayer of pretty things, a hanger-on of society and the great.

The true poets of every age have felt the nobility of their calling, have perceived that their true function was not to amuse, or merely give delight, but to be witnesses for the ideal and spiritual side of things, to come to the help of the generous, the noble and the true against the mighty. The great poets have received their inspiration not from the study of books, not by placing before themselves literary models, but by going straight to the true source of poetry, by knowing and loving nature, by acquaintance with their own hearts and by knowledge of their fellowmen."

Glance over the history of poetry and you will note that the men who hold prominent places in that realm are those who have realized first of all that poetry must deal with

life, --Homer, Euripides, Virgil, Dante, Petrarch, Goethe, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Browning, Longfellow, Lowell and Emerson.

We have failed to realize that poetry is tangible, that it is vital, and so have failed to make it inspirational. We have complained too often that our students cannot read poetry and that it has no value in our schools; and I sometimes, yes, often, wonder if the fault is entirely with the students. To speak frankly I believe that it is not. We give much attention to the translation of a page of Latin, to the accurate expression in English of the thought of the writer, but we read flippantly and carelessly what the poets tell us regarding the very fundamentals of life and fail to translate them into everyday experience. I have contended, for I thoroughly believe it, that it is easier for the average high school student to translate a page of a foreign language than it is to interpret a page of poetry in his mother tongue, and I am inclined, at times, to believe that the same is true of many of our teachers of English. They forget that the poem, the expressed word, is only the envelope, and that we must open the envelope to get the message; or, to put it in another way, we must translate the words into our own experience of life "according to our ability and according to our sympathy with the poet," and too often our ability and our sympathy for work of this kind, are of inferior quality.

Let us take a concrete example, for instance, another one of Tennyson's poems, "Crossing the Bar,"

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea.

How often we read those words "Sunset and evening star" without stopping to think that when the evening star appears at sunset it *is* the quiet of the day, the most restful, peace-giving time of all, when the world seems for the moment to be without care just before the dark. There is

a clear call to rest. Again to how many people the "moaning of the bar" expresses nothing!

Or let us take another example and analyze it a little more in detail. Bryant's *Thanatopsis* is read and studied by thousands of children and the last stanza is memorized by most of them, though few of them have any real conception of its meaning.

So live that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan, which moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon: but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

The two words of introduction "So live" strike the keynote of dignity and quiet fervor which characterize the stanza. Immediately we are brought face to face with the issues of life and death by the word "summons," so much more impressive than if the poet had merely said "call." The next three lines grip the imagination with the pictures which they present,—"the innumerable caravan," how suggestive with its reference to the slow, steady creeping of the pilgrim trains across the desert, and "that mysterious realm"—what does it mean? How can we analyze it from our little human experience? And again how perfectly adapted to the thought is the measured movement of the next phrase "where each shall take his chamber in the silent halls of death," and how impressive and emphatic becomes the word "each" from its position in the line! The next picture of the quarry slave, the lowest of the low, driven to his dungeon, is in striking contrast to the peace, the serenity, the triumph of the succeeding lines "sustained and soothed by an unfaltering trust." Finally the stanza closes with another picture, amazingly simple, and yet described in words so perfectly chosen and so admirably adapted to the high and dignified movement of the verse,

that the reader is left with a sense of exaltation, as if he had for the time being transcended the pettiness of life and laid hold on eternal peace and serenity.

As teachers we too often put stress upon the minor things. We treat poetry merely from its structural side, from the basis of rhyme scheme, metre, figures of speech and word order, doing a microscopic, laboratory analysis, without giving attention to the real thing at issue, which is some profound truth about life; for, as Coleridge says, "No man was ever a great poet without being at the same time a great philosopher," or, as Lowell expresses it, "No poem ever makes me respect its author which does not in some way convey a truth of philosophy." We, too often, have the idea that our great thoughts are expressed in prose, and that poetry is merely beauty of form. We have an idea that the poet has taken so much space for a thought that prose could have expressed in less. On the contrary, the condensation in verse is amazing. Voltaire says in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, "One merit of poetry few persons will deny, it says more and in fewer words than prose." It is evident from this that Voltaire never taught poetry, because most students regularly and consistently deny that poetry says more than prose, but with Voltaire we shall have to agree. True, there are prose passages which show condensation and Lincoln's prose is a striking example, but few prose passages show the compression found in his Gettysburg address. It took him about two minutes to deliver the speech which has become famous in the oratorical records of the world. Edward Everett, the orator of the day, recognized this wonderful gift in prose writing and said to him, "I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes." Lincoln's speech is a great exception, but you may turn anywhere in poetry and find examples of this extreme condensation. Take, for example, Browning's "My Last Duchess."

That's my last Duchess painted on the wall, Looking as if she were alive. I call That piece a wonder, now: Fra Pandolf's hands Worked busily a day, and there she stands.	4
Will 't please you sit and look at her? I said "Fra Pandolf" by design, for never read Strangers like you that pictured countenance, The depth and passion of its earnest glance,	8
But to myself they turned (since none puts by The curtain I have drawn for you, but I) And seemed as they would ask me, if they durst. How such a glance came there; so not the first	12
Are you to turn and ask thus. Sir, 't was not Her husband's presence only, called that spot Of joy into the Duchess' cheek: perhaps Fra Pandolf chanced to say, "Her mantle laps	16
Over my lady's wrist too much," or "Paint Must never hope to reproduce the faint Half-flush that dies along her throat;" such stuff Was courtesy, she thought, and cause enough	20
For calling up that spot of joy. She had A heart—how shall I say—too soon made glad, Too easily impressed; she liked whate'er She looked on, and her looks went everywhere.	24
Sir, 't was all one! My favor at her breast, The dropping of the daylight in the West, The bough of cherries some officious fool Broke in the orchard for her, the white mule	28
She rode with round the terrace—all and each Would draw from her alike the approving speech, Or blush, at least. She thanked men,—good! but thanked Somehow—I know not how—as if she ranked	32
My gift of a nine-hundred-years-old name With anybody's gift. Who'd stoop to blame This sort of trifling? Even had you skill In speech—(which I have not)—to make your will	36
Quite clear to such an one, and say, "Just this Or that in you disgusts me; here you miss, Or there exceed the mark"—and if she let Herself be lessoned so, nor plainly set	40
Her wits to yours, forsooth, and made excuse, —E'en then would be some stooping; and I choose Never to stoop. Oh sir, she smiled, no doubt, Whene'er I passed her; but who passed without	44
Much the same smile? This grew; I gave commands;	

Then all smiles stopped together. There she stands
 As if alive. Will 't please you rise? We'll meet
 The company below, then. I repeat, 48
 The Count your master's known munificence
 Is ample warrant that no just pretence
 Of mine for dowry will be disallowed;
 Though his fair daughter's self, as I avowed 52
 At starting, is my object, Nay, we'll go
 Together down, sir. Notice Neptune, though,
 Taming a sea-horse, thought a rarity,
 Which Claus of Innsbruck cast in bronze for me." 56

The poem is only fifty-six lines in length but it contains the character sketch of two people and the life history of one, besides giving an insight into the business sagacity of a third. We learn of the Duke and his indifference to marriage, except as it benefits him and leads to his profit. In the first line we learn of his coldness and indifference; his interest is on the portrait as a work of art rather than on the reproduction of his late wife. The woman herself and her memory does not appeal to him. It is only the art he sees for the art's sake. His egotism compels him to mention, in the third line, the artist's name, with all the gusto which implies that Fra Pandolf is the greatest artist of the day and that only those of great wealth could afford to have him. In lines 6-8 he shows the true artist analyzing coldly and impassively the great picture. His emotion is entirely for the work, his feeling of loss is negative or entirely lacking. In lines 9-13 he attempts to bolster himself up and to give impression that he demands respect. We can, from these lines, picture him as a man, little in every way, but feeling himself to be of tremendous importance. In line 11 "If they durst" shows all the self-importance of the Duke and implies that he is a stickler for position. In lines 14-16 he attempts to give, in the most subtle way, the impression that he is opposed to flattery, that he may flatter the marriage agent later. Line 19 shows him to be a real art critic, for no one but an expert would have used the words—"the faint half-flush." In line 22 he begins his flattery to the agent "how shall I say" implying that the agent could give

just the right turn to the diction. Lines 26-30 show the sweet grace and consideration of the Duchess, her characteristics, which were anything but condescending, and the charming manner with which she met all people. In line 32 the words "I know not how" gives a confession which the Duke did not mean to give, for it is true that he did not know how to appreciate acts of kindness, little touches which make life worth while. In line 33 he discloses all the egotism of his family, dropping in carefully, and with pre-meditated consistency, the words "my gift of a nine hundred-years-old name." He wishes to emphasize this point to the agent without seeming to lay stress upon it. He is trusting that this will bring a little larger dowry. In line 36 there is flattery again and attempted humility and in 37 he is trying to excuse his own lack of power and bolster himself up before the agent. In line 42 he tries to emphasize his own superiority but discloses his unwillingness to yield to anything which would interfere with his egotism. Line 45 discloses insane jealousy which caused the wife's death. After this disclosure of his own character and the revelation of that of his wife he comes to his main proposition to which he has been working so carefully and, as he thought, so skillfully. In line 48 he reaches his climax.

* * * * * I repeat,
The Count your master's known munificence
Is ample warrant that no just pretence
Of mine for dowry will be disallowed;

But feeling that he has not been quite successful, has not quite achieved his point, he adds a little more flattery and then after all he has said about his rank and position, he insists on walking down with the agent instead of preceding him as his rank demanded, and calls attention in line 55 to Neptune taming a sea-horse and we feel the egotistical implication that that is the way he, the Duke, trains his wives and in the last line he cannot resist mentioning a great artist working particularly for him. He drops the "me" in casually taking particular care that the agent shall catch the force of it.

This poem, if printed in prose order, would cover approximately a page and a half, but has suggested infinitely more than could be covered in that space.

Part of the function of the technical and mechanical side of poetry is to appeal to the imagination and power of suggestion and perhaps this is done best by condensation and compression. But this compactness does more, for through this condensation poetry has helped to crystallize history. I should like to propound this question,—how many of us are remembering history because of poetry? How many have fixed in mind some striking incident or historical fact because the poet has given it? How many recall the attack on Fort McHenry because of “The Star Spangled Banner;” or the attack upon Concord because of

“One if by land, and two if by sea,
And I on the opposite shore will be
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm.”

or because Emerson “fired the shot” that has been “heard ’round the world?” And do we not remember the Crimean War because of

“Half a league, half a league,
Half a league onward,
Into the valley of Death,
Rode the six hundred.”

It is not easy to remember dates in History and most of us have used some rhyme scheme to do so, but very few people forget the date of Paul Revere’s ride. They remember not only the year but also the day and month, because of Longfellow’s poem of Paul Revere. How many are remembering Richard III, Antony and Cleopatra, and Macbeth because of the poets and not because of the historians? Does Henry IV bring to mind a king or a play? Is not the impression of Julius Cæsar and Brutus due rather to the interpretation given by Shakespeare than the one given by accurate historians? Are not the characteristics in the lives of great people gained from the poets rather than

from the historical facts, just as we gain our conception of hell from Milton's "Paradise Lost" rather than from the Bible? Is not the history of the early Greeks and Romans remembered because of the poetry of Homer and Virgil and not because of historical records? Again, how many are recalling the healing of the breach between the North and the South not because of reconstruction policies but because of Finch's lines,

"No more shall the war cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!

Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day:
Love and tears for the Blue,
Tears and love for the Gray."

These lines remind us not only of the re-construction, but of the intense suffering of the Civil War and tell us of the re-union,

"The union of States none can sever,
The union of hearts, the union of hands
And the flag of our union forever."

There is suggested, of course, the memory of the agony and anger, but there is the triumphant note of brotherly love and peace.

Therefore, in view of what I have just said, I contend that the teaching of poetry has an historical value, and that it is easier to recall these incidents because of the poets than because of the historians. According to Professor C. A. Smith, "So long as there are poets, there is no irrevocable Past. History galvanizes the Past; Poetry vitalizes it."

Ovid says in his Epistles,

"Song makes great deeds immortal, cheats the tomb,
And hands down fame to ages yet to come."

And Pope in his Odes gives us the idea that it is through poetry and through the poets that great deeds have lived

to us. Pindar said, "There is a saying among men, that a noble deed ought not to be buried in a silent grave. It is the divine power of song that is suited to it." And Horace said: **"Many heroes lived before Agamemnon, but they are all unmourned and consigned to a long night of oblivion, because they lacked a sacred bard."* Moreover, Shelley in speaking of the Athenian society at its height said, "But it is poetry alone, in form, in action, and in language, which has rendered this epoch memorable above all others, and the storehouse of examples to all time." And again, "But it exceeds all imagination to conceive what would have been the moral condition of the world if Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Lord Bacon, or Milton had never existed; if Raphael and Michael Angelo had never been born; if the Hebrew poetry had never been translated; if a revival of the study of Greek literature had never taken place; if no monuments of ancient sculpture had been handed down to us; and if the poetry of the religion of the ancient world had been extinguished together with its belief. The human mind could never, except by the intervention of these excitements, have been awakened to the invention of the grosser sciences, and that application of analytical reasoning to the aberrations of society, which it is now attempted to exalt over the direct expression of the inventive and creative faculty itself. Poetry thus makes immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world; poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man."

The true poet is a seer in the old sense of the word. He has not only recorded the Past, but has also foretold the future. Shakespeare says of him,

"The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from Heaven to Earth, from Earth to Heaven
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothings
A local habitation and a name."

* IV, Ode 9, l. 25.

These lines of the dramatist give an idea that the poet is a prophet and a seer and that as his "imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown," the poet catches the theory of things, with a prophetic insight, and suggests them to the world. We do not mean that the poet actually presents to the world new, scientific doctrines but that he has felt the power of them, suggested them and left them for others to work out, while he goes on giving "to airy nothings a local habitation and a name."

Making a hasty survey of the entire field of poetry, with this idea in mind, we find confirmed again the old saying that there is nothing new in the world, and even that which we may have regarded as new has been discovered and prophesied in verse. Even science has been anticipated by the poets. Seventy-five years before Newton astonished the world with his statement of the laws of gravitation, Shakespeare told us in his "Troilus and Cressida,"

"But the strong base and building of my love
Is as the very center of the earth,
Drawing all things to it."

Surely there must have been some conception of the great gravitational force of the earth, a principle with which we are so familiar today, or the poet would not have written this simile so carefully. Tennyson in "In Memoriam," nine years before Darwin published the "Origin of Species," told us about Evolution, and continually do we find references to this thought and doctrine throughout his works. This is also true of the works of Browning. We find both of these poets anticipating the doctrine of Evolution, though neither poet attempted to present the theory in concrete form. The great physicist, John Tyndall, said "The greatest discoveries of science have been made when she left the region of the seen and known, and followed the imagination by new paths to regions before unseen;" and it is in these "paths to regions before unseen" that the poets have often taken us, and their products have been called the children of the imagination and have been re-

garded as pretty, but have not been taken seriously. But may it not be that the scientists have caught their first intimations from the poets? It was in 1781, years before the invention of the locomotive or steamboat, that Erasmus Darwin told us in "The Botanic Garden,"

"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered Steam! afar
Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
Or on wide-waving wings extended bear
The flying chariot through the field of air."

Surely this was many years before the air ship was even thought of as an invention. In 1842 Tennyson in Locksley Hall prophesied the invention of air-ships which should be used for commerce and war and referred to the establishment of universal peace, bringing out the fact that universal peace would come after there were navies in the air. The present great conflict in Europe, with the phenomenal use of air ships for all purposes,—a condition untrue in any other war,—has surely demonstrated the prophetic insight, or, rather, foresight of our poets. Where else in all the literature of the world will be found such an accurate prophecy of the conditions as they exist in Europe today or where, for the scoffer, such a good stretch of the imagination? Perhaps it would not have been unwise had our great peace conferences looked to the poets for inspiration. Many years before the publication of the famous novel, "The Inside of the Cup," which was received with such acclaim and approbation on account of its so-called new economic and social theory, Tennyson had given us the same doctrines in "Sea Dreams" and other poems. This poet-laureate anticipated the struggle between capital and labor in his poems and pointed out the remedies which the great leaders are advocating today. It has been most interesting to find that in some of the new sociological books modern writers are inclined to criticize severely the poets, to scoff at them as visionary, imaginative beings, but these books do not advance new theories, but those which the poets gave to us years ago. In the field of psychology

Browning in his "Mr. Sludge, the Medium" acted as the fore-runner of the ideas of James and Stead. Thus, we find that the poets are really prophets and have done much to advance modern theories.

While I have spoken of the metrical side of verse as relatively unimportant and have implied that too much time is given to it, I do want to emphasize the necessity for understanding the musical side of verse. Much of our poetry sings itself, and through its very music demands our appreciation. The harmony of consonants and vowels, the skillful arrangement which the poet has given to it has not been thoughtlessly done, but has been carefully worked out, as carefully as the artist chooses his colors, and the true poet has no doubt followed Dryden's advice,

"Polish, repolish, every color lay,
Sometimes add, but oftener take away."

And as often has followed Browning's instruction,

"Image the whole, then execute the parts,
Fancy the fabric quite ere you build."

The musical aspect of poetry, of course, is what most people think of when they speak of the technical and musical side. Shelley in his "Defense of Poetry" says "Sounds as well as thoughts have relation both between each other and towards that which they represent, and a perception of the order of those relations has always been found connected with a perception of the order of the relations of thought." Coleridge said in his "Table Talk," "I wish our clever young poets would remember my homely definitions of prose and poetry; that is prose,—words in their best order; poetry,—the best words in the best order." Coleridge told us very plainly here that to produce the best effect we must choose the best words and arrange them in the best order. In one of his satires Horace wrote that "it is not sufficient to combine well chosen words in a well ordered line," showing that we must think of the metrical form and the adaptation of the meter to the sense. There

must be a definite arrangement of consonants and vowels in order to bring out the full beauty of the verse.

A rhyme scheme is not always necessary but the music of the verse is practically always increased by it.

“For rhyme the rudder is of verses
With which like ships they steer their courses.”

The rhyme of the following from “The Tempest” intensifies the beauty.

“Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls which were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell:
Ding-dong bell.”

Shelley, in his “Ode to the Skylark,” has aptly caught the relation of sound and thought or the adaptation of meter to sense and here you are carried on and up with the bird.

“Hail to thee, blithe spirit!
Bird thou never wert—
That from heaven or near it
Pourest thy full heart
In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.
Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest,
Like a cloud of fire;
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still doth soar, and soaring ever singest.”

Boileau in his “Art Poétique” said, “Happy is he who in his verses knows how to pass with a gentle voice from grave to mild, from pleasant to severe.” Surely no one has done this more successfully than Burns and perhaps no poem illustrates it better than “John Anderson, my jo, John.” The grave and the severe of the latter part of each stanza is made more beautiful by the mild and pleasant of the first part.

“John Anderson, my jo, John,
When we were first acquent,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonnie brow was brent;
But now your brow is bend, John,
Your locks are like the snow;
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson, my jo!

John Anderson, my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither;
And monie a canty day, John,
We’ve had wi’ ane anither:
Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we’ll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson, my jo.”

Of course we must not forget that some poetry is written just for music. Professor Clark says that “Annabel Lee” is the most musical poem in American literature, written solely for the music, not to be read for depth of thought but purely for the musical aspect. And truly, it sings itself with wonderful charm.

“It was many and many a year ago,
In a kingdom by the sea
That a maiden there lived whom you may know
By the name of Annabel Lee;
And this maiden she lived with no other thought
Than to love and be loved by me.

I was a child and she was a child,
In this kingdom by the sea,
But we loved with a love that was more than love—
I and my Annabel Lee;
With a love that the winged seraphs of heaven
Coveted her and me.

But our love it was stronger by far than the love
Of those who were older than we—
Of many far wiser than we—
And neither the angels in heaven above,
Nor the demons down under the sea,
Can ever dissever my soul from the soul
Of the beautiful Annabel Lee.”

This same musical aspect is true of much of Swinburne's verse which has been called "brilliant illusion of mist." There is no deep philosophy, no great depth of thought, but we are swept on by the sensuous beauty of the poetry. Yet we cannot say that these are to be enduring songs if we are to agree with Browning in his "Sordello"—

"Would you have your songs endure
Build them in the human heart."

Many a poet has perhaps spoken as the poet in Gilder's "Wanted a Theme"—

"Give me a theme," the little poet cried,
"And I will do my part."
"'Tis not a theme you need," the world replied,
"You want a heart."

So many songs appeal to us just for the lilt of the melody and the catchy air and not for the words and thought. This is the musical and technical side.

But these attributes of poetry and their importance to the student are merely secondary to that which makes poetry of supreme value in the schools. If we are to look at this side of poetry only, then it has become a mere text-book subject and loses its force as an educational subject. There must be a great deal more in the teachings of poetry if it is to be both cultural and practical. A teacher who imparts to the student text-book knowledge has only half fulfilled his duty; he is a pedagogue and not an educator. The teacher of poetry must realize that the work is both objective and subjective, both tangible and intangible. Too often the teacher has felt that the work is entirely subjective and intangible, principally because he is not willing to give to the work the deepest attention and study required. Every poem should be translated into the experience of a child's life. It should become a vital, living force. To me, the greatest compliment I have ever heard paid Forbes Robertson was by a woman who said to him, "Sir Johnston, I liked your Hamlet. It made me cry." In response to

his questioning look, she said, "You made Hamlet for the first time appear to me as a real living being. I have always regarded the play as a tragedy, and a tragedy so great that it was without the realm of my experience, but you have made the hero a living, vital character." Hamlet had been translated into the realm of her experience; and so the successful teacher of poetry, if he is to give a true value to his teaching, must translate the words of the author into the experience of the student. Too often the teacher forgets the limited experience of the child and does not amplify sufficiently to allow the child to appreciate the poetry. Tennyson has said "Poetry is like shot silk with many glancing colors. Each person must make his own interpretation according to his experience and his sympathy with the poet." We must remember that the child's experience is limited and we must bring the poetry into his experience if he is to appreciate it at all. Generally speaking, he has no sympathy with the poet but he must learn to sympathize and if the child can come to understand life through poetry, he will grow to understand the great problems.

In the words of the poets do we find abundant philosophy of life. There is no new philosophy in the poets. We do not go to them for philosophy any more than we go to them for science, mathematics or history. If a poet is a philosopher, didactic and prosaic, we avoid his works. They lack interest, and are shunned as the child shuns the story with the moral attached. But, nevertheless, there is philosophy in poetry and the poet who leaves out the fundamental teachings will never achieve fame. I have said that there is no new philosophy in poetry. It is as old as the eternal hills, but it is philosophy expressed in a new and striking way, and somehow it "goes home" if handled and taught by one who really appreciates it. All the essential qualities that go to make up life are to be found in the poets, and we can divide them into two great classes. Using Professor Smith's words, these are "nature, or the visible world about us, and personality, or the invisible world within us."

In the natural or visible world there is much to appeal to the child-mind. According to Burroughs in his "Art of Seeing Things" we too often miss the great lessons of nature because we do not observe.

Poetry will help to bring to the child a knowledge of nature such as ordinarily he will gain in no other way. If, as Shairp says, "the true end of poetry is to bear witness to the beauty that clothes the outer world," then surely poetry has such an aesthetic value that it gives to the student a knowledge of nature which art itself cannot give. Poetry appeals to the imagination and through the power of suggestion sweeps you out of yourself and intensifies the appeal which Nature makes to you. Is there not something inspiring about such lines as these

"Three silent pinnacles of aged snow."

This line, taken from the "Lotus Eaters" tells a whole volume and again speaks for the condensation of poetry. There is something appealing and majestic about the lines and as one gazes at the silent, rugged monarchs of the earth and sky with their armor of glistening white, one cannot help but feel the grandeur and beauty of nature and the immutability of the hills.

The lines of Lowell,

"God makes sech nights all white and still,

* * * * *

All moonshine an' all glisten."

recall many of the delightful experiences of youth and there is no child that will not quickly grasp the beauty of the picture. The line from Evangeline, "This is the forest primeval, the murmuring pines and the hemlocks," generally loses its beauty because of the constant scansion of it, but if this scene has come within the realm of the child's experience, new force is added to the verse and ordinarily it is very easy to bring the child to a comprehensive understanding of the line, thereby intensifying its beauty to him.

The first stanza of Wordsworth's "The Daffodils"

"I wander'd lonely as a cloud
 That floats on high o'er vales and hills
 When all at once, I saw a crowd,
 A host of golden daffodils;
 Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
 Fluttering and dancing in the breeze."

may bring a new conception to the child's mind or it may bring into verbal expression the words which "have lain too deep for words." The idea of listless wandering is expressed for the cloud and the joy of that listlessness is well brought out. The sudden delight which comes as the host of daffodils bursts upon the vision is intensified by the listlessness of the first few lines. When this is brought into the child's experience the beauty of the poem is crystallized.

There is nothing which recalls to us more vividly the joy of winter, the search for ice-castles in the brook and in frozen pools better than the lines from Lowell,

"The little brook heard it (the wind) and built a roof
 'Neath which he could house him winter-proof;
 All night by the white stars' frosty gleams
 He groined his arches and matched his beams;
 Slender and clear were his crystal spars
 As the lashes of light that trim the stars:
 He sculptured every summer delight
 In his halls and chambers out of sight:
 Sometimes his tinkling waters slipt
 Down through a frost-leaved forest-crypt,
 Long sparkling aisles of steel-stemmed trees
 Bending to counterfeit a breeze;
 Sometimes the roof no fretwork knew
 But silvery mosses that downward grew;
 * * * * *
 No mortal builder's most rare device
 Could match this winter palace of ice."

How splendidly it gives the child a new conception of nature by making it a personal, real thing and Jack Frost a wonderful artist. "He sculptured every summer delight in his halls and chambers, out of sight" recalls the search

for hidden treasures of our childhood days. The whole thing is so delightfully and ideally worked out, the pictures so well presented, that we are somewhat amazed and come with full accord to the belief in a master mind expressed in the last*two lines,

"No mortal builder's most rare device,
Could match this winter palace of ice."

I believe that the little daisy, that early spring flower, has a new meaning to every child in the Rockies after he has read Burns' "To a Mountain Daisy."

"Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flower,
Thou's met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush amang the stoure
Thy slender stem.
To spare thee now is past my pow'r
Thou bonnie gem.

* * * * *

There, in thy scanty mantle clad,
Thy snowy bosom sun-ward spread,
Thou lifts thy unassuming head
In humble guise;
But now the share uptears thy bed,
And low thou lies!"

In this poem we catch the idea of personality of the flowers and there comes into our minds the thought of the much needed lesson "do not destroy the wild-flower." There seems to be an agony of soul expressed on the part of Burns when he crushed the daisy and the feeling that he experienced is bound to bring to us a deeper reverence for the things of the wood and the wild. Somewhat the same idea comes to us from Scott's "The Lady of the Lake." Surely the wild animals, the deer of the mountains, must mean much more after the child has become imbued with the spirit of this poem.

"The stag at eve had drunk his fill
Where danced the moon on Monan's rill,
And deep his midnight lair had made
In lone Glenartney's hazel shade.

* * * * *

Then dashing down a darksome glen,
 Soon lost to hound and hunter's ken,
 In the deep Trosachs' wildest nook
 His solitary refuge took.
 There, while close couched, the thicket shed
 Cold dews and wild flowers on his head,
 He heard the baffled dogs in vain
 Rave through the hollow pass amain,
 Chiding the rocks that yelled again."

The peace, the composure, the sense of satisfaction which comes in the line "the thicket shed cold dews and wild flowers on his head," arouses a new feeling in the child and brings to his mind the close relationship of all things wild. The mountains themselves assume a more personal note after we become familiar with Coleridge's "Hymn to Mount Blanc,"

"Thou too, hoar Mount! with thy sky-pointing peaks,
 Oft from whose feet the avalanche, unheard
 Shoots downward, glittering through the pure serene
 Into the depth of clouds, that veil thy breast—
 Thou too again, stupendous Mountain! thou
 That as I raise my head, awhile bowed low
 In adoration, upward from thy base
 Slow travelling with dim eyes suffused with tears,
 Solemnly seemest, like a vapoury cloud,
 To rise before me—Rise, O ever rise,
 Rise like a cloud of incense from the Earth!
 Thou kingly spirit throned among the hills,
 Thou dread ambassador from Earth to Heaven,
 Great hierarch! tell thou the silent sky,
 And tell the stars, and tell yon rising sun
 Earth with her thousand voices, praises God!"

Browning has caught the spirit of it all in his "The Englishman in Italy," in his climb to the top of Calvano.

"He climbed to the top of Calvano,
 And God's own profound
 Was above me, and round me the mountains,
 And under, the sea,
 And within me my heart to bear witness
 What was and shall be."

Here Browning has expressed what so many of us have tried to say and found impossible.

In Byron's "Apostrophe to the Ocean" in his "Childe Harold," we are brought to realize the force and power of the sea and the helplessness of man in battle with the elements.

"Roll on, thou deep and dark blue Ocean—roll!
Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain;
Man marks the earth with ruin—his control
Stops with the shore; upon the watery plain
The wrecks are all thy deed, nor doth remain
A shadow of man's ravage, save his own,
When in a moment, like a drop of rain,
He sinks into thy depths with bubbling groan,
Without a grave, unknel'd, uncoffin'd, and unknown."

Shelley, in "The Cloud" gives us an entirely different idea from Byron. In this poem "helpfulness" is the keynote and there is a tone of joy and happiness even in storm.

"I bring fresh showers for the thirsting flowers,
From the seas and the streams;
I bear light shade for the trees when laid
In their noonday dreams.
From my wings are shaken the dew that waken
The sweet buds every one,
When rocked to rest on their mother's breast,
As she dances about the sun.
I wield the flail of the lashing hail,
And whiten the green plains under,
And then again I dissolve it in rain,
And laugh as I pass in thunder."

But there is one thing that must be kept in mind above all others in the teaching of poetry, that it is the portrayal of life. The "Idylls of the King," for example, are not merely pretty pictures painted on the screen for our delectation, but are given with a distinct purpose of portraying life. Tennyson has given us here every human character and every human situation. There is not a character, good, bad, or indifferent, which cannot be found represented in some way in these poems. The entire group of idylls form the cycle of a year or the cycle of life and we have constantly emphasized to us the immortality of the soul going "from the great deep to the great deep." The poems begin in the

springtime of life, pass through the various seasons, brilliant summer, decaying fall, misty winter, to the end of December, and close with those wonderful lines expressing faith in immortality,

“ * * * he saw * * the King
Somewhere far off, pass on and on, and go
From less to less and *vanish into light*.
And the new sun rose bringing the new year.”

Poetry is not merely a cultural subject; it is without question one of the most practical subjects in the curriculum. Literature, of which it is a subdivision, should be made the most practical subject; but because we are dealing with our mother tongue, we neglect it. We are attempting to educate through every other line than the one of greatest possibility. We are following the line of least resistance and neglecting the most difficult subject, the one which above all others teaches the child to think. I hold that the teaching of literature is the most difficult subject in the curriculum, if it is taught right, but it is too often made the easiest. We are too much inclined to read merely the words, to apprehend their meaning but not to comprehend. For this reason we are inclined to regard literature as a cultural subject and not as a practical subject, when in reality it is the most cultural because it is the most practical and the most practical because it is the most cultural. We, as teachers, must remember that it is not sufficient to teach text-books; our first duty is to prepare our students to be men and women, to give them foundations on which to build, and there is no better opportunity than in the literature of the world.

In dealing with personality, or the invisible world within us, we must recognize the elements of both good and evil. We should be unfair did we try to avoid the consideration of the second. Our poets have sympathized with the trials and weaknesses of men, and have given us studies in evil, for,

“ When a soul
Has learned by the means of evil that good is best ”

then it is prepared to take the better way. Our great poets have not given us *lessons* in evil, but have presented to us *studies*, that by contrast we may take the good. We must distinguish between lessons in evil and studies in evil. Lessons in evil present evil in a suggestive way, giving temptation instead of repulsion, while studies in evil present the subject in such a way as to turn us away from evil to the good.

The problem of evil is not a new one, but, like the little immortelle, everlasting. The great epics of the world in all nations have in them the problem of evil, and even the stories which we tell to the children have much of that same problem. The "Bogey Man," the "Big Black Dog," the "policeman" and the "goblins that'll ketch you ef you don't watch out," are all grouped around the problem of evil. Trace literature from its beginnings to the present day, and you will find it developing constantly the study of this great problem. Unfortunately much of our modern literature cannot be classified as *studies* in evil, but must be called rather *lessons* in evil. We do not allow our students to see in reality many of the scenes that are portrayed in our modern novels and in our modern plays, but we allow them to read these things or view them at the theatres and moving picture shows without the slightest adverse criticism. A few carefully presented studies in evil ought to turn the student from these things, if we as teachers and parents have not done so, and ought to intensify further the instruction which may have been given.

With such a problem in mind the great poets have presented to us these studies in evil in order to arouse the best in us, and to make that which is bad unpleasant and repulsive, to establish in us "the hate of hate and scorn of scorn." Probably the most striking characteristics in the study of evil are perverted ambition, of men using their talents to gain ends to overcome their brothers, and in general to injure their fellow men. An example of this is to be found in the greatest English epic, "Paradise Lost." The principal character is the Devil himself, and his remark, "Better

to reign in hell than serve in heaven" is characteristic of his entire attitude. The means to which he resorts leaves us with the feeling that it is better to serve and be right than to reign and be wrong. Richard III is a type of the polished gentleman villain who is gracious, affable, smooth of speech, all for the purpose of winning his particular end, evil as it is. A few lines in Browning's "Lost Leader" sum up splendidly and characteristically the idea of perverted ambition and its result.

"Just for a handfull of silver he left us,
 Just for a riband to stick in his coat;
 Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us
 I lost all the others she lets us devote.
 They with their gold to give doled him out silver,
 So much was theirs who so little allowed.
 * * * * *
 Life's night begins: let him never come back to us!
 There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,
 Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
 Never glad confident morning again."

The sixth line of this poem splendidly illustrates the very feeling which the men who bribe have for those who sell themselves for worldly gain. They give just the pound of flesh offered, no more, no less, in a material way, but all the scorn and the antipathy which was not anticipated.

The problem of love and hate is one which comes into everyone's life, so to speak, until one has learned to see that there is nothing to be gained from the opposite of love, and that in reality there cannot be a deep seated hate and at the same time any regard for fellow men. "Shylock" in "The Merchant of Venice" perhaps illustrates this as well as any character we have in Shakespeare, and at the end of the play we are made to feel that he has been wronged infinitely more than he has wronged others. We feel that the man has been misunderstood and that all his racial and tribal characteristics have led him to do things which he would not have done had he had spiritual inspiration. He has seen and done according to his sight and the others have

not done as well as he. He has allowed the love of money to counteract the love of fellow man and as he expresses the lines

“How like a fawning publican he looks!
 I hate him for he is a Christian;
 But more, for that, in low simplicity
 He lends out money gratis and brings down
 The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
 If I can catch him once upon the hip,
 I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
 He hates our sacred nation; and he rails,
 Even where merchants most do congregate,
 On me, my bargains, and my well won thrift,
 Which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe,
 If I forgive him.”

he merely sums up the racial prejudice of years. He has not caught the high ideal of Rabbi Ben Ezra in “Holy-Cross Day” in that wonderful message which he gives in his death song:

“This world has been harsh and strange;
 Something is wrong: there needeth a change.
 But what, or where? at the last or first?
 In one point only we sinned, at worst.

* * * * *

God spoke, and gave us the word to keep;
 Bade never fold the hands nor sleep
 ‘Mid a faithless world,—at watch and ward,
 Till Christ at the end relieve our guard.

* * * * *

We boast our proof that at least the Jew
 Would wrest Christ’s name from the Devil’s crew.
 Thy face took never so deep a shade
 But we fought them in it, God our aid!
 A trophy to bear, as we march, thy band,
 South, East, and on to the Pleasant Land!”

Another characteristic of evil which appears strikingly in the poets is jealousy.

“How many fools serve mad jealousy,
 * * * * *
 Self-harming jealousy”

and do not follow the injunction of the poet,

“Beware, my lord, of jealousy;
It is the green-ey’d monster, which doth mock
The meat it feeds on:”

Jealousy has caused much of the unhappiness in this world, and when we have it presented to us in literature, we are forced to stop and ask ourselves if any of this has crept into our own lives. I think there is no better poem in the English language to illustrate what I mean in the study of jealousy, and further, hatred, than Browning’s “The Laboratory,”

“Now that I, tying thy mask tightly,
May gaze through these faint smokes curling whitely,
As thou pliest thy trade in this devil’s-smithy
Which is the poison to poison her, prithee?

He is with her, and they know that I know
Where they are, what they do: they believe my tears flow
While they laugh, laugh at me, at me fled to the drear
Empty church, to pray God in, for them!—I am here.

Grind away, moisten and mash up thy paste,
Pound at thy powder,—I am not in haste!
Better sit thus, and observe thy strange things,
Than go where men wait me and dance at the King’s.

That in the mortar—you call it gum?
Ah, the brave tree whence such gold oozings come!
And yonder soft phial, the exquisite blue,
Sure to taste sweetly,—is that poison too?

Had I but all of them, thee and thy treasures
What a wild crowd of invisible pleasures!
To carry pure death in an earring, a easket,
A signet, a fan-mount, a filigree basket!

Soon, at the King’s, a mere lozenge to give,
And Pauline should have just thirty minutes to live!
But to light a pastile, and Elise, with her head
And her breast and her arms and her hands, should drop dead!

Quick—is it finished? The color’s too grim!
Why not soft like the phial’s, enticing and dim?
Let it brighten her drink, let her turn it and stir,
And try it and taste it, ere she fix and prefer!

What a drop! She's not little, no minion like me!
That's why she ensnared him: this never will free
The soul from those masculine eyes,—say, "no!"
To that pulse's magnificent come-and-go.

For only last night, as they whispered, I brought
My own eyes to bear on her so, that I thought
Could I keep them one-half minute fixed, she would fall
Shriveled; she fell not, yet this does it all!

Not that I bid you spare her pain;
Let death be felt and the proof remain:
Brand, burn up, bite into its grace—
He is sure to remember her dying face!

Is it done? Take my mask off! Nay, be not morose;
It kills her, and this prevents seeing it close;
The delicate droplet, my fortune's whole fee!
If it hurts her, beside, can it ever hurt me?

Now, take all my jewels, gorge gold to your fill,
You may kiss me, old man, on my mouth if you will!
But brush this dust off me, lest horror it brings
Ere I know it—next moment I dance at the King's!"

Perhaps some analysis of the poem will give a little more clearly the idea which I wish to bring out. The first two stanzas show the coolness and calmness of the woman, as through jealousy she plots the death of her rival. The eighth line is almost uncanny in its awfulness, as the woman plotting death could even suggest prayer. The last three words of the eighth line sum up her cruelty and her hardness of heart, the tone of self-satisfaction and coolness is almost intolerable. The next four stanzas seem unnatural and inhuman as the woman brings out her artistic sense, her love of the beautiful, all to be used to the culmination of an evil end. The artist view-point begins in the twenty-fifth line and her love of torture again horrifies us. She shows in the following lines how carefully she has been plotting, how long this jealousy has been running, and to what height it has now come. Her jealousy is to take vengeance not only on her hated rival but on him who is left behind, whose agony is to be greater because of the

remembrance of suffering. The last stanza works up to the climax, leaving the emotional flavor which brings an absolute repulsion for hate and jealousy. How skillfully the poet has made us "turn our eyes inward and cry with a start." We are carried past the evil to the good.

There is so much that can be presented in the study of the element of good that one hardly knows what to omit. We find courage, loyalty, patriotism, love, inspiration, ambition, honor, truth, friendship, joy in work and service, the best in religion, and the truth about immortality and God. It is impossible in so short a paper as this to go into a detailed discussion of these characteristics and one can only touch hastily upon such poems as are of particular value in school work. An illustration of the influence of a character who has combined in himself to an unusual degree most of these attributes, namely—Sir Galahad,—may not be amiss. Some time ago the writer had the pleasure of visiting a sixth grade room in a building which was old and in many respects out-of-date. The inside of the building was gloomy and forbidding and he felt somewhat the depression which the students perhaps felt in attending school amid such surroundings. He was asked to visit this particular grade, and as he stepped into the room he noticed a different atmosphere. The children were alive and alert. They were interested in all that was going on, and yet in perfect order. On the wall in front of them was a beautiful picture of Sir Galahad. When asked to speak to the children he took that as his subject, and discovered at once that Sir Galahad was a familiar friend. They knew him from Tennyson's portrayal almost as well as the speaker. The secret of the joy and happiness in that room was due to the knowledge of this great character. A short time afterward the writer was complimenting the superintendent upon having such a teacher, and she stepped into the office while he was speaking. He turned to her and said, "I have been telling your superintendent about my experience in your room with Sir Galahad." She made this reply, "Sir Galahad keeps me right. When I enter the room in the

morning a little bit out of sorts with the world, I look at the picture and repeat those lines,

"My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure,"

and then I put out of my heart all the pettiness and smallness and think only of my children." That teacher was sweeping over into the lives of her pupils the inspiration which she herself had gained from the poet, and what she has done another can do. Her thirty-five children were a proof of the thing for which this paper is contending.

To illustrate in detail the various attributes which must be considered in the study of the good would take far more space than could be allotted. I can merely suggest perhaps some poems which may prove helpful. Perhaps there is no poem which illustrates courage and loyalty better than the "Incident of the French Camp." The last stanza sums up so triumphantly the joy of the boy in having done his duty and the courage with which he did it. As his chief says to him "you are wounded," the boy feels the same sensation that a boy who had won a race would feel upon being congratulated on winning second. He hasn't won second place in being wounded but has won first place in giving his life for his country.

"You're wounded!" "Nay," the soldier's pride
Touched to the quick, he said:
"I'm killed, sire!" And his chief beside
Smiling the boy fell dead.

A splendid appeal to patriotism is

"Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,
Welcome to your gory bed
Or to victorie!

What a triumphant climax and what a privilege offered for service to one's country!

Surely no better description of our flag can be found

than the one in Joseph Rodman Drake and through this, what greater appeal can be made to patriotism and loyalty?

“When freedom from her mountain height,
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night,
And set the stars of glory there!
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldrick of the skies,
And striped its pure celestial white
With streakings of the morning light,
Then, from his mansion in the sun,
She called her eagle-bearer down,
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land!

Nothing more inspiring for an American school boy can be found. The stars and stripes have a new and wonderful meaning after that description.

The love for mankind has a striking example in Leigh Hunt's “Abou Ben Adhem,”

—“Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still; and said, “I pray thee, then,
Write me as one that loves his fellow-men.
“The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,—
And, lo—Ben Adhem's name led all the rest!”

That poem brings home with tremendous force the idea of service to humanity and love for our fellow-man. All things in God's religion are examples of that.

Inspiration for better things and the ambition to “follow the gleam” come to us in “The Chambered Nautilus.”

“Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at last art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!”

The appeal to ambition is found also in the "Song of Marion's Men" and in "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers," and the appeal to honor is found all through "The Idylls of the King." Nowhere is the value of truth emphasized more than in "Gareth and Lynette" and especially in Gareth's speech,

"Our one white lie sits like a little ghost
Here on the threshold of our enterprise."

How could friendship be more beautifully exemplified than in "Auld Lang Syne," "John Anderson, my Jo, John," and the famous Elegies, "Lycidas," "Adonais," and "In Memoriam." The joy in work and service and the dignity of work is illustrated in "The Village Blacksmith" and "The Cotter's Saturday Night."

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, rever'd abroad:
Princes and lords are but the breath of kings,
An honest man's the noblest work of God."

The best in religion and life is to be found in Cowper's

"God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform,
He plants his footsteps on the sea
And rides upon the storm.

Blind unbelief is sure to err
And scan his work in vain,
God is his own interpreter
And he will make it plain."

There is no poem which brings home to us with so much force the power of God and the inability of man to understand his doings, and some way we get a new hold upon ourselves, when we repeat the line "God is his own interpreter and he will make it plain." The same idea has been brought out in a little different way in one of the modern poems, "The Old Road to Paradise" by Margaret Wildemer,

"Oh, in youth the dawn's a rose,
 Dusk an amethyst,
 All the roads from dusk to dawn
 Gay they wind and twist:
 The old road to Paradise,
 Easy it is missed!

But out on the wet battle-field;
 Few the roadways wind,
 One to grief, one to death,
 No road that's kind -
 The old road to Paradise
 Plain it is to find!

Where the dark's a terror-thing,
 Morn a hope doubt-tossed,
 Where the lads lie thinking long,
 Out in rain and frost,
 There they find their Lord again,
 Long ago they lost:

Where the night comes cruelly,
 Where the hurt men moan,
 Where the crush'd forgotten ones
 Whisper prayers alone,
 Christ along the battle-fields
 Comes to lead His own:

Souls that would have withered
 In the hot world's glare,
 Blown and gone like shriveled things,
 Dusty on the air,
 Rank on rank they follow Him,
 Young and strong and fair."

The suggestion comes here to us that perhaps in all this European slaughter there is a great destiny which we cannot quite understand. Perhaps in this way God is calling his children back to him. It is paradoxical, but life is a series of paradoxes.

We are brought close to the idea of immortality and God in Addison's Hymn, "Ode to the Spacious Firmament,"

and in Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" and in "Saul" we catch the vision of Christ, the incarnation of God in Man.

"O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee;
a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever;
a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life
to thee! See the Christ stand!"

I have tried in this paper to show that poetry has a greater function in our school work than merely to amuse and give delight or to be cultural only in its educational purpose. I hold that it is the greatest subject for teaching ethics and morals in our curriculum and that no subject has more practical value or greater opportunities for training for citizenship. Poetry is the subject of highest value in the school course, because it can give the student the greatest inspiration. It is difficult, cultural, practical; it develops the brain, trains the mind and above all presents life in its fullness. It appeals to the best in us and

"Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe,
There is an inmost centre in us all,
Where truth abides in fullness."

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Atherton Noyes.

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MATTHEW ARNOLD'S POETRY—AN APPRÉCIATION

BY ATHERTON NOYES.

The question of Matthew Arnold's standing as a poet still awaits determination. It is a common custom among critics to place him, according to the personal reaction of the writer, either among the great poets, or high among those of the second rank; and then to point out the characteristic features of his work without taking the final step of yoking conclusion specifically to evidence,—without, indeed, purposefully gathering evidence for the sake of a conclusion. Arnold has suffered not a little from a more or less casual criticism—witness Saintsbury, Walker, Russell—the purpose of which has really been either dogmatically to appoint his rank, with a show of reason therefor, or merely to give a taste of Arnold, to provide a good introduction to the reading of his poems rather than really to appraise them; and such appraisal as is offered is commonly confined to individual poems rather than extended to his product as a whole.

The present paper aims, so far as its narrow scope permits, to test the worth of Arnold's poetry—and so the standing of Arnold as a poet—by the method of letting poems and poet speak for themselves with reference to this specific point. This will involve a discussion, not necessarily of all his work, but of his best; and in sufficient breadth and detail to find its typical qualities, both in method and in thought.

In both these respects *Dover Beach* is characteristic. Perhaps more reasonably of this poem than of any other, it might be said that here we see Arnold in epitome. It is of wider fame than any other single poem, is representative, if not of the highest reach of his thought, yet of its most frequent aspect, and in its craftsmanship is unsurpassed.

It will afford, then, a better bird's eye view of Arnold's work than can be got elsewhere within such narrow compass; and because it is typical in so much, will prove a valuable introduction to his other poems.

Dover Beach is a lyric, written in 1867, and belongs, therefore, to his mature manhood. It is a human document, exhibiting, in an exposure of the inmost thoughts of his soul, the spiritual struggle of the old religious faith in its defensive fight against the cohorts of modern science. Out of the very heart of that struggle was this word spoken—and with a pathetic sincerity. To Arnold it seemed as if nothing were left; and his agony of soul is emphasized by the richly imaginative pictures which present the world “so various, so beautiful, so new,” only to show it falling to dust and ashes at the touch. Pervading even such a despair, however, is the nobility of a fortitude, which, if it seems a little faintly presented here, is still, as other poems abundantly show, that same splendid courage of the spirit that taught Ulysses

“To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

There may be in it a confession of defeat; but there is no surrender. In his hopelessness as he admits that

“the world
Hath really neither joy, nor hope, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help from pain,”

—will the catalogue never end! he finds comfort and strength in the hortatory

“Ah! love, let us be true
To one another!”

This is all that can still be done; and pitifully small it seems in the light of his hopes. But small it is not. It is that spirit of playing the game out, the indomitable British spirit come down from the days of Deor, the Scop:

“That he o'erwent; this also may I,”

and it appears in Arnold over and over again. With him also there is never any smallest abatement of dogged reso-

lution to endure. The only difference is that in his case it is not as with Deor a struggle with hard external circumstances, but an agony of spirit. He belongs in the category of those to whom Emily Dickinson pays tribute in the lines:

"Braver far, I trow
Who charge within the bosom
The cavalry of woe!"

The strength of the appeal of this poem to the understanding reader is fully recognized. It remains to find the secret of that. Above all else, it lies, of course, in the truthfulness of the poet's portrayal of a human experience common to every man whose spirit is awake. The conflict is now seldom as fierce as it was in Arnold's day; but no man wins his spiritual freedom without it. Secondly, the secret of the poem's power is naturally to be found in the language in which its thought is clothed, and in a rhythm of rich musical quality, instantly responsive in movement to the varying demands of the thought. At the beginning, the calm of a quiet moonlight night at the Straits of Dover is set forth in lines of such delicate and varying rhythmical beat that one seems almost to be reading rhythmical prose; and the quiet of the mood is further enhanced by a complex and carefully subordinated rhyme scheme: In the first six lines there is but one rhyme—line 2 rhymes with line 6. After this a more noticeable rhyme marks an increase of emotional quality; and the tone of sadness, at first only suggested, grows under his thought by its own vitality, and is enforced by the congruent influences of onomatopoeic cadence, rich sensuousness of word and figure, and a transforming and far-reaching imagination. Under the analogy suggested by the passage beginning

"The Sea of Faith
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled,"—

a new aspect of his struggle is suggested such as in its poetic quality is unfamiliar to the ordinary tone of theological speculation and doubt; and the vision of the Homeric River Ocean, which the lines instantly summon into conscious-

ness, adds beauty to beauty. So, likewise, under a change of figure, in the closing lines; and if the vision of a

"darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night,"

by chance recall Arthur's "last great battle in the West," the anticipated unhappy issue of this struggle in which Arnold is one of the fighters is shadowed before us, and his despair justified under the premises.

Here, then, is a poem which in its truthfulness speaks to the human heart; whose very despair is bathed in beauty, and whose idealism will not down. Are these the marks of great poetry? The answer must be given in the light of a broader study.

HIS CONCEPTION OF NATURE.

First in such study it is important to consider Arnold's attitude toward Nature, and his method and his power in the rendering of natural scenes. Of this there is no bird's eye view to be had in *Dover Beach* or any other single poem. A delicate responsiveness to nature appears in many of his poems, and is fully accounted for in a little autobiographic touch in his *Lines Written in Kensington Gardens*:

"In my helpless cradle I
Was breathed upon by the rural Pan."

Nature has been a passion with him from childhood, and out of that passion he pictures her with an opulent imagination and a loving sympathy.

His interpretation, his "philosophy" of nature in his "sublime moments" is nearer to Emerson's than to Wordsworth's. Wordsworth vaguely feels what Emerson boldly proclaims. To Emerson, the soul of man partakes of the universal soul, is the Creator in the finite; every natural fact is a symbol of a spiritual fact; nature is an inferior incarnation of God, fulfilling her highest function in her ministry to man; one of her ministries is to satisfy his passion for beauty, and to glorify his noble acts by providing for them a worthy setting:—"Ever does natural

beauty steal in," he says, "like air, and envelope great actions." * * * "In private places, among sordid objects, an act of truth or heroism seems at once to draw to itself the sky as its temple, the sun as its cradle."*

The most famous as well as the most beautiful passage in which Wordsworth touches upon this general theme of the relation of Nature to God and to man is the one from *Tintern Abbey*:

"I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

Here, for the pantheism of Emerson, we have a tone that is to be described as merely "pantheistic." Elsewhere he is somewhat more specific. In the *Prelude* (XIV), writing in recollection of a wonderful night scene, a moonlight view from Snowdon over an ocean of mist, he gives a distinct suggestion of the Emersonian doctrine of Nature as an inferior incarnation, if not of God, then of those "made in God's image:"

"The power * * * * which Nature thus
To bodily sense exhibits is the express
Resemblance of that glorious faculty
That higher minds bear with them as their own."

Of Emerson's thesis that a main function of Nature is to glorify man's noble acts, there is a hint (*Prelude* XIII) in the power he attributes to her

"to breathe
Grandeur upon the very humblest face
Of human life;"

And of Emerson one is again reminded when he reads such passages (*Prelude* XII) as

"I * * * again
In Nature's presence stood, as now I stand
A sensitive being, a *creative* soul."

*Emerson: "Nature."

Yet as compared with Emerson these are gropings—there is lacking the clear vision of the Concord seer.

Arnold stands between the two, differing from Wordsworth in a more genuine Emersonian quality which he often adds; and from Emerson in an insight which penetrates less deeply, and to which he is not, therefore, steadily loyal. Because of this fact, the witness of his poems is conceivably to be regarded not as a part of his conscious philosophy, but as arising in an occasional instinctive deeper recognition of truth. In the first stanza of *The Youth of Nature*, a picture of wonderful natural beauty is painted, not for its own sake, but to enshrine the memory of a poet—Wordsworth. To enhance the effect of this, the motif is repeated three stanzas below in an illustration of the same thing in connection with the death of Teiresias. The first stanza begins with a picture of purely sensuous beauty—the dripping oars, the silent lake “in the sheen of the moon,” the mountains “clear in the pure June-night;”—but

“In the shadow Wordsworth lies dead.
So it is, so it will be for aye.”

This great fact and not the scene of loveliness is the whole purpose of that stanza. The beauty of the scene finds its highest worth in the honor it pays *him*—and the shadow of the mountain, extending over his grave, is Nature’s pall of sorrow for the poet who loved her so well. The Teiresias stanza is as follows:

“Cold bubbled the spring of Tilphusa,
Copais lay bright in the moon,
Helicon glassed in the lake
Its firs, and afar rose the peaks
Of Parnassus, snowily clear;
Thebes was behind him in flames,
And the clang of arms in his ear,
When his awe-struck captors led
The Theban seer to the spring.
Teiresias drank and died.” (Italics mine.)

This is Arnold’s most sublime method of treating nature. He has another, which this embraces. As the scenes vis-

ualized in these stanzas are lovely in their own right, there are others whose loveliness is the whole sum and substance of his purpose. The opening stanzas of *The Scholar Gipsy* afford a good example. Here is an idyllic beauty reminiscent of Theocritus and Virgil and Milton; and there is no hidden meaning, no symbolism, no application to life. Beauty is its own excuse for being.

“Go, for they call you, shepherd, from the hill;
Go, Shepherd, and untie the wattled cotes!
No longer leave thy wistful flock unfed,
Nor let thy bawling fellow’s rack their throats,
Nor the cropped herbage shoot another head.
But when the fields are still,
And the tired men and dogs all gone to rest,
And only the white sheep are sometimes seen
Cross and recross the strips of moon-blanch’d green,
Come, shepherd, and again begin the quest!”

—(Stanza I.)

How largely this double fact of Arnold’s method in treating natural scenes is characteristic of him may be suggested by referring again to *Dover Beach*. The beauty of the external scene is there used with telling effect, by contrast, to symbolize and to magnify the underlying sadness which the supposedly melancholy sound of the withdrawing wave created. Thus again is nature the servant of spirit.

In these instances Arnold is in perfect harmony with Emerson. He is, however, not always consistent in that, thus arguing that his vision is not always clear, nor his philosophy of nature and of the soul systematized. In *The Youth of Man* and in the latter part of *The Youth of Nature*, the soul is degraded before nature. In the last stanza, Nature says:

“Race after race, man after man,
Have thought that my secret was theirs,
Have dream’d that I lived but for them,
That they were my glory and joy.
—They are dust, they are changed, they are gone!
I remain.”

NARRATIVE AND DRAMA.

Thus far we have succeeded in obtaining some understanding of various chief qualities of Arnold's poems: a love of nature for her own sake and for her service to man; a painstaking art that shows native genius for rhythmical cadence and for beauty of word and phrase; an imaginative power that is both true and exalted; a quality of seriousness in subject matter;—and in the man, a mood of melancholy, yet of stern resolution. A broader study need now concern itself only with the differentia among these characteristics and with such other new qualities as may appear. Arnold's poetic product lies in the fields of narrative, drama, the lyric, the sonnet, the elegy—with a very few poems of lighter touch. In this catalogue we view his whole range.

In his narrative and drama we see exemplified the poetic theory to which, though in practice he departed from it, he gave complete intellectual adherence. In his inaugural address upon the occasion of his entering upon the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford *(1857), he argues convincingly for the study of the classics; in the Prefaces to his 1853 and 1854 volumes of his poems, he argues, if less effectually, with equal faith in his cause, that the true and the only basis of interest in a poetical work is a great human action where the characters are noble and the action intense; that though the antiquity of an action is a secondary matter, and the most trifling actions often exhibit the poetic faculty, it is "a pity that the poet should be compelled to impart interest and force to his subject, instead of receiving them from it." In this Arnold is clearly on the side of the Past—or at least of a "great" action; that is, epic, and such great romantic themes as those of the Round Table.

Out of this theory sprang his major narratives and Merope—even Empedocles; though this, on account of its deficiency in "action" was withdrawn for fifteen years.

*"The Modern Element in Literature," *Essays in Criticism*, Third Series.

His work in narrative and drama is of fine artistic quality—it is only not his greatest. The narrative is better than the drama. *Sohrab and Rustum* meets the demands of his standard except perhaps that on the whole its movement is a little slow. The characters are great, noble, and are clearly and sympathetically portrayed; so that the pathos of the climax makes the genuine appeal he was seeking to those “elementary emotions which subsist permanently in the race and are independent of time.” Rustum is seen to be jealous, impulsive, headstrong—a man of blood; Sohrab, open-hearted, generous, forgiving—an idealist. The dramatic moments when Sohrab almost brings Rustum to confess himself, and again when Rustum’s own inadvertent cry of “Rustum!” fatally shatters Sohrab’s defense, are above praise for their psychological truth and dramatic effect.

Of pure description there is surprisingly little for a narrative where movement is on the whole so deliberate. Most of it comes in incidentally, mingled with the narrative, usually in the form of epic similes. Of this epic characteristic Arnold shows himself master, and the descriptions so presented have all of his familiar charm. They are excellent examples of the symbolic conception of nature already discussed; but a typical and even better instance of that comes in the account of that

“unnatural conflict; for a cloud
Grew suddenly in heaven, and dark’d the sun
Over the fighters’ heads; and a wind rose
Under their feet, and moaning swept the plain,
And in a sandy whirlwind wrapp’d the pair.”

In the rhythm, the cadence of the lines is delicately suited to the thought. In the following lines, rapid, broken action, suited to the fight:

“He spoke, and Sohrab kindled at his taunts,
And he too drew his sword: at once they rushed
Together, as two eagles on one prey”—

In a later passage, a deliberate rhythm, interpreting Rustum’s growing consciousness of what he has done:

"He spoke; and all the blood left Rostum's cheeks,
 And his knees totter'd, and he smote his hand
 Against his breast, his heavy mailed hand"—

Tristram and Iscalt is romantic in spirit, as Sohrab is classic. Here also Arnold is on congenial ground—and here again a lack of action is sometimes proclaimed. But the dreary waiting is an essential part of the tragedy, and the dreams of the fevered Tristram help to supply any lack. Its one patent fault is that, much as the reader is interested in Iscalt of Brittany, the canto which tells of her final fortunes and of her children, takes on necessarily the character of a postscript. The main action has ended in the tragic scene of death in that seaward-looking chamber, where the huntsman on the tapestry in a holy reverence still withholds the blast of his horn. In no creation of his imagination did Arnold ever more fully realize his ideal than in this one scene: the passionate farewells, the gleam of the moonlight upon the silent forms of the lovers in this chamber of the dead, the huntsman and his hounds. The lines throb with grace, and beauty, and romantic feeling.

The Forsaken Merman shows Arnold in a new type, and in one of his best narratives. With all its fairy tale conventions, it commands the imagination, for into all its fancifulness one reads the genuine human emotion from which Arnold never got very far away. Its captivating rhythm is perhaps intended to be suggestive of the gentle quick plashing of the waves.

Balder Dead does not as a narrative compare with any of these. It is a Scandinavian theme, to which an epic form and a modern tone have been given. It is Arnold himself who speaks through Balder's lips in the realm of the dead:

"For I am long since weary of your storm
 Of carnage, and find, Hermod, in your life
 Something too much of war and broils"—

It makes an unhappy combination of little promise and slight result.

Merope is a drama in the manner of Sophocles, but

though containing much fine poetry, is so slavish a copy that it affords little pleasure.

Empedocles is a drama in form, but is chiefly a monologue with a slight attendant action. Its reflective mood recalls Rabbi Ben Ezra, but its spirit is quite different. There are striking lines and stanzas, but all are a product of Arnold's morbid soul, and *Empedocles* is again only Arnold himself, as witness:

"And he treats doubt the best who tries to see least ill;"

—and again:

"I say: Fear not! Life still
Leaves human effort scope.
But since life teams with ill,
Nurse no extravagant hope;
Because thou must not dream, thou need'st not then despair."

There is an unconscious humor in this that *Empedocles* instantly after these stoical preachments to endure, goes out to throw himself into the crater of Etna.

HIS GREATEST VERSE.

It is a generally accepted fact, that interesting as his narratives and dramas are, Arnold is not at his best in any of them. His high success was attained in another form. This is in part to be accounted for by the fact that his busy life did not admit much poetry, so that the more elaborate poetical themes became increasingly impossible to him and he took up a field of narrower endeavor perforce. As he became, too, involved in critical and theological discussion, his fount of poetic inspiration was less abundant; and the internal evidence of the poems points to his having taken up the lyric form rather in response to mood and occasion than to his having consistently and purposefully forsaken one form for the other.

But though this reasoning explains his failure to produce continuously in the narrative and the drama for which his theory of poetry called, it does not explain the lesser significance of the narratives he did write in comparison with

his lyrical verse. That is to be accounted for by the "nature of things." His creed, as he stated it, was philosophically unsound. The epic and other long narratives, perennially a joy as a rendering of the great times of the past, were a passing form when Arnold wrote, and his single effort could not stem the ebbing tide, still less convert it into flood. Tennyson's great Idylls seem at first a contradiction of this. But both in the idealistic quality inherent in Arthur's unsuccessful effort to establish an ideal kingdom, and in the allegory of the human soul therein shadowed forth, this poem is a pure example of the modern spirit coming increasingly into its own in the lyric. It argues against Arnold, not for him; and shows how the lyric, with the mood of which it sympathizes so largely,—less pretentious, almost humble in the presence of its more pompous and showy elder—was not only not less great, but was essentially a greater form, as speaking more intimately, and to the hearts of more men. A new age had arisen. Men were now no longer to be treated in the mass, but as individuals; and the dignity and worth of the human soul was an accepted fact. These changed conditions of life demanded a different form of poetic expression. In the epic we take our emotion vicariously, through the persons of the story; in the lyric, it is our own heart of hearts that speaks in the throbbing words of the poet. All that Arnold says about "action" and "the primary human affections" is profoundly true; but it is not the whole truth. He admits in his second Preface that he has left "untouched the question how far and in what manner the opinions * * * expressed respecting the choice of subjects apply to lyric poetry,"—and thereby admits that his statement that the *eternal* objects of poetry are human *actions*, (*italics mine*) is so much an over-statement as to be virtually false. Yet again it isn't. The "strenuous" life is as often the life of the spirit as of the body. It was that in Deor's case, and the like has not failed us since; so that, for our present purpose, by this interpretation the distinction between action and emotion is unimportant. If, however,

we do away with it, Arnold's dictum that noble, great, intense actions, and these alone afford a true basis of interest in a poetical work becomes universally true. It is interesting to note how largely, both in *Sohrab* and in *Tristram*, but more broadly in the latter, he relies upon such "action of spirit" to bolster up his externals. The *Iliad*, except in the parting of Hector and Andromache, (unique in that poem for its emotional intensity) stands in striking contrast to these, as does also *Paradise Lost*.

LYRIC AND ELEGIAC POEMS.

For the study of his lyric and elegiac verse, it is particularly unfortunate that it is not possible to trace the growth of Arnold's thought with a more definite chronological sequence in a good biography. We need some further aid than that afforded by the successive editions of his poems. If we could know with some exactness the circumstances which gave rise to a larger number of them; if we could look intimately in on his undergraduate days and come to understand just what his reactions then were to those claims and counter-claims of science and religion which give so much zest to the story of Huxley's life and which drove Newman into the Roman Church; if we had a fuller record of the intimate experiences Arnold had with his father, of whom *Rugby Chapel* speaks so touchingly and so eloquently, then the study of his poems would bring a more finished satisfaction than now it can. Yet in some sense these are mere adventitious matters. If there are permanent values there, they will appear.

In point of technique, and in the character and substance of his thought, Arnold's poems show surprisingly little development with the passage of time. From the beginning there is internal evidence of nicety of taste and the "laborious file," so that faults in this regard are minor, and in comparison with his excellences of details and of wholes, virtually negligible. Yet are "incessanter" (*The Future*), and "cecity" (*Westminster Abbey*) not lovely words, however

much one be disposed to forgive; nor is "obey'd" a good rhyme for "said" (*Empedocles*). Some criticisms that have been given are, however, undiscerning. The line,

"*Calm's not life's crown, yet calm is well.*"—(*Youth and Calm.*)

has been criticized for its multiplicity of monosyllables. Also the line,

"As the punt's rope chops round."—*The Scholar Gipsy.*

But in the former, the monosyllables add the rhythmical insistence of a stress upon every word but one to a thought still further enforced by italicizing the whole line; and the latter is an onomatopoeic line, rendering with great suggestiveness and accuracy the sound of the rope's slapping of the water as it now is taut, now slack.

In the sonnet, *Quiet Work*, which introduces his "Early Poems," Arnold's sensitiveness to poetic beauty, his consciousness of a deep bond with nature, his instinctive thought of life as something to be faced, and his high idealism already all appear. Among various striking lines, the one,

"Still do thy sleepless ministers move on,"

deserves special remark for its calm dignity of movement and of figure. Wordsworth's fine line,

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong."—*Ode to Duty.*

treating the same theme, is no finer. Early as this sonnet is, in his maturest years he can hardly be said to have written more beautifully and nobly.

Upon this mood the poems ring many changes, sometimes descending into deepest glooms, sometimes in a moment of vision, taking comfort in a hope of greater or lesser intensity, but always presenting an undaunted front to whatever the future shall bring. Sometimes his gloom of spirit is founded in his inability to see the goal to which life is tending. In *The Scholar Gipsy*, he speaks of

"this strange disease of modern life
With its sick hurry, its divided aims."

In *A Question*, he complains that

"Men dig graves with bitter tears .
For their dead hopes."

So, naturally, his view of old age is at the farthest possible remove from Browning's. "What is it to grow old?" he asks:

"It is to spend long days
And not once feel that we were ever young.
* * * * *
"To feel but half, and feebly, what we feel."

In *The Youth of Man*, all that ought to make for happiness in old age has become of little worth. The discouragement, the utter futility of life finds its text in the thought that man dies, nature survives. This has come to be dust and ashes to the happy pair who entered upon their wedded life with hearts of high courage and hope, for

"Time,
With the ceaseless stroke of his wings
Brushed off the bloom from their soul."

Years passed and old age is here. Outwardly it is a picture of idyllic beauty. They are standing

"where this grey balustrade
Crowns the still valley; behind
Is the castled house, with its woods
Which sheltered their childhood—the sun
On its ivied windows; a scent
From the grey-walled gardens, a breath
Of the fragrant stock and the pink
Perfumes the evening air.
Their children play on the lawns."

But all is of no avail: in spite of so much that makes for happiness, now at last their vision seems clear.

"And they see for a moment
Stretching out, like the desert,
In its weary, unprofitable length,
Their faded, ignoble lives."

In these poems the tone is one of unrelieved gloom. In *Self-Deception*, a different note begins to appear. For almost all of the poem there is the familiar discouragement, complaint, pessimism:

"And on earth we wander, groping, reeling;
Powers stir in us, stir and disappear.

Ah! and he who placed our master-feeling,
Failed to place that master-feeling clear.

"We but dream we have our wish'd-for powers,
Ends we seek we never shall obtain."

But in the question that follows in the final lines of the poem there is at least a hope of a hope:

"Ah! *Some* power exists there, which is ours?
Some end is there, we indeed may gain?"

In *Self-Dependence*, the balance is strongly on the side of hope. Discouragement appears only in the opening couplet:

"Weary of myself and sick of asking
What I am and what I ought to be;"

but from stars and sea he draws an inspiring lesson which speaks to the heart of mankind:

"And with joy the stars perform their shining
And the sea its long, moon-silvered roll;
For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
All the fever of some differing soul."

In the final injunction there is the Emersonian ring:

"Resolve to be thyself; and know that he
Who finds himself loses his misery."

This note of resolution, of hope, appears many times:

"But tasks in hours of insight willed
May be in hours of gloom fulfill'd."—*Morality*.

"Not with lost toil thou labourest through the night!
Thou mak'st the heaven thou hop'st indeed thy home."

Sonnet on East London.

In the *Lines Written in Kensington Gardens*, comes the beautiful prayer,

"Calm soul of all things! Make it mine
To feel amid the city's jar
That there abides a peace of thine,
Man did not make and cannot mar."

In *The Last Word*, the substance of his manhood stands out in words that thrill:

"They out-talk'd thee, hiss'd thee, tore thee?
Better men fared thus before thee;
Fired their ringing shot and passed,
Hotly charged—and sank at last.

"Charge once more, then, and be dumb!
Let the victors, when they come,
When the forts of folly fall,
Find thy body by the wall!"

This, however, is the call to duty which Stoicism gives, the only call it can give. But in one of those "sublime moments" of which Emerson has so much to say, there is a note almost of faith:

"A bolt is shot back somewhere in the breast,
And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again.
The eye sinks inward and the heart lies plain,
And what we mean, we say, and what we would, we know.
A man becomes aware of his life's flow,
And hears its winding murmur; and he sees
The meadows where it glides, the sun, the breeze.

* * * * *

And then he thinks he knows
The hills where his life rose,
And the sea where it goes."

—*The Buried Life.*

Under the same figure of the river of life, but with an individuality of its own, there is in the poem entitled *The Future*, if not faith, the peace which faith gives. Perchance

"the width of the waters, the hush
Of the grey expanse where he floats,

* * * * *

As it draws to the Ocean, may strike
Peace to the soul of the man on its breast—
As the pale waste widens around him,
As the banks fade dimmer away,
As the stars come out, and the night-wind
Brings up the stream
Murmurs and scents of the infinite sea."

As here purposely presented, these quotations seem to show a quality of growth in Arnold which the facts do not justify. The moods of his poems were only reflections of his own moods, and were as variant as they. A note of

faith is perhaps more likely to be early than late. *The Buried Life*, and *The Future*, the last two quotations above, were both early poems (1852 and 1853): *Dover Beach*, pessimistic and *The Better Part*, stoical.

"Hath man no second life? *Pitch this one high!*"

were both of 1867. Yet in *Rugby Chapel*, of the same year, under the inspiration of the thought of his father and the other "noble and great who have gone," we of today, he says, though "a fainting, dispirited race," will

"Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march,
On, on to the bound of the waste,
On, on to the city of God."

It is not a joyous hope, but it is a hope, for there is a "bound" to the waste, and a goal to be reached.

HIS MESSAGE.

What is Arnold's message to his time? Above it is given the benefit of climax, regardless of chronology; yet, as has appeared, the loftier note found in some earlier poems, is not wholly wanting in the later ones. His message was conditioned by the times in which his lot was cast. By nature he was a man of buoyant, exuberant disposition. Professor Shairp of Balliol describes him at the beginning of his University period, as one who

"Entered with free, bold step that seemed to claim
Fame for himself, nor on another lean.
So full of power, yet blithe and debonair,
Rallying his friends with pleasant banter gay."*

But the Sturm und Drang period of the unsettlement of faith, through which he passed during the impressionable years of young manhood, gave his vision a quality of spiritual blur from which he never recovered. Some of the steps we can readily trace. In the *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*, he shows us the beginning. He tells us how

*Saintsbury, p. 6.

"vigorous teachers seized my youth,
And purged its faith, and trimm'd its fire,
Show'd me the high, white star of Truth,
There bade me gaze, and there aspire."

Now, in a restlessness of spirit, arising in theological doubt, he has come to the Carthusian Monastery, not because the faith of these monks draws him, but in some sense, nevertheless, as to a "retreat:"

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these, I wait on earth forlorn.
Their faith, my tears, the world deride—
I come to shed them at their side."

His Obermann poems show how appealing to him had been the gentle sadness of Senancour; but in the *Grande Chartreuse*, he is full of question of this master. He asks,

"Are we easier to have read,
O Obermann! the stern, sad page"—

and answers,

"But we—we learnt your lore too well!"

In Utrumque Paratus, an early poem (1849) on this early experience, shows him at the study of the specific problem. The poem is nothing but the dilemma of the old faith, so simple, so easy, and with so much of beauty,—and the negation of faith which science seemed to bring, with its corollary, "*I, too, but seem*," which is its pathetic conclusion. The sternness of the spiritual struggle through which Arnold had gone, and which reflected itself in this poem of his 27th year, is grimly suggested in the title itself.

It is not in his thought, therefore, that we find the best of Arnold, for in poems filled often with a poignant beauty, though he seems to promise, he never completely fulfills. We look to him as to a seer to clear the mists away from life, to help us to understand ourselves,—but he only adds his confusion to ours. To be sure, there is still his trumpet call to duty and endurance; but that, after all, is little better than a stone when we asked for bread.

If, however, we accept the fact that Arnold is a poet of doubt, not of faith, and therefore ask him not for what he has not to give, a new beauty and a new worth appear in his work. The theological atmosphere which dimmed the brightness of the days for him has long since cleared; but life, with other "sick hopes and divided aims," with its sordidness, its discouragements, its despairs, and its unrighteousness, is a new problem for every man; and if Arnold cannot do away with all this, cannot order it in the scheme of things, enable man to "see life steadily and see it whole," he can speak out our heart's pain for us, and sometimes summon us to a high fidelity to the vision within us, in words of eternal power. The single couplet,

"Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
Still clutching the inviolable shade,"

is timeless in its significance,—of a trenchant idealism and an unsurpassed beauty. Though from an early poem (*The Scholar Gipsy*, 1853), it represents the acme of his power of expression; yet it is genuinely typical of the spirit of *all* of his work. It is not chiefly for the adjuration, however, that we love it, for that is partial, incomplete; but for the passion and the beauty—the *power*, with which that adjuration is carried into our hearts. In *The Scholar Gipsy*, *Thyrsis*, *Rugby Chapel*, all that Arnold has to give through the medium of personal poetry, may be found; and these with *Dover Beach*, and the wonderful tribute of his sonnet on *Shakespeare*, constitute his highest attainment. His message, like his vision, is limited, but by no means to be neglected; and since, in large measure, at least, its problem is of all time, and is conveyed in words charged with true emotion and illumined with beauty, it will not pass.

THE QUESTION.

Is Arnold a great poet? He himself challenges comparison with some of the greatest. In 1869, he writes in a letter: "My poems represent, on the whole, the main movement of mind of the last quarter of a century, and

thus they will probably have their day, as people become conscious to themselves of what that movement of mind is, and interested in the literary productions which reflect it. It might fairly be urged that I have less poetic sentiment than Tennyson, and less intellectual vigor and abundance than Browning. Yet because I have more, perhaps, of a fusion of the two than either of them, and have more regularly applied that fusion to the main line of modern development, I am likely enough to have my turn as they have had theirs."*†

A similar contention appears in Hugh Walker's "Victorian Poets:" "From the first his work was so delicately finished and so thoughtful, that it established his right to be ranked among the great poets of his time; 'established' that right, not by winning general recognition, but by virtue of those inherent qualities which we must believe will at last enforce such recognition. For recognized in any due degree, Arnold is not yet."

This is a prophecy of a score of years ago,—and a claim;—has it as yet been justified? Mr. G. W. E. Russell, quoting as his view, under date of 1904, what he wrote and published in June, 1888, but a few months after Arnold's death, declares (to summarize) that he was "not a great poet, for he wrote but little; that in every line his poetry bears traces of the laborious file; that he is not simple, sensuous, or passionate and is not and never could be a poet of the multitude; yet he was a true poet, rich in those qualities which make the loved and trusted teacher of the chosen few."

Let these estimates be taken as typical of the personal reactions to Arnold which one would be most likely to find. Where does the truth lie?

Not all that Russell says is true. Arnold could not, indeed, be a poet of the multitude, for he is not simple. He

*"Letters of M. A." vol. II, p. 10. Edited by G. W. E. Russell.

†In one respect we have been more appreciative of Arnold than he has been of himself. He is more than an interpreter of "a quarter of a century," as has been shown.

produced, however, a very considerable volume of verse: he is sensuous, for it is through the senses—four of them in the opening stanzas of *The Scholar Gipsy*—that he makes his pictures of natural scenes so vivid; he is passionate, if *Dover Beach*, *A Last Word*, *The Better Part*, and others may come within the meaning of the word. In general, in his objectivity, his responsiveness to impressions of beauty and to delicate shades of emotion, and in the substantial quality of his thought, he apparently presents a happy union of all the characteristics that mark great poetry. It were unsafe, however, to argue from this that he is a great poet. A further refinement is necessary. A poet's thought is to be measured not merely by its direction and its substance, but also by its issue. As in *Resignation*, so, frequently elsewhere, he fills the mind with assurance only to lead it to a lame and impotent conclusion. In spite of this fact, however, and with all his poetic sensitiveness to beauty and his skill in reproducing it, his *thought*, his *message*, is the ground of his own main interest. The purpose that lies behind his essays is discoverable also in his poems, and his "Letters" support this view. Remarking to his mother upon Jean Ingelow, he says: "It is a great deal to give one true feeling in poetry, and I think she seemed to be able to do that; but I do not at present very much care for poetry unless it can give me true *thought* as well. It is the alliance of these two that makes great poetry, the only poetry really worth very much."* It is not, then, by musical line, or a rendering of natural beauty, or in characterization or narrative that, in his own inner consciousness, he desires to attain, as both quotations of his own words show. Hence it is by his doctrine, by the essential worth of his teaching, that he must stand or fall. In this, however, as has appeared, he falls short.

What, to be precise, is the criterion by which this judgment is reached? It is this: The great poets are seers—by virtue of their great message. Browning's *My Last Duchess* will perhaps be quoted in contravention. This is

*Letters, vol. I, p. 241 (Nov. 19, 1863.)

a poem of flawless perfection and an example of great art; but the greatness of Browning relies only in part upon poems of that type. Perfect of its kind, it is not of the highest kind. It is praised, to be sure, the more highly—and properly so—for its lack of moral purpose; it is said to be "pure art," uncontaminated by moral design. It is not, on that account, however, wholly devoid of moral atmosphere, for though nothing but pure realization of scene and character and motives lay in the poet's mind, there is an enlargement of sympathy, a "purification," that unconsciously passes into the mind of the reader, and the poem is a better poem for this by-product. Yet, when all is said, in reality, as in the poet's mind, this is a different kind of poem from *Prospice*;—and in the respect in which that is true, *Prospice* is the greater poem. It will be said that its workmanship is rough. But no! its roughness exactly fits the quality of the thought. This is no function in the palace of a Duke, with a setting of worldliness and of sham: but there's a fight on,—mincing speech would be out of place; and,—the original contention—in the last analysis, the highest poetry is for use in the life of man, and not a mere ornament of his days. In Milton's sonnet *On His Blindness*, it is the universalizing of the lesson by applying it to all men, that constitutes its greatness.

To this same end speaks Walter Pater: The greatness of a work of art "depends on the matter. Esmond is greater than Vanity Fair because of the greater dignity of its interests. It is on the quality of the matter, * * * its compass, its variety, its alliance to great ends or the depth of the note of revolt, or the largeness of hope in it that the greatness of literary art depends."*

Firkins, Emerson's latest biographer and critic, says of Emerson that at the age of thirty, he had learned his trade, which was "the extraction of the divine meaning out of experience." This Emerson did—and this Arnold, with all the ardor that a lofty idealism can give, longed to do.

*Essay on "Style" in "Appreciations," pp. 35-6.

Toward this end he expended his best effort. But Emerson was a seer, and Arnold was not. Both saw the problem and attacked it. Emerson gained from the struggle an enlarged, glorified faith, and established his school. Arnold, though in his feelings always noble and fine, lost the old faith, and found no satisfying new one. His message, at the bottom, is not very much more than an impassioned summons to endurance and fidelity to duty. The gloom never really lifts. There are occasional glimmerings of light, but they are inconstant and rare. Having won nothing more for himself, he had nothing more to give. The vision of the seer was lacking; and where there is no vision, the people perish.

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*St. Severinus and the Closing Years of the
Province of Noricum*

Charles Christopher Mierow

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249

SAINT SEVERINUS AND THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE PROVINCE OF NORICUM

BY CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW.

INTRODUCTION

"Nesciunt facta piorum præterire cum sæculo"

Amid the great mass of ecclesiastical and other, later Latin writings that survive as an evidence of the indefatigable industry of the monks of the middle ages, if not always of their literary ability or originality, there are to be found occasional documents of priceless value to the historian as contemporary sources. Some of them are mere abridgments of other larger works that have sprung into sudden importance through the loss of the originals from which they were drawn. Others, again, have gained with time a value as original sources quite separate from the author's aim and entirely unsuspected by him.

To this second class belongs the brief biographical sketch written by the presbyter Eugippius in the opening years of the sixth century as a memorial to the life of his friend and teacher St. Severinus. It is a small volume, intended originally as materials for writing a life, rather than as a finished account in itself, and contains besides the narrative a list of chapter heads and a letter to a certain Deacon Paschasius and the reply thereto.

Paschasius, being asked by his friend to undertake the composition of a suitable record from the material compiled by Eugippius, heartily approves of the design but refuses to add anything to what has already been written, or to change in any way the simple and vivid style in which it is composed. Indeed it might be said of Eugippius as of Julius Cæsar¹: *dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit qui illa volent calamistris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit.* Paschasius showed his good judgment by leaving

¹ Suetonius, *Julius* 56

the narrative untouched. His interest in the book was naturally the same as that which inspired its author—to hand down as an example to posterity a faithful account of the life and deeds of a holy man—and his confidence in the survival of the history is beautifully expressed in the sentence from his letter to Eugippius that stands at the head of this account:

Nesciunt facta piorum praeterire cum sacco.

The book has indeed survived, but while its quaint record of the life of the holy saint, his pious deeds and his miraculous powers, may delight us as we read, its permanent and inestimable value consists in the incidental allusions to the life and institutions of the time. It is a unique contemporary account of the hardships endured by Roman citizens in an abandoned province, and of their hopeless final struggle against the overwhelming forces of barbarians surging in from all sides. The lot of the forsaken province of Britain must have resembled the fate of Noricum; we may indeed read in this little book the record of every province that Rome could no longer protect, the story of the gradual dissolution of a once strong and well-organized system of provincial government.

Before considering the story Eugippius tells, it will be well to review very briefly the previous history of the Roman province of Noricum.

NORICUM BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY A. D.¹

Noricum is the ancient name of the district stretching southward from the Danube to Italy and Pannonia, and bounded on the east by Pannonia and on the west by Rætia. It corresponded roughly to the modern provinces of Styria and Carinthia in Austria, together with part of Bavaria and Salzburg.

The people of this region were ruled by kings,² and the name *regnum Noricum*³ persisted even after the country was made subject to Roman authority. This may indicate that the original form of government was at first left unchanged⁴ by the Romans and that the imperial *procurator*⁵ was merely a sort of vice-king (as was the case with the *praefectus Aegypti*⁶). More probably, however, it is nothing more than the survival of the ancient name in spite of changed conditions. The people of Noricum seem to have engaged in commerce with Aquileia from early times⁷, and there are iron mines in the Noric Alps that have produced blades famous from the age of Horace⁸ to our own day.

¹ This chapter is in large measure based upon "The General Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia" by Mary Bradford Peaks, Univ. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology Vol. iv. (1907) pp. 161-230. See also the brief account of Noricum in Marquardt's "Römische Staatsverwaltung" Vol. i. p. 290, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig 1881).

² *legio viii ad eum venit . . . equitesque ab rege Norico circiter ccc* (Caesar B. C. i: 18.5).

³ *toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danubium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatico patet, perdomito* (Suetonius Tiberius 16); *a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat* (Velleius Paterculus ii. 109). But see also Velleius Paterculus ii. 39: *Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias*.

⁴ For a full discussion of this point see Peaks p. 165 footnote 9.

⁵ *transgressus Danuvium qua Noricum provinciam praefluit* (Tacitus Annales ii. 63); *duae Mauretaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur* (Tacitus Histories i. 11).

⁶ But see Peaks l. c. subhead 3.

⁷ Strabo iv. p. 207 and vii. p. 314.

⁸ *tristes ut irac, quas neque Noricus deterret ensis* (Horace i. 16.9).

In the year 48 B. C. the king of Noricum sent Julius Cæsar a cavalry force of three hundred men to aid him in his war against Pompey.¹ In 16 B. C. the Norici and Pan-nonii invaded Histria, and upon their defeat by P. Silius, then proconsul of Illyricum, the subjection of Noricum seems to have been accomplished without difficulty in connection with the general conquest of the peoples south of the Danube by Tiberius and Drusus.² From this time on there are frequent references to "the province of Noricum," although, as has already been said, the land is still occasionally referred to as *regnum Noricum*.

After the time of Augustus peace was maintained along the Danube until the uprising of the Dacians under Decebalus in Domitian's reign. This emperor went in person to supervise the campaign, and Trajan spent a winter on the Danube in 98-99. Hadrian also visited Noricum during his reign. In the year 105 Dacia was made a province and the great bridge across the Danube was built below the Iron Gates. This marks the greatest expansion of the Roman Empire in this direction—in fact, the time of its widest extent generally.

In 165 A. D. there were again great uprisings all along the Danube which continued until the death of Marcus Aurelius at Vienna. This war of the Marcomanni, as it is usually called, marks the first great offensive move of the barbarians against Rome. Immediately upon the outbreak of this war the *Legio II Italica* (or *Pia*) was levied in northern Italy by M. Aurelius. The legion arrived in Noricum at some time between 171 and 174 A. D. and here it remained permanently, with headquarters at *Lauriacum* (Lorch).³ The strong military force served a double purpose: it kept the country itself in subjection and guarded against invasion. Roads were built, Roman colonies sent out, and fortresses erected along the *limes*. Three fleets were kept on the Danube and a shield factory was maintained (in the fourth century at least) at *Lauriacum*.⁴

¹ See Cæsar B. C. i. 18.5 quoted above.

² Dio Cassius liv. 20

³ Peaks p. 196

⁴ Peaks p. 198 and p. 221

There is an unusually complete list of the *procuratores provinciae Noricae*, especially for the time of Antoninus Pius.¹ The *procurator* was the commander of the auxiliary troops stationed in his province and had civil and criminal jurisdiction.² From the year 170 A. D. until the time of Diocletian Noricum was ruled by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* who was also the *legatus legionis II Italicae*.³ Under Diocletian (290 or before) the civil and military power were separated and assigned to a *praeses* and *dux* respectively. At this time also the province was divided into two parts, *Noricum Ripense*, the Danube province, and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, both belonging to the diocese of Illyria in the prefecture of Italy. Thereafter we hear of *praesides provinciae Norici Mediterranei* and *Norici Ripensis* and of *duces limitis Pannoniae primae et Norici Ripensis*. In the fourth century Raetia too was divided.⁴

Such in brief is the history of Noricum before it becomes the scene of the activities of St. Severinus. The meagre details gleaned from chance allusions here and there serve only to reveal the steady and normal growth of a border province destined to serve as a buffer state as well as to mark the boundary of Rome's power in this quarter of the world.

It is a very different Noricum to which Eugippius introduces us. The Danubian fortresses are one by one giving way to the enemy. Barbarian tribes sweep across the country on desultory raids. Now and again the provincials offer feeble and half-hearted resistance, but for the most part they are without hope and without help. Forsaken by Rome and oppressed by hunger and destitution as well as by the attacks of the marauding bands of barbarians, their lot has become both intolerable and desperate.

¹ See Peaks pp. 170-177

² But see Peaks p. 166 and p. 185 n. 5

³ Peaks p. 168

⁴ Peaks p. 169

SAINT SEVERINUS

Upon this scene of confusion and terror, when the Pannonias and the Danube regions generally were, in the quaint phrase of Eugippius, "disturbed by uncertain events,"¹ there appeared suddenly in 453 a man who was to be the dominant figure in Noricum Ripense for the next thirty years.² Saint Severinus, "the holy man of God,"³ came out of the East,⁴ but no one knew his origin or place of birth.⁵ It was evident from his speech that Latin was his native tongue⁶ and men believed that he had made a pilgrimage to the East in his zeal for a holier life.⁷ Indeed he sometimes alluded to various eastern cities, and mentioned long journeys and miraculous escapes from danger, though always in an obscure way and as though he were speaking of someone else.⁸ The mystery connected with his nationality caused so much comment that on one occasion a friend ventured to ask him outright from what province he came.⁹ Severinus parried the question with a jest, inquiring whether by any chance they thought him a runaway slave, and then added that a servant of God could the more easily avoid boasting by saying nothing of his place or station in life—an answer which might perhaps lead one to suspect that Severinus came from no obscure or lowly origin.

It was evident to all who knew him that Severinus constantly had his thoughts set upon the heavenly country,¹⁰ and that the solitary life of a hermit was for him the ideal existence.¹¹ From this daily round of contemplation and prayer, however, he declared¹² that God had summoned him to mingie

¹ *rebus turbabantur ambiguïs* i. 1

² Severinus died about the year 482

³ *sanctissimus dei famulus* i. 1

⁴ i. 1 ⁵ Ad Pasch. 7 and 9 ⁶ Ad Pasch. 9

⁷ Ad Pasch. 9

⁸ *clauso sermone tamquam de alio aliquo* l. c.

⁹ Ad Pasch. 7

¹⁰ Ad Pasch. 9

¹¹ l. c., also iv. 6 and 7

¹² *deus . . . me quoque periclitantibus his hominibus interesse precepit* Ad Pasch. 9

with the people of Noricum, and to cheer and help them in their danger and trouble.

Upon his arrival he stayed first in the little town of Asturis¹ on the Danube, where he stopped at the house of an aged verger.² Here he strove for the prize of the high calling³ of God by a life of piety, chastity, and good works,⁴ mingling with his fellow-men, regular in his attendance at church,⁵ urging all to fast and pray and give alms, and foretelling the destruction of the city if his words were disregarded.⁶ But as laity and clergy alike scoffed at his prophecies and despised his admonitions, Severinus left the city to its fate and took up his abode in the neighboring town of Comagenis.⁷

Here, too, the people were at first inclined to doubt his warnings and to disregard his advice, but when the old man who had been the host of Severinus at Asturis suddenly arrived⁸ with the tidings that all had befallen exactly as the stranger had foretold and that he was the sole survivor of that ill-fated city, respect and implicit obedience supplanted the former feelings of derision and unbelief.⁹ Soon the inhabitants of the nearby city of Favianis implored the holy man to come to their relief¹⁰ when they were suffering from famine, and before long all the towns along the south shore of the Danube, still insecurely held as the *limes* of the Empire, vied with each other in inviting Severinus to come to their aid.¹¹

The hermit's life of solitary meditation and prayer still had so strong an appeal for him during his first years in Noricum that he once attempted to give up his task and retire to a secluded cell.¹² But he was again summoned to active service and, in obedience to what he felt to be a divine

¹ i. 1 ² i. 3 and 5

³ *palnam supernae vocationis* i. 2 ⁴ i. 1

⁵ *ad ecclesiam processit ex more* i. 2; *mox ingressus ecclesiam* i. 4

⁶ i. 2 and 3 ⁷ i. 3 ⁸ i. 5 ⁹ ii. 1 ¹⁰ iii. 1

¹¹ *ut certatim cum ad se castella singula pro suis munitionibus invitarent* xi. 1.

¹² *in locum remotiorem secedens, qui ad Vincas vocabatur, cellula parva contentus* iv. 6

command, built a monastery at Favianis.¹ This was henceforth his permanent place of abode,² though he frequently retired to a secluded retreat at Burgum,³ at a distance of one mile from Favianis, whenever his desire for solitude became too great to bear.

At a later time Severinus founded another monastery near Batavis,⁴ at the confluence of the Danube and the Inn, but this was comparatively small and was abandoned in his own lifetime because of the encroachments of the barbarians.⁵ In fact, it seems to have been his custom to establish more or less permanent centers of monastic life at various places throughout the province,⁶ and barbarians as well as provincials were numbered among his monks.⁷ And whenever the holy man remained for any length of time in a town, he lived in a tiny low-roofed cell⁸ in the suburbs. At Iuvao, for example, he stayed in a hut so small that the doorway was blocked by the litter of a sick woman who was brought to him to be healed.⁹ So he went about through the province, wherever the needs of the people called him,¹⁰ but always returned to the monastery at Favianis as to his home.

Even at Favianis Severinus spent much time in solitude, living in a small oratory where he devoted himself to fasting and prayer, joining the general worship however at matins and vespers.¹¹ He was a man naturally fond of reading, and was usually to be found engaged in this diversion¹² when he was for the time free from the duties that left him so little leisure.

¹ *dei tamen iussis obtemperans monasterium . . . construeret* iv. 6

² *Favianis degens in antiquo suo monasterio* xxxi. 6; *Favianis, iuxta quod sanctus Severinus . . . commanebat* xlii. 1

³ iv. 7

⁴ xix. 1 and xxii. 1

⁵ See xxii. 1, 3 and 4

⁶ *cellulam paucis monachis solito more fundaverat* xix. 1

⁷ *monachus beati Severini, barbarus genere* xxxv. 1

⁸ *dum se, ne humillimae tectum cellulae suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset* vii. 1

⁹ *videns . . . clausum aditum oppositione lectuli* xiv. 1

¹⁰ *suppliciter rogatus advenit* xxxiii. 1

¹¹ xxxix. 1

¹² *dum in cellula legeret, clauso repente codice* x. 2. See also xx. 2, xxiii. 1

Strong and active¹ in spite of a life of rigorous self-denial, he felt the pangs of hunger and the chill of the cold only in the want and nakedness of the poor.² He rarely broke his fast before sunset and ate but once in the week during Lent,³ striving rather to feed his soul with manna from on high,⁴ and the brightness and cheerful peace apparent in his face⁵ only reflected the calm of his inner life.

Extreme simplicity marked his dress. He wore no shoes, even in the depths of winter,⁶ in a country where the cold was intense and the snow unusually abundant. His bed was a single sheet of hair-cloth⁷ spread out upon the hard floor of his cell, and he slept in the same cloak⁸ that was his protection against the elements by day. Little is known of his personal appearance, aside from the fact that he wore a beard⁹—at least in his later years.

It is hardly necessary to state that Severinus was a man of much fervor of spirit, grieving over the shortcomings of others as though they were his own,¹⁰ and frequently shaken with deep sobs as he prayed on bended knees for those whose hardness of heart caused him such sorrow.¹¹ His great humility led him to disclaim all credit for the miracles that were wrought by his prayers,¹² and he frequently sought to prevail upon those who were present to keep secret the things they had seen.¹³ Once when urged to accept the honor of a bishopric he declined with the sharp and almost bitter remark that it was enough that he was deprived of his longed-for solitude.¹⁴

¹ *fortis et alacer* xvii. 3 ² xvii. 1 and 3

³ xxxix. 2 ⁴ iv. 9 ⁵ *una per hebdomadam refectione contentus aequali vultus hilaritate fulgebat* xxxix. 2

⁶ iv. 9. 10 ⁷ *stratus eius unum erat in oratorii pavimento cilicium* xxxix. 2

⁸ *omni tempore ipso quo vestiebatur amictu, etiam dum quiesceret, utebatur* xxxix. 2

⁹ *cadaver sancti . . . cum barba pariter et capillis* xlv. 6

¹⁰ xxxix. 2 ¹¹ xi. 3

¹² *ne putetis mei meriti esse quod cernitis* iv. 11. See also vi. 2 and xiv. 2

¹³ xiii. 2 ¹⁴ *prae finita responsione conclusit, sufficere sibi dicens, quod solitudine desiderata privatus* ix. 4

He was tireless in his efforts to help the oppressed provincials, ready to travel all night,¹ if need be, on behalf of their safety, and his labors for the relief of the poor resulted in the systematic giving of tithes² of food and of clothes by almost every city of Noricum Ripense, as well as by the more distant towns in the Noric Alps.³

His was primarily, then, a ministry of active labor, and he taught all men by his example, his own monks no less than the people generally.⁴ His preaching may be summed up in three words: Give, Fast, Pray.⁵ He urgently besought his monks to despise temporal things⁶ and to observe the rules of righteousness, brotherly love, chastity, and humility.⁷ He counted sincerity as the prime virtue, telling those about him in his dying words that without it their lowly garb and show of piety would be of no avail.⁸ He preached repentance, pointing out that a man who had not been ashamed to do wrong should not be ashamed to show his contrition for the deed.⁹ He held up before the brothers of his order the examples of saints of old,¹⁰ and urged them to hold fast the memory of his own teaching, and to continue as a united order after his death.¹¹

In his dealings with the provincials as with his monks the exhortations and advice that Severinus gave are typical: "By the fruits of repentance you can be saved;"¹² "God's aid is promised for our despair;"¹³ "Help yourselves by giving to the poor;"¹⁴ "Though your soldiers are unarmed they shall get weapons from the foe;"¹⁵ "Escape the threatening danger by fasting and prayer."¹⁶

¹ *cui tota nocte festinans . . . matutinus occurrit* xxxi. 2

² xvii. 1, xviii. 1, xxviii. 2 ³ xxix. 1

⁴ *factis magis quam verbis instituens animas auditorum* iv. 6

⁵ xviii. 2, xxvi. 2, xxviii. 1

⁶ xliii. 3 ⁷ *amare iustitiam, fraternae caritatis vincula diligere, castitati operam dare, humilitatis regulam custodire* xliii. 3

⁸ xliii. 5 ⁹ xliii. 5

¹⁰ *beatorum patrum vestigiis inhaerere* ix. 4

¹¹ xlii. 3 ¹² iii. 1 ¹³ i. 4

¹⁴ *subveni tibi potius quam pauperibus ex his* iii. 2. See also vi. 2

¹⁵ iv. 3 ¹⁶ i. 2

But while he often gave encouragement and hope, he could also be the prophet of wrath to come, warning evil-doers of heavenly vengeance¹ and even in extreme cases calling down chastisement upon the heads of the disobedient.² He was by nature a man of hot temper, and as quick to rebuke and to correct as he was to exhort and to cheer. "What have you done, brother?" he said to one, "you have hindered the advantage of many people; may the Lord forgive you!" And on another occasion: "Why do you, though of so gentle birth, show yourself to be the handmaiden of greed and the slave of avarice?"³

Severinus was absolutely fearless and consequently no respecter of persons. His cell was the resort of rich and poor alike. To it came the oppressed and the sick but also men of high station and influence.⁴ All were terrified by his warnings and cheered by his advice.⁵ He freed captive barbarians⁶ as well as provincials whom the barbarians had enslaved, and a king of the Rugians came to him for counsel.⁷ When he desired to warn the rulers of roving bands of barbarians, he summoned them to appear before him and they came.⁸ Heretofore, by God's grace, your kingdom has prospered," he would say, "look to yourselves in time to come."⁹

Before many years had passed, Severinus was known through the length and breadth of the province,¹⁰ and men came to him from beyond the Danube¹¹ and even from Italy¹² as his fame spread abroad. The numerous and varied epithets applied by Eugippius to Severinus serve in themselves to show the esteem and veneration in which he was held, for many of them are doubtless the names by which the man was commonly known. Men referred to him as "the man of God,"¹³ "the holy man,"¹⁴ "the soldier of Christ."¹⁵ He was addressed as

¹ iv. 4; xl. 2

² *oravit, ut eos dominus . . . paterno dignaretur flagello corripere*
xxxvi. 1 ³ xxviii. 5 ⁴ iii. 2

⁵ *multi nobiles coram sancto viro* xxxii. 2

⁶ xi. 1 ⁷ iv. 3 and 4 ⁸ v. 2 ⁹ xl. 1 ¹⁰ xl. 3;
see also xxxi. 5 ¹¹ iv. 9 ¹² xxxiii. 1 ¹³ xxvi. 1

¹⁴ i. 5, ii. 1

¹⁵ ii. 2

¹⁶ vi. 5

"Your Reverence,"¹ and it was no idle token of respect, but indicated a real attitude of mind.² Other titles frequently employed are "blessed Severinus,"³ "most holy servant of God,"⁴ and the more striking terms *doctor humilis*,⁵ *doctor piissimus*,⁶ and *doctor dulcissimus*.⁷

It has been seen, however, that this confidence in Severinus and respect for his words was not immediate or universal. Upon his first appearance in Noricum and even in later years in regions to which his fame had not yet spread there were many who refused to heed his warnings.⁸ In the monastery at Boiotro the monks seem to have chafed under the restraint of long-continued fasting and prayer, for on two occasions at least there was openly expressed discontent and rebellion.⁹ But in general Severinus won the respect and confidence of all, so that many who had at first mocked and disbelieved came later to acknowledge the error and the folly of their ways.¹⁰ A striking instance of the absolute faith that was put in his words is found in the incident of the tribune Mamertinus. When commanded by Severinus to go out and fight the robbers he said: "I dare not," and then continued: "but if your Reverence commands, we believe."¹¹

Even those of the Arian faith, whom Severinus regarded as heretics and enemies to the church, were ready to do him honor.¹² He had the power to inspire not only reverence and respect but even awe and abject terror¹³ as well, so that men were sometimes seized with great trembling¹⁴ in his presence, and his very appearance was often enough to bring even the most obstinate to terms.¹⁵

That the provincials should look upon Severinus as their

¹ *si tua veneratio praecepit* iv. 2

² *ob sancti reverentiam Severini* viii. 1

³ *beatus Severinus* iv. 6; *beatissimus Severinus* iii. 2; *perge, quaeso, sancte*, *perge* xxii. 3

⁴ i. 1

⁵ xxxvi. 1

⁶ xix. 3

⁷ xlii. 3

⁸ See i. 5, ii. 2, xxiv. 2 and 3, xxvii. 3

⁹ xxii. 3, xxxvi. 1

¹⁰ ii. 1, vii. 6

¹¹ iv. 2

¹² iv. 12

¹³ iii. 2

¹⁴ *tremere coram eo vehementius* xix. 2

¹⁵ *cuius venerandam praesentiam non ferentes* x. 2. See also xxxi 2 and 6

one constant and infallible adviser and friend was, of course, only natural. It is clear, however, from many chance allusions that his fame had spread far beyond the limits of this province.¹ On several occasions men came from distant places in search of the holy man of whom they had heard such wonderful reports.² Among the barbarian chiefs who came to him for advice were Flaccitheus, king of the Rugi,³ and his son and successor Feletheus or Feva.⁴ In fact the entire tribe held Severinus in peculiar esteem and veneration in consequence of the respect paid him by their rulers and his kindness to individual Rugians who came to him for help.⁵ Ferderuch, Feva's brother, was accustomed to pay his respects to Severinus also,⁶ and Gibuld, king of the Alamanni, stood in awe of him.⁷ From other races too there came many who were drawn by curiosity or interest to visit Severinus, among them Odoacer, who afterwards remembered the lowly servant of God when he came into power, and bade him ask any boon he desired.⁸

Thus far little has been said of the supernatural powers attributed to Severinus by his biographer, almost every page of whose work contains the record of marvellous events and miraculous cures. It may be well to consider these separately, taking up first the accounts of the prescience of Severinus and its employment in prophecies and warnings, and then the miracles that Eugippius recounts as performed by his instrumentality through divine grace.

Mention has already been made⁹ of the divine revelation which originally led Severinus to come to Noricum, and in obedience to whose repeated admonitions he gave up later attempts to live in retirement and built his great monastery at Favianis. In an interesting chapter¹⁰ which is devoted entirely

¹ iv. 8

² *fama eius invitante* xxvi. 1. See also ix. 2, xxiii. 1

³ v. 1

⁴ viii. 1

⁵ vi. 5, xxxiii. 1

⁶ *Ferderuchus ex more salutaturus accederet* xlii. 1

⁷ *rex Gibuldus summa eum reverentia diligebat* xix. 1. See also xix. 3

⁸ vi. 5, xxxii. 1

⁹ See p. 305 above

¹⁰ xxxix.

to a description of the saint's everyday life in his lowly cell, Eugippius states that this intimate communion with God continued throughout Severinus' lifetime, so that many future events were thus revealed to him.

So, in his early years in Noricum, Severinus was forewarned of the coming of the messengers from Favianis seeking his aid in their time of famine and was bidden to accompany them.¹ Upon his arrival there, he was in like manner made aware of the covetousness of the widow Procula who had secretly stored away a great supply of grain.² On another occasion he sent a man across the Danube to seek a certain stranger whom, nevertheless, he was able to describe with great accuracy.³ At Quintanis he called out from an unsuspected hiding-place an unwelcome witness when he was about to perform a miracle,⁴ and he knew in advance that a certain offering of clothes for the poor sent out from Tiburnia had fallen into the hands of robbers.⁵ Once while reading quietly in his cell he suddenly burst forth into tears, declaring that they must hasten to the river, for human blood had been shed.⁶ On another similar occasion at Favianis he foretold the coming of one who bore sacred relics, and his monks found the man sitting on the farther bank of the stream.⁷ Again he very greatly surprised his hearers by suddenly saying: "Let those whom the bear has guided now enter,"⁸ but as usual his words were found to be true. And once when two of his monks were off on a distant journey, Severinus declared that at that very hour they were in danger and needed the prayers of their brothers at home.⁹

But for the most part this prophetic power was employed in warnings to his friends and dire foreshadowings of wrath in store for evil doers. At Asturis¹⁰ he foretold the very day and hour of the city's destruction. To the inhabitants of Favianis¹¹ he was able to promise immunity from attack by the barbarians in the future. Flaccitheus¹² was cheered by the

¹ iii. 1 and see above, p. 305

² iii. 2

³ ix. 1

⁴ xvi. 2

⁵ xvii. 4

⁶ xx. 2

⁷ xxiii. 1

⁸ xxix. 4

⁹ xxxvii. 1

¹⁰ See p. 305 above

¹¹ iv. 5

¹² v. 2 and 3

holy man's assurance that he should have a prosperous reign and a peaceful end, and Odoacer¹ went his way with the promise of future greatness ringing in his ears. The next time Odoacer is mentioned we find that he has reached the zenith of his power, and hear Severinus foretell the years still left before his downfall.² He spoke words of warning to Queen Giso³ and to the redeemed captive Maurus.⁴ Sometimes he foretold calamities that might be averted, as in the case of Ursus⁵ whom he saved from impending sickness, and again when Noricum Mediterraneum⁶ was forewarned against a raid of the Alamanni. He prophesied the sack of Boiotro⁷ and counselled the abandonment of Ioviacum.⁸ In obedience to his repeated admonitions the people migrated from the city of Batavis to Lauriacum,⁹ and again from Lauriacum to various towns in the country of the Rugi.¹⁰ At Lauriacum Severinus earnestly besought the inhabitants to be on their guard against an impending night attack: "Stone me," he cried, "if you find that I have deceived you."¹¹ As usual, the event justified his warning. He also foretold the ultimate abandonment of the province, a prophecy whose fulfilment he was not to see in his lifetime.¹² Finally he foresaw the day of his own death and made it known to his friends¹³ as well as to certain of his enemies whom he undertook to warn not to oppress the provincials after his decease.¹⁴

Apart from these premonitions and prophetic warnings, Eugippius records many miraculous events connected with the saint's life and describes in detail many miracles that he wrought, insisting nevertheless that these are but a few of the entire number, that it would be a wearisome task to record them all.¹⁵ He gives instances of relief from famine,¹⁶ from

¹ *vade, vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito plurima largiturus* vii. 2

² *Odoacer, inquit, integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim* xxxii. 2

³ viii. 3 ⁴ x. 1 ⁵ xxxviii. 1 ⁶ xxv. 1

⁷ xxii. 1 and 3 ⁸ xxiv. 1 ⁹ xxvii. 2

¹⁰ xxvii. 3 and xxxi. 6 ¹¹ xxx. 1 and 3 ¹² xxxi. 6 and xl. 4

¹³ xli. 1 and see below p. 317 ¹⁴ xl. 1 and xlii. 1 and 2

¹⁵ *hoc unum de domesticis sanitatibus narrasse sufficiat, prolixius operis fastidia declinando* xxxviii. 2. See also xlv. 1, xlvi. 3 and 6

¹⁶ iii. 3 and xviii.

a plague of locusts,¹ and from attack by barbarians.² There are recorded cures of the helplessly crippled,³ the cleansing of lepers,⁴ and the restoration of the dumb⁵ and the blind.⁶ Severinus could afflict as well as he could heal, for mention is made of a soldier seized with St. Vitus' dance as a punishment for sacrilege⁷ and of his chastisement of three obdurate monks by handing them over, for a time, to the devil.⁸ These are but a few of the miracles which Eugippius relates, but they are typical examples.⁹

We are not here concerned with the question of the credibility of the account of these miraculous cures and supernatural happenings although they were, in the opinion of his devout biographer, the prime cause for recording the life of his teacher: "I began to think," he says in his letter to Paschasius, "and also to declare to pious ecclesiastics, that the great miracles performed by the blessed Severinus through divine grace ought not be forgotten." The book has a value for us entirely apart from these, and one quite unsuspected by

¹ xii.² iv. 1-5³ vi. xiv. and xxxiii.⁴ xxvi. and xxxiv.⁵ xlv.⁶ xlvi.⁷ xlv.⁸ xxxvi.

⁹ The complete list of miracles that Eugippius mentions is as follows:

I Miraculous Events.

1. Severinus, although unknown, passes through the midst of the guard of barbarians at Comagenis unquestioned and without hindrance. (I. 4)
2. Comagenis delivered by an earthquake. (II.)
3. Famine at Favianis relieved by the arrival of grain ships miraculously freed from the ice. (III.)
4. Success of Mamertinus and his soldiers against the plundering barbarian horde near the Tiguntia river. (IV. 1-5)
5. Amantius guided by a vision into the presence of Gibuld when at the point of giving up his errand in despair. (XIX)
6. Maximus and his companions see Severinus in a vision and are guided to Lauriacum by a bear. (XXIX)
7. The body of Severinus is found unchanged six years after his death. (XLIV. 6)

II Miracles of Relief.

1. Candles divinely kindled at Cucullis and sacrilegious people revealed thereby. (XI)

2. Plague of locusts abated at Cucullis. (XII.)
3. Candles divinely kindled for service at Iuvao. (XIII.)
4. Water prevented from rising by sign of the cross cut on the supporting timbers of the church at Quintanis. (XV.)
5. Crops at Lauriacum saved from the blight of mildew by a gentle rain. (XVIII.)
6. Oil increased at Lauriacum while Severinus distributes to the poor. (XXVIII.)
7. Ursus saved from impending disease by prayer and fasting. (XXXVIII.)

III Miracles of Healing.

1. One of the Rugi, for twelve years unable to move, brought by his widowed mother to Severinus at Favianis and healed. (VI.)
2. Healing of a woman of Iuvao brought to him at the point of death. (XIV.)
3. The presbyter Silvinus at Quintanis restored to life by Severinus asks to be allowed to sleep in peace. (XVI.)
4. Leper from Milan cleansed. (XXVI.)
5. Healing of the son of a Rugian noble brought by his father from across the Danube to Severinus at Comagenis. (XXXIII.)
6. The leper Teio comes from afar and is healed. (XXXIV.)

These are the only miracles of healing specifically recorded as performed by Severinus in his lifetime, but Eugippius states that the cures effected for his monks are too numerous to mention (XXXVIII. 2) Once, however, when a monk named Bonosus, who suffered from weakness of the eyes, asked Severinus to heal him, and complained bitterly because strangers were cured while he was ignored, he received this reply: "Pray rather that your darkened soul may be enlightened!" (XXXV. 1)

After the death of Severinus, when his body had been exhumed and was being carried to Italy, Eugippius tells of many who were relieved from various sicknesses and freed from unclean spirits, both on the march (XLV. 1), at Monte Feletre, and in the Castle of Lucullus near Naples, where he was finally laid to rest. So numerous were the cures effected (XLVI. 3 and 6) that Eugippius mentions only a very few: the dumb man who recovered his speech at Monte Feletre (XLV), the aged nun Processa, the blind man Laudicius, and Marinus the precentor, all of whom were restored at the Lucullan Castle. (XLVI.)

IV Miracles of Punishment.

1. The infant Frederick's life endangered because his mother Giso disobeyed Severinus. (VIII.)
2. Three monks handed over to Satan and released again after forty days. (XXXVI.)
3. The soldier Avitianus seized with St. Vitus's dance for sacrilege and possessed of a devil. (XLIV.)
4. Ferderuch slain by his nephew Frederic after disobeying the last commands of Severinus. (XLIV.)

its author. Yet it may be well to quote here a few concise and convincing sentences from Professor T. R. Glover's account of Sulpicius Severus and his *Life of Martin*.¹

"Martin believed he could work miracles," says Professor Glover, "and no doubt he did effect cures, and he had a strange influence over men and animals, which today might be called hypnotism, or some such fine name, and was then called miracle. If Martin's evidence was not enough, there was the witness of the people healed. While we may admit they were the better for his treatment, we have no kind of guarantee that their diagnosis of their own maladies was at all more likely to be sound than the pronouncements of ignorant people on their complaints today. To an untrained observer, however, the evidence of the worker of the miracle and the subject of it, supported by the inherent probability of its happening in view of what the gospel said and the reflexion that it might very well happen in any case, would be overwhelming. We may then pronounce some of the miracles to be actual instances of cures effected, and some to be cures of imaginary diseases, some the results of mere coincidence, some the ordinary everyday order of events, and all greatly coloured by ignorance and childlike faith."

After almost thirty years spent in the service of the oppressed and struggling provincials of the constantly narrowing province of Noricum, Severinus died in his own monastery at Favianis on the eighth day of January, 482.² A touching incident is told in connection with his death. Some two years before, as his aged friend the presbyter Lucillus was engaged in the observances of the festival of the Epiphany, he chanced to remark to Severinus that on the following day he would commemorate the death of a former bishop of Rætia. Thereupon Severinus at once charged him to observe

¹ "Life and Letters in the Fourth Century," by T. R. Glover, Cambridge University Press 1901, p. 289

² Eugippius does not mention the year, but as the flight of Frederic to King Theodoric at Novæ (xliv. 4) probably occurred in the year 488 and the migration of the Romans from the province took place immediately after, it seems practically certain that the death of Severinus, which preceded by six years the transportation of his body to Italy (xliv. 6), occurred in 482. See Mommsen's Intro. pp. vi. and vii.

the anniversaries of his death upon that same day, intimating that the end was near. Lucillus, who appears to have been a much older man, protested that Severinus would assuredly outlive him, but was convinced by the reply: "Human desires cannot withstand God's will."¹ It is interesting to notice that it was this same Lucillus who gave directions for the opening of the saint's tomb six years later, when his body was about to be transported to its permanent resting place in Italy.²

Severinus himself was aware of his approaching end even before his conversation with Lucillus, and had already summoned Feva, the Rugian king, and his wife before him³ to give them solemn warning not to oppress innocent men after his death. He also foretold to Ferderuch, Feva's brother, then governor with despotic power over the city of Favianis, that he would feel divine vengeance if ever he should despoil the monastery.⁴ Needless to say, these warnings had no effect when once Severinus was no longer able to command obedience by his awe-inspiring presence.⁵

It was on the fifth of January that Severinus fell sick, and three days later he called together the brothers of his order at midnight, told them of his approaching end, and besought them in his dying words to be sincere in their profession of piety and holy living: "It is a great sin for even a layman to follow after unrighteousness, how much more for a monk." Thereupon he kissed them all in turn, partook with them of a last communion, and after joining with his monks in the chanting of the one hundred fiftieth psalm, forming with his entire body on the floor of his cell the form of the cross, he died.⁶

After his burial the brothers of his order prepared a wooden coffin in readiness for the departure from Noricum, that they might take his body with them as he had often commanded.⁷ When his tomb was opened, six years later, Eugippius tells us that the saint's body was found unchanged

¹ xli.

² xliv. 5

³ xl. 1-3

⁴ xlii.

⁵ See xliv. 3-4

⁶ xliii.

⁷ xl. 5. xliii. 9

despite the passage of time.¹ The remains were placed in the coffin prepared so long before and carried by a wagon from the banks of the Danube to the Bay of Naples. On this last journey the lowly man of God was attended by a strange and most impressive funeral cortege, for all the inhabitants of the province marched beside his bier, forsaking forever the homes that could no longer be defended from the barbarian onslaughts.² A temporary halt was made at Monte Fieletre where the body remained for some time.³

During the papacy of Gelasius (492-496) and by his authority the body of Severinus was finally placed in a tomb built for the purpose by a certain Barbaria, a woman of noble family, at the Lucullan Castle near Naples⁴—the scene of the exile and death of the little emperor, Romulus Augustulus. It has even been conjectured by no less an authority than Hodgkin⁵ that Barbaria was the mother of this ill-fated prince-ling, the widow of Orestes who had been put to death by Odoacer.

Here it was that the Severinus monastery was built as a memorial⁶ by those who held him in reverence, and over this monastery Eugippius, the author of the Life of Severinus, afterwards presided. The monastery has crumbled into dust, but the book written by his devoted admirer and disciple still endures to bear witness to the influence of his pure and brave life.⁷

¹ xliv. 5 and 6

² xliv. 7

³ xliv. 7 and xlv. 1

⁴ xlv. 1-2

⁵ "Italy and Her Invaders" Vol. iii, p. 172 (ed. of 1896)

⁶ xlv. 6

⁷ For an account of Eugippius and a consideration of his *commemoratorium* as a historical source, see Classical Philology x. 166-187

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EUROPEAN TALES AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

A STUDY IN THE MIGRATION OF FOLK-TALES.

BY

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Contents.

Chapter		Page
	INTRODUCTION ..	321
I.	THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON.....	323
II.	JOHN THE BEAR.....	334
III.	THE WONDERFUL COMPANIONS.....	345
IV.	THE ENCHANTED HORSE.....	347
V.	LITTLE POU CET ..	357
VI.	THE WHITE CAT.....	366
VII; VIII.	CINDERELLA; THE TRUE BRIDE.....	382
IX.	THE BLUE BAND.....	391
X.	TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD.....	395
XI.	THE WISHING RING.....	397
XII.	THE MAGIC APPLES.....	399
XIII.	THE MAGIC BIRD-HEART.....	401
XIV.	THE MAROONED RESCUER.....	404
XV.	THE ANIMAL BROTHERS.....	409
XVI.	MAKING THE PRINCESS LAUGH.....	411
XVII.	OUT-RIDDLING THE PRINCESS.....	414
XVIII.	JACK THE NUMSKULL.....	416
XIX.	JACK THE TRICKSTER.....	419
XX.	THE MASTER THIEF.....	426
XXI.	THE LUCKY BOASTER.....	430
XXII.	THE ANGER BARGAIN.....	433
XXIII.	STRONG JOHN ..	434
XXIV.	ANIMAL STORIES ..	437
XXV.	FABLES ..	450
XXVI.	BIBLE STORIES ..	452
XXVII.	MISCELLANEOUS TALES ..	453
XXVIII.	OTHER STORIES ..	455
XXIX.	RESULTS OF STUDY.....	455

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME *

BAAS—British Association for the Advancement of Science, Reports.

BBAE—Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Bolte und Polivka—Bolte und Polivka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm.

CI—Publications of the Carnegie Institution.

~ Cosquin—E. Cosquin, Contes Populaires de Lorraine.

CNAE—Contributions to North American Ethnology.

FM—Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series.

Grimm—Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen.

GSCan—Geological Survey of Canada, Anthropological Series.

JAFL—Journal of American Folk-Lore.

JAI—Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

JE—Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

MAFLS—Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society.

PaAM—Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.

PAES—Publications of the American Ethnological Society.

Petitot—É. Petitot, Traditions du Canada Nord-ouest.

Rand—S. T. Rand, Legends of the Micmacs.

RBAE—Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Russell—Frank Russell, Explorations in the Far North (University of Iowa, 1898).

UCal—University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

UPenn—University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum Anthropological Publications.

VKAWA—Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.

* These abbreviations conform to those adopted by the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. See vol. xxx, p. v.

INTRODUCTION

Three centuries of uninterrupted contact with the European settlers of North America have brought to the native Indian inhabitants a notable modification in their entire civilization. Socially and economically they are approaching yearly to the white man's standard. It is in the life of the imagination—in art and literature—that peoples are most conservative.* Yet even in their folk-tales the Indians have gradually taken over a large admixture of European material.

It is the purpose of this paper to study a portion of these European motives current in North America Indian legend. Only such stories have been treated here as are fairly complete examples of well-known folk-tales of the Old World. No cases where there was reasonable doubt of direct borrowing have been admitted. Hundreds of interesting parallels existing in tales belonging otherwise to native cycles have been left out of consideration, because this whole class of analogues demands separate study. Besides these, discussion of several special incidents, such as the Obstacle Flight and the Swan Maiden*, which offered peculiar difficulties, has been postponed, except where they have been found in obvious borrowings‡. In every case the tales admitted have gone back to definite European cycles.

These familiar stories have come to the Indian at various times and from several sources. The two or three centuries' contact with the French in Canada has been the most powerful influence; it has introduced the largest number of different tales to the natives. The Spanish conquerors at the South and Southwest have

* See Boas, "Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians", JAFI xxvii, 386.

‡ See pp. 348 ff. and 366 ff. below.

caused a group of European tales of the animal cycle to find very wide adoption, but the variety of stories coming from this source seems to be very limited. How long these tales in the Southwest have been current among the natives is hard to say, but throughout the rest of the country the influx of European material seems to be of comparatively recent origin. It is but fair to say, however, that the collectors until the last few years were likely to disregard foreign material in the native tales.

This study is thus strictly limited in its scope. It attempts no solution of the problem of remote parallels in tales, or of possible pre-Columbian contact with the Old World. It seeks rather, in connection with such versions of European tales as have been admitted to the body of Indian legend, to display clearly their relation to the well-known originals as seen in the great French, French Canadian, German, or Spanish collections. It tries to show by concrete examples how the material of folk-tales behaves under a different environment from that which gave it birth.

This paper as here presented is an expansion of a portion of my dissertation, "European Borrowings and Parallels in North American Indian Tales," presented to the faculty of Harvard University in 1914 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. A portion of the same dissertation appeared under the title, "Sunday School Stories among Savages," in *The Texas Review* for January, 1918. The conclusions of the dissertation have been greatly strengthened by the publication, in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1916 and 1917, of a large body of French Canadian tales.

I. THE SEVEN-HEADED DRAGON.

In its world-wide distribution, the tale of "The Seven-headed Dragon" occurs in several well-defined forms, nearly all of which find a place in this discussion. For a full account of the wanderings and the forms of this tale see Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus, passim*, and Bolte und Polívka, i, 528. Wherever possible in the following treatment, French or French Canadian versions have been chosen for the European type.

TYPE I.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 5.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes.* On three successive days, a fisherman catches the same beautiful fish, which asks him to put it back into the water. On the first and the second day he grants the fish's request, and his wife scolds him for his foolishness; but on the third he fears his wife's upbraiding and keeps the fish. The King of the Fishes—for it is he that the man has caught—tells the fisherman to feed a part to his wife, and a part to his bitch hound, and a part to his mare. The blood he is to keep. The fisherman obeys, and at the end of nine months his wife gives birth to three boys, the hound to three pups, and his mare to three colts.

B. *Life-token.* As they grow up, each of the boys adopts one of the dogs and one of the colts as his own. The fish's blood acts as a life-token. If it boils the brothers may know that misfortune has come upon one of the others. The eldest of the brothers—the hero—starts on his adventures.

C. *Dragon rescue.* The hero hears of a seven-headed dragon that is demanding the sacrifice of a princess. By the aid of his dog he kills the dragon.

D. *Impostor.* Having cut out the tongues of the dragon, he leaves the princess. An impostor now comes along and claims her, cutting off the seven heads of the dragon as proof of the rescue.

E. *Tongues used as proof.* A year and a day passes, and the hero arrives again in the city on the wedding day of the princess and the impostor. He lodges in a neighboring inn, and sends his dog into the palace to steal food from the wedding table. This at-

tracts the attention of the king, and brings about the producing of the dragon-tongues as proof of the rescue, the discomfiture of the impostor, and the happy marriage of the hero with the princess.

F. *Transformation by witch.* On the night of the wedding, when the hero and the princess are in their room, he sees a great fire out of the window. The princess knows nothing of the fire except that it is seen each evening. The hero insists on going to it, and falls into the power of a witch, who transforms him.

G. *The chaste brother.* His second brother, who has remained at home, sees the blood of the fish boil, and knows that the hero is in trouble. He arrives at the palace and is mistaken by the princess for her husband, and, although he does not know what to make of her actions, he submits gracefully. They go to their room and he also sees the light and follows it, and falls into the witch's power.

H. *Disenchantment of brothers.* The third brother has the same experience, but succeeds in killing the witch and in disenchanting his brothers. The two younger brothers marry the princess's younger sisters and live happily.

2. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxx, 82.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: Given by father.* Three sons leaving home are each given by their father a dog, a pony, a lion, and a rose.

B. *Life-token.* They come to a cross-roads and one of them departs, leaving the rose as a life-token. If it becomes pale, his brothers may know that he is in trouble.

C. *Dragon rescue.* The hero has a smith make him a giant sword. He finds a village in mourning over the fate of a princess who is to be devoured next day by a seven-headed dragon. The hero kills the dragon, cutting off one head at a time.

D. *Impostor.* The hero takes off the dragon tongues in a handkerchief. A charcoal-burner takes the heads and claims the princess.

E. *Tongues used as proof.* The hero arrives on the wedding day and sends in his dog, horse, and lion to steal food from the wedding table. Attention of the king is thus attracted, the tongues are used as proof, and the hero and the princess are married.

F. *Transformation by witch.* The hero places a sword between himself and his wife when they go to bed. He sees a mys-

terious fire out of the window and goes to it. He is transformed by a witch.

G. *The chaste brother.* The second brother, warned by the paleness of the rose, seeks the hero. He comes to his brother's wife who mistakes him for her husband. He places a sword between them. Following the witch's fire like his brother, he is enchanted.

H. *Disenchantment of brothers.* The third brother does just as the second had done, but he succeeds in overcoming the witch and disenchanting his brothers. The princess has difficulty in deciding which one is her husband.

[For the distribution of this story in France see Bolte und Polívka, i, 537.]

3. Ojibwa: Skinner, JAFL, xxix, 330.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes.* Grateful fish (as in No. 1) divided and fed to wife, mare, and dog, cause them to give birth to two boys, two colts, and two dogs after a four-day pregnancy. The fins of the fish produce two swords.

B. *Life-token.* The first boy goes on adventures, leaving sword which will rust if he has trouble. He finds water that makes his horse's and dog's ears silver. The animals can be made large or small at will.

C. *Dragon rescue.* The hero takes service with a blacksmith. He hears that the king's daughter is to be devoured by an eight-headed "windigo." The boy finds the princess, and she gives him a ring. With the aid of horse and dog he kills the monster—the dog seizing one head and the horse kicking the other.

D. *Impostor.* The hero cuts out the tongues and give them to the princess. The blacksmith claims the credit for the rescue, and the king is about to marry her to him.

E. *Tongues at hand, but not used as proof.* The youth appears on the wedding day and is recognized by the princess. (The tongues are at hand but are not used.) The hero and the princess marry.

F. *Transformation by witch.* The hero sees a mysterious fire out of the window. He follows it and is transformed by a witch.

G. *The chaste brother.* The hero's brother sees rust on the sword and goes in search of his brother. He is mistaken by the

hero's wife, but refuses to go to bed with her. He sees the fire and follows it.

H. *Disenchantment*. He restores his brother with a magic water. The hero, hearing of the second brother's adventures with the princess, kills him. Later, when he gathers from his wife the truth about matters, he restores him with the magic liquid.

The boys start to return to their parents, but when they come to a cross-roads, they take separate roads. One becomes God and the other, the Devil.

4. Plains Cree: Skinner, JAFL, xxix, 364.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes*. A grateful fish is divided (as in No. 1). The man's wife bears two sons with gold stars on their forehead, the mare two spotted colts, the dog two spotted pups. Two swords come from fish's tail planted in the garden.

B. *Life-token*. One of the boys leaves a sword behind as life-token. It will become spotted if anything happens to him.

C. *Dragon rescue*. He finds a town in mourning. The king's daughter is to be fed to a seven-headed snake. The hero, with the aid of a dog and horse, kills the snake.

D. *Impostor*. The hero takes tongues of the snake. The girl leaves. A black porter claims credit.

E. *Tongues used as proof*. The hero arrives on the wedding day, uses the tongues as proof, and marries the princess.

F. *Transformation by witch*. The hero follows the witch's fire (as in other versions) and is transformed.

G. *The chaste brother*. The second brother is warned by the life-token, seeks the hero, and is mistaken by hero's wife. He goes to bed with her, but leaves as soon as she is asleep.

H. *Disenchantment*. He follows the fire and by use of magic water disenchants his brother. Ending identical with No. 2.

TYPE II.

5. French: Cosquin, No. 37.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes*.

B. *Life-token*.

C. *Dragon rescue*.

D. *Impostor*.

E. *Tongues used as proof.*

All as in No. 1. F, G, and H of No. 1 are missing in this type.

6. Biloxi: Dorsey and Swanton, BBAE, xlvii, 35.

A. *King of the Fishes.* A fisherman is spoken to by the chief of the fishes and asked not to kill so many fish.

C. *Dragon rescue.* Later, he meets a woman who tells him of a monster that comes down to earth and kills people. The man slays the monster and cuts off one ear and the nose.

D. *Impostor.* Buzzard (a hero in the Biloxi tales) finds the carcass and claims the credit.

E. *Tongues used as proof.* The man, however, proves the imposition by means of the nose and ear, kills Buzzard, and marries the woman who had told him of the monster.

7. Tlingit: Swanton, BBAE, xxxix, No. 51.

A. *King of the Fishes.* A fisherman catches the chief of the salmon, who tells the fisherman to eat him, and to put the bones of the head under his pillow at night. The fisherman carries out these instructions and the next morning he sees two fine boys beside his bed.

C. *Dragon rescue.* One of the boys always stays at home, but the other is energetic and goes away on adventures. He meets an old woman who tells him of a seven-headed monster to whom the chief's daughter is about to be given. The people are all lamenting. He comes to the rescue just in time to save the girl, and cuts off the heads of the monster, first three, and then four. As a reward, he receives the chief's daughter in marriage.

TYPE III.

8. French: Cosquin, No. 15. Cf. New Mexican Spanish: Espinosa, JAFL, xxiv, 398, xxvii, 212.

A1. *Heroes' magic animals: grateful animals.* The hero acts as umpire and divides a carcass for some animals. In gratitude they give him talismans that confer power of self-transformation. He performs various marvelous deeds by virtue of this power. (Cf. pp. 328, 342 and 407, below.)

C. *Dragon rescue.* Accomplished by aid of animals. Handkerchief given as token.

D. *Impostor.* Regular.

E1. *Handkerchief used as proof.* Regular.

9. Thompson River: Teit, JAFI, xxix, 307.

A1. *Heroes' magic animals: grateful animals.* Three brothers go traveling, accompanied by their small dog. The youngest persuades the others not to kill ants, gray snake, striped snake, garter snake, bull snake, and rattle snake, which, one after the other, they meet.

D. *Dragon Rescue.* They come to a village where the people are afraid of Eight-heads, a cannibal who lives near a butte. It is believed that if a certain tree near him is cut down he will die, but he kills all who try to accomplish his death. The brothers try, and succeed through the aid of the ants and the snake, who kill the tree. The youngest kills Eight-heads, cutting off one head at a time. The dog licks up the blood and prevents the heads from joining the body.

(E). The lads go and collect the reward after the chief has satisfied himself that Eight-heads has been killed.

[The narrator says that he has forgotten much of the story.]

10. Blackfoot: Wissler and Duvall, PaAM, ii, 163.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: grateful animals.* The hero sees animals quarreling over game and volunteers to act as umpire. The animals are so pleased with his services that they reward him with supernatural power.

C. *Dragon rescue.* He finds a seven-headed person who devours young women, and by his magic power he kills the monster and marries the chief's daughter.

D. *Impostor.* Thunder (a Blackfoot monster) steals the wife, but the hero recovers her by killing Thunder, which he does by destroying his external soul. He kills a lion, then an eagle which flies out of the lion, then a rabbit which comes out of the eagle, then a dove which flies out of the rabbit. This dove is Thunder's soul.

[The incident of the "external soul" is widespread in European folk-lore. See below, p. 409. The editors say that the Indians believe that this story was brought in by the French.]

TYPE IV.

11. German: Haltrich, 3d edition, p. 101; Bohemian: Waldau,

p. 468; Finnish: Schreck. p. 115. In general see DeGubernatis, *Zoölogical Mythology*, iii, p. 36, note.

A2. *Hero's dog obtained by exchange.*

C. *Dragon rescue.*

D. *Impostor.*

E. *Tongues used as proof.*

12. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 114.

A2. *Hero's dog obtained by exchange.* An orphan exchanges a magic sword for two wonderful dogs who will get whatever game is ordered.

C. *Dragon rescue.* He is told of a seven-headed monster that demands the chief's daughter as a sacrifice. He goes out to where she is, and sends her home, giving her strict instructions not to tell about him. In the fight with the monster which follows, the dogs attack the body and he the head. The orphan cuts off the heads, one by one, and takes the tongues away with him.

D. *Impostor.* A black man comes along and finds the heads. The girl refuses to tell who sent her home, and the chief sends out orders offering the girl in marriage to the rescuer. The black man produces the heads, and in spite of his daughter's protestations that the man is an impostor, gives orders for the wedding.

(E). *Tongues not used as proof.* The orphan is in the village on the wedding day, and has his dog steal meat from the feast. The dog is chased to its master, whom the princess recognizes as the real dragon-slayer. The impostor is burned by the chief's servants.

13. Ponka: Dorsey, *ibid.*, p. 127. Variant of last story with additions.

A2. *Hero's magic animals obtained by exchange.* The hero exchanges his gun for some dogs and a magic sword.

C. *Dragon rescue.* In the fight the heads do not all come off at once. There is a four-days' battle. On the first day, one head comes off; on the second, two; on the third, three; and on the fourth, the last head. [The story repeats the incidents in full each time.]

D. *Impostor.* Regular.

E. *Tongues used as proof.* In this version the tongues are used as proof.

14. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan. ii, No. 24.

A2. *Hero's dog obtained by exchange.* A youngest son, who has been abused by nine elder brothers, leaves home. Thunder-bird exchanges his dog, "Hard Iron," with the boy for a ring. The dog can become large or small at the owner's will. [Thunder-bird is obviously an Indian element. The name "Hard Iron" for the dog is typical of this whole cycle of European tales. See, e. g., No. 5, above.]

C. *Dragon rescue.* The boy visits the house of a mineto, who kills all who approach. A girl is held prisoner by the mineto. She promises to marry the boy if he will rescue her. With the aid of his dog he kills the monster.

D. *Impostor.* The boy cuts out the mineto's tongue and feeds it to the dog, which he instructs to vomit it up at the edge of the earth. The girl sews a silk cloth on the boy's hat as a token. On the road the boy meets men to whom he gives the mineto's head.

(E). *Tongues and tokens not used.* The boy and the dog steal the food and wine. The chief gives a feast to find out the slayer of the mineto. Impostors present the head, but the chief's daughter recognizes the hero. [The last part of the tale is confused. The stealing of the food belongs here, but the narrator does not seem to understand it.]

TYPE V.

15. French: Cosquin, i, 64.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes.*

F. *Transformation by witch.*

G. *The chaste brother.*

H. *Disenchantment.* All regular.

16. Assiniboine: Lowie, PaAM, iv, Misc. Tales, No. 12.

A. *Heroes' magic animals: King of the Fishes.* A woman who owns a bitch hound is told one day by the dog, "I am going to give birth to two pintos." The woman and the dog simultaneously give birth to twins. As they all grow up together, each of the boys adopts a dog.

F. *Transformation by witch.* One of the boys is killed by a witch's "medicine" while he is asleep.

H. *Disenchantment.* The other brother sets out in search for him. When he meets the witch, he pretends to sleep, but seizes her when she attempts to poison him. He kills her and resuscitates his brother.

17 Assiniboine: Lowie, *ibid.*, Misc. Tales, No. 49.

A3. *Magic animal not accounted for.* A young man goes on a journey, taking with him his gun and "iron dog." Soon he marries a young woman.

F. *Transformation by witch.* One day while he is out hunting, he falls asleep, and a witch transforms him and his gun into a tree.

G. *The chaste brother.* The man's comrade seeks for him, and is mistaken for the hero by the latter's wife. He eats with her and then departs with his "iron dog" in search of the hero and his dog.

H. *Disenchantment.* The witch tries to enchant him also, but he has only feigned sleep, and he enchants her with her own charms. He disenchants his friend and other victims. When he tells his comrade of the adventure with the wife, the disenchanted youth becomes jealous and kills him. On hearing from his wife that his friend was not at fault, he restores him to life. The comrade, however, if offended at his friend's lack of confidence, and departs. [The incident of the jealous brother appears in many tales of this cycle. Cf. No. 7 above, and see Bolte und Polívka, i, 534.]

MIXED TYPES.

18. Osage: Dorsey, RBAE, vi, No. 29.

Release of imprisoned monster by boy. People have been taken from the camp by a beast called "Big Nest," who lives near a creek. The beast is caught and put into a little house. Some boys are playing shinny near by, and one rolls his ball into the house. The boy stays near and cries. Finally the monster persuades him to open the door. Big Nest escapes and goes back to the creek. When the boy confesses his deed to his father, he is turned away from home. Big Nest gives the boy magic balls that will aid him in catching game. [For this incident see Grimm, No. 136, and Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 519. Cf. also Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, No. 18.]

A3. *Hero's magic dog not accounted for.* The boy soon meets a man with two dogs. This man informs him that the slayer of the monster is to receive the chief's daughter in marriage.

C. *Dragon rescue.* The man goes to the creek, and when Big Nest comes out, the dogs kill him. The boy watches the fight and departs. Someone finally comes for the boy to prove that the man with the dogs was the actual slayer of the man-eater.

D. *Impostor.* When he reaches camp, he finds that people are washing a black man in hot water in order to make him white. He has claimed the credit for the deed. When the boy proves that he is an impostor, the people cut off the negro's ears and throw him into the creek. There is a happy wedding of the chief's daughter and the man with the dogs. The boy, however, stays away from the feast because he is jealous of the bridegroom.

[This story exhibits strange confusion in the incident of the rescue from the monster. A change of heroes occurs in the middle of the tale; the dragon-tongue proof has been omitted; the motivation of the impostor incident has been lost; and the princess does not appear to have been offered as a sacrifice to the beast. But there can be no doubt that we have here the European tale. The real hero of the latter part of the story kills the monster with the help of his dogs. The impostor is a black man, as he usually is in European versions. We have the all-devouring monster, the killing of the monster, the claims of the reward by an impostor, the giving of the princess as a reward, the detection and punishment of the impostor, and the happy marriage. The tale has become mixed with much purely Indian matter: part of the boy's adventures are entirely separated from the European incident. More nearly than in any of the versions thus far considered, there has been amalgamation of the native and borrowed tales.]

19. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii (7), No. 63.

Numskull. Snanez, the hero, after playing the numskull and later acquiring worldly wisdom, goes out to seek his fortune. [For these "numskull" incidents, see p. 416, below.]

C. *Dragon rescue.* He meets a sorrowful girl, who is on her way to be devoured by a seven-headed cannibal. She is the last of a large family of brothers and sisters to meet this fate. To her rescuer her father has offered her in marriage. Snanez accompanies the girl. After a hard fight he succeeds in cutting off one

of the cannibal's heads. The cannibal cries "Enough," and the hero leaves him till the next day. On six successive days he returns, and cuts off a head each day.

D. *Impostor*. The chief wonders why the cannibal has not eaten his daughter, and sends a slave to investigate. The slave finds the seven heads, takes them to the chief, and claims credit for the rescue. The chief sees that the tongues are missing and refuses to believe him. The daughter then tells the true story of the rescue. All the young men are ordered to pass before her, but she refuses them all.

E. *Tongues used as proof*. A poor beggar, who is sitting in the kitchen, is finally brought in and recognized as the hero. He exhibits the tongues, marries the chief's daughter, and lives happily ever after.

20. Kutenai: Curtis, *North American Indian*, vii, 149.

Male Cinderella. Sleeps-long a lazy boy, pastures horses. [For the lazy and unpromising hero in European folk-lore, see Panzer, *Beowulf*, *passim*]. His master tells him to leave one horse behind the first day. He disobeys. The same thing occurs the second day when he is told to leave two horses behind.

C. *Dragon fight*. On the third day a seven-headed monster demands three horses. The boy refuses, as he does on the fourth day, when four are demanded. The monster says that the pasture belongs to him. The boy comes the next day with his club and cuts off four of the heads. The monster asks a truce until the next day. On his return, the boy finds all the heads grown back.

(A1). *Helpful animals*. An eagle and a rabbit give the boy the power of self-transformation.

Transformation combat. The boy succeeds finally in cutting off all the heads. From the body goes the life as a bird. The boy turns to an eagle and chases it. Then the monster turns to a fox and the boy to a jack rabbit. The boy kills the fox. [For this incident see p. below.]

External soul. The boy carries the beating heart of the fox to an old woman who boils it till it breaks. [For this incident see p. 409, below.]

In one form or another, this story of the seven-headed dragon is thus seen to exist among a number of

widely scattered tribes. Doubtless it is found in others, but has not been reported in published collections of tales. Dr. Truman Michelson of the Bureau of Ethnology reports this story among the Peoria (JAFL, xxix, 409). We can see in all the tribes who have variants of this tale the great probability that it has been borrowed from the French. The Mississippi Biloxi are near to the Louisiana French, and all the other tribes have been at one time or another, in close contact with the French Canadians.



II. JOHN THE BEAR.

The story of John, the son of the bear, and his extraordinary companions occurs in Europe with very few variations from the typical form. Among the Indians also the stories remain remarkably true to the type. For a discussion of the tale see Panzer, *Beowulf*, *passim*, and Bolte und Polívka, ii, 297. The European forms may best be considered together.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 1.
2. French: Cosquin, No. 52.
3. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 84.
4. French: *Revue des traditions populaires*, xv, 423 (No. 3).
Cf. also New Mexican Spanish: Espinosa, JAFL, xxiv, 403, 437.

[The numbers in parentheses after the incidents indicate that the incident occurs in the version referred to.]

A1. *Bear's son*. The hero has been reared in the den of a bear who stole his mother shortly before his birth (1).—A2. *Strong hero*. Hero is a supernaturally strong man (2).

B1. *Unruly bear's son*. The hero is unruly at school and kills several of his schoolmates. He is finally sent away (1).—B2. *Giant cane*. The strong hero has a giant cane weighing five hundred pounds made for him (2).

C. *Extraordinary companions.* He meets two (2) or three (1) extraordinary men. One can hold up a mountain (1), one can twist off oak trees (1, 2), one can play quoits with a mill-wheel (1, 2). Their names are "Breaking-trees" and "Breaking-mountain" (3). They join the hero.

D1. *Turns at homekeeping in little house.* They come to a little house, where they take turns at preparing the meals while the others are away. A little man comes and steals the meal each day. When it is the hero's turn, he defeats the little man, who runs away leaving a trail. The companions follow the trail and find an opening into the lower world (1, 3).—D2. *Watch for devastating monster.* The youngest son of the king succeeds in wounding a monster who has been destroying the fields at night. His elder brothers have been unable to do so. He follows the monster until he finds where it has descended into the lower world. (4). [See Bolte und Polivka, i, 503ff.]

E. *Rope descent into the lower world.* The companions, one after the other, let themselves be lowered on a rope, but after they have gone a little way become frightened and are pulled up again (1, 3). The hero is let down into the lower world on a rope by his companions (1, 2, 3) or brothers (4).

F. *Rescue of princesses.* In the subterranean world the hero rescues princesses from ogres or monsters (1, 2, 3, 4).

G. *Tokens.* He receives tokens from the rescued princesses (1, 2, 3, 4).

H. *Treacherous companions.* The hero returns to where his companions are waiting with the rope. They pull up the princesses and appropriate them. They let the basket fall when they next pull it up, letting the hero drop or else a rock which he has placed into the basket to test it. (1, 2, 3, 4).

I1. *Magic help to upper world.* Abandoned in the lower world, the hero obtains the help of a fée who gives him magic-power to ascend to the upper world (1).—I2. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back.* Hero is carried to the upper world on the back of an eagle who demands flesh to eat. Finally the hero is forced to cut some of his own flesh to feed the eagle (2, 3, 4).

J. *Tokens presented.* The hero finds his way to the court of the king and takes service near by. At the date set for the wedding he succeeds in presenting the tokens and being given choice of the princesses. (1, 2, 3, 4.)

INDIAN VERSIONS

5. Assiniboine: Lowie, PaAM, iv, Misc. Tales, No. 6.

A1. *Bear's son.* A woman is abducted by a bear and shortly afterward gives birth to a son Icma ("Plenty of Hair"). During her captor's absence she flees with the child and escapes to her camp.

B1. *Unruly bear's son.* Icma quarrels with his schoolmates and kills them.

C. *Extraordinary companions.* He sets out on his travels and makes friends with Wood-twister and Timber-hauler, who live with him.

D1. *Turns at homekeeping.* One of the three stays at home every day while the others are away. When Wood-twister and Timber-hauler stay, they are killed by a monster and have to be resuscitated by Icma. On the third day Icma kills the monster. The three friends begin traveling again. A chief offers his three daughters to anyone who will rescue them from a subterranean captor. [Connection here with the trail of the defeated monster seems to have been lost.]

E. *Rope descent to lower world.* Icma descends in a box lowered by his companions.

F. *Rescue of princesses.* He kills the animal and cannibal guardian of the girls.

G. *Tokens.* He is given as tokens a handkerchief, a tie, and a ring.

H. *Treacherous companions.* The girls are pulled up by the companions, but Icma is dropped.

I2. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back.* Icma ascends to the upper world on the back of an eagle and feeds him of his own flesh.

J. *Tokens presented.* Icma arrives on the wedding day and proves his identity by means of the tokens.

6. Tehuano (Zapotecan): Boas, JAFL, xxv, 241.

A1. *Tiger's son.* A woman stolen by a tiger gives birth to a son who has many qualities of a tiger. The son kills the tiger and they return to her home.

B1. *Fearless tiger's son.* The boy is fearless. Ghosts reward his fearlessness with a pot of gold.

C. *Extraordinary companions*. He takes along with him on adventures two companions, "Ghost" and "Big-finger."

D1. *Turns at homekeeping*. They take turns with the cooking and have the usual experience with the troublesome man.

E. *Rope descent into lower world*. Regular.

F. *Rescue of princesses*. Regular.

G. *Tokens*. Regular.

H. *Treacherous companions*. Regular.

I1. *Magic help to upper world*. The hero is magically transported to the upper world through the virtue of having bitten a negro's ear.

J. *Tokens presented*. Regular.

7. Shoshone: Lowie, PaAM, ii, No. 37.

A1 *Bear's son*. The hero is reared in den of a bear who has stolen his mother before his birth. The boy kills the bear, and he and his mother return home.

B1. *Unruly bear's son*. The boy quarrels with his school-mates and kills them.

C. *Extraordinary companions*. He meets Earth-transporter, Rock-mover, and Pine-transplanter. They travel together.

D1. *Turns at homekeeping*. They take turns at homekeeping and have the usual experience with the ogre. The boy chases him to an underground passage.

E. *Rope descent into lower world*. The companions try to descend to the lower world on a rope but become frightened. The hero is let down.

(F. *Recue of princesses*.) The hero meets three men and takes their wives.

H. *Treacherous companions*. Regular.

I2. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back*. Regular. The hero feeds his own flesh to the eagle.

(J). The hero fails to find his wives.

8. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii (7), No. 33. Corresponds to No. 4 above in all its incidents.

D2. *Watch for devastating monster*. A man misses potatoes from his field each morning and sends his sons to watch for the

thief. The first three are unsuccessful, but Sanez, the youngest, by arranging a contrivance which will awaken him when the thief comes, succeeds in wounding the thief, who however, escapes over a cleft in the mountain side.

E. *Rope descent to lower world.* Sanez takes his brothers to the spot and they let him down into the lower world on a rope.

(F. *Rescue of princesses.*) He finds the thief, who tells him of a man who has two beautiful nieces. Sanez visits this chief and stays for a long time with him. Finally the chief gives him his nieces and a box.

H. *Treacherous companions.* Sanez returns to where his long-suffering brothers are waiting with the rope. They pull up the women, but let Sanez fall.

I. *Magic help to upper world.* The chief, to whom Sanez returns, gives him a magic piece of birch-bark with the picture of a horse on it. This will become a horse whenever Sanez desires. The horse is trained to ride up a perpendicular knife. On this horse Sanez returns to the upper world.

J. The women refuse to marry the men who have stolen them and tell the chief about the hero. The chief announces contests, which the hero wins by means of the magic horse. Hitherto he had assumed a menial disguise. He marries the women.

9. Thompson River: Teit, JAFLL, xxix, 307. [Reported only in abstract form.]

C. *Extraordinary Companions.*

E. *Rope descent into lower world.*

F. *Rescue of princesses.* Hero kills several monsters and finally Eight-heads. [See Chapter I, "The Seven-headed Dragon."] He rescues the chief's daughters.

G. *Tokens.* Regular.

H. *Treacherous companions.* Regular.

I. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back.* Regular.

J. *Tokens presented.* The hero proves himself to be the savior of the chief's daughters by going through a number of tests and presenting tokens. He receives a reward for killing Eight-heads when he presents the tongues. [See Chapter I, incident E.] He marries the women.

10. Thompson River: Teit, JAFI, xxix, 308.

A1. *Bear's son*. Regular.

B1. *Unruly bear's son*. Jack kills schoolmates.

A2. *Strong hero*. [Here follows an incident from the story of "Strong John" which will be discussed in detail with that story. See Chapter XXIII, No. 5.]

C. *Extraordinary companions*. Jack is joined by three strong companions. One can remove earth easily, one stones, and one trees.

D1. *Turns at home-keeping in little house*. Regular.

E. *Rope descent to lower world*. Regular.

F. *Rescue of princesses*. Regular.

G. *Tokens*. Rings.

H. *Treacherous companions*. Regular.

I2. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back*. Regular. The hero feeds his own flesh to the eagle.

J. *Tokens presented*. Regular.

11. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 292.

A1. *Bear's son*. Regular.

(A2). *Strong hero*. [Here follows an incident from the story of "Strong John", which will be discussed in detail with that story. See Chapter XXIII, No. 4. Also Cf. Nos. 2, 10, and 13 of the present story.]

C. *Extraordinary companions*. The hero joins two men, each half grizzly bear.

D1. *Turns at home-keeping in little house*. Regular. The gray-bearded man who attacks them is finally defeated by the hero who follows him into a house where are bones and skulls and three boxes of treasure. The hero keeps the most valuable box and returns home.

12. Thompson River: Teit, *ibid.*, p. 358.

A1. *Bear's son*. A woman is stolen by a giant who has a grizzly bear hide. She gives birth to a son who has the power of changing himself to a grizzly bear. The son and the mother escape.

C. *Companions.* The hero travels with three men (not described).

D1. *Experience at little house.* They come to the house of an old man who directs them to a place where they can secure four beautiful woman as wives.

E. *Rope descent to lower world.* Regular.

F. *Rescue of women.* The hero meets and defeats monsters: black with hairy body, seven-headed [Cf Chapter I], snake-like, ferocious. He rescues the four women.

H. *Treacherous companions.* Regular.

I2. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back.* Regular.

J. He finds the women, who have escaped from the companions.

13. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 234.

A2. *Strong hero.* Huza is suckled by his mother for fourteen years, and then, since he can only move an oak tree instead of pulling it up, he is suckled for fourteen years more. He can now pull up elm trees by the roots. (For the long nursing. Cf. Panzer, *Beowulf*, pp. 30, 31.)

B2. *Giant cane.* He has a cane made for him that will hold fifty salted cattle.

A2. *Strong hero.* [Here follows the story of "Strong John," which will be discussed in detail with that story. See Chapter XXIII, No. 2 Cf. also Nos. 2, 10, and 11 of the present story.]

C. *Extraordinary companions.* He meets Iron Mouth and Flood, who say that they are on the way to rescue two princesses.

D1. *Turns at home-keeping in little house.* Regular. Afterward the men leave and have a conflict with three giants and their mother, all of whom they kill.

E. *Rope descent into the lower world.* In a cavern they find the princesses who have been held by the giants. These princesses tell the men of three princesses more beautiful still who are farther on, and show the men the deep entrance to the under-world. The companions let Huza down by means of a rope.

F. *Rescue of princesses.* When Huza reaches the bottom, he finds that he is in a city filled with mourning because the three princesses are to be sacrificed to a seven-headed giant. [Cf. Chapter I]. The fight is described in great detail and with marked

vividness. The girls tell Huza to choose the worst-looking sword and the worst horse, when the giant gives him choice. [This is a widely distributed incident in European tales.] The giant comes in and smells the hero, whom the princesses have hidden. [Cf. Chapter V, incident D.] The hero then utters his challenge, and the weapons are chosen. The six heads come off easily, but the seventh always grows on until the hero, by the advice of the youngest princess, throws it under the feet of the horse, which kicks it to pieces.

G. *Tokens*. The princesses give him medallions and handkerchiefs as tokens.

H. *Treacherous companions*. The companions run off with the princesses after the hero has sent them up on a rope.

I. *Magic help to upper world*. Huza receives a wishing ring from a man in the lower world who calls him cousin, and with this ring he summons a fox and then, by the advice of the fox, an eagle.

J. *Trip to upper world on eagle's back*. The eagle carries him to the upper world, and on the way consumes a whole beer.

J. *Tokens presented*. Huza now takes the form of an old man in the village of the princesses. By apprenticing himself to a goldsmith, he succeeds in bringing the tokens he has to the attention of the king, and receives his favorite princess as his wife. Although he condemns his treacherous companions to severe punishment, he afterwards relents and makes them officials in the kingdom when he succeeds to the throne.

[The remarkable feature of this version of the tale is the extraordinary fullness of detail with which it is related. Some of the incidents do not belong in this story, but they are all purely European.]

14. Loucheux: Russell, JAFL, xiii, 11.

A1. *Bear's son* (?). Little Hairy Man is given a big knife in return for having killed a theiving polar bear.

C. *Extraordinary companions*. He comes upon two brothers, Breaking-Mountain and Breaking-Sticks, who join him in his travels.

D1. *Turns at home-keeping in little house*. Regular.

E. *Rope descent into lower world*. Regular. The brothers try it first, but become frightened.

F. *Rescue of princesses.* In the lower world, the hero finds a two-headed monster in a room. He cuts off the heads and goes to a second room, where he finds and kills a three-headed monster. In like manner, in a third room he kills a four-headed monster. In a fourth room he finds three pretty women.

G. *Tokens.* He becomes enamored of the youngest of the women, who gives him a ring.

H. *Treacherous companions.* Regular.

I. *Magic help to upper world.* A little dog licks the wounds of the hero and shows him the way to escape. He comes across a woodpecker, a wasp, and a worm quarreling over the distribution of a moose carcass. He acts as umpire to the satisfaction of the animals, who give him the power of magic transportation. [See Chapter I, No. 8, incident A1, above, and p. 407, below.] By using this power he goes to the upper world and finds the women.

J. *Tokens presented.* He helps in the kitchen at the home of the women. At the table he puts his ring into the plate of his sweetheart, who thus recognizes him. He takes vengeance on his companions.

External soul. The hero now goes on adventures, and finds a woman whose husband is an ogre with an external soul. [For this incident see Chapter XV below.]

15. Micmac: Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, p. 311.

A1; A2. *Bear's son; strong hero.* A woman has a son by a bear. He is supernaturally strong, and kills his bear father.

C. *Extraordinary companions.* Regular.

D1. *Turns at home-keeping in little house.* Regular.

(E). *Descent to cavern.* Little Elf Boy, who was defeated in the little house, tells the hero of a seven-headed dragon in a cavern below. Here Elf Boy's three sisters are kept. The hero descends into the cavern.

F. *Rescue of princess.* The hero fights seven days against the dragon and finally kills it with a magic staff. He rescues the three sisters.

H. *Treacherous companions.* Regular.

12. *Magic help to upper world.* The hero reaches his com-

panions' side by riding on the Elf Boy's back. He gives his companions two of the girls, and he takes the third for himself.

Forgotten fiancée. The hero and his bride start home on a visit. [The story now takes up the incident of "the forgotten fiancée." Cf. Chapter VI, incident L.]

16. Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 176.

A1. *Bear's son.* A woman stolen by a bear gives birth to two sons, one human and the other a bear.

B. *Fearless bear's son.* Regular.

(E). *Descent into lower world.* Hero helps others seek money in a cave, where he is attacked by devils and wild animals.

F. *Rescue of princesses.* Regular.

G. *Treacherous companions.* Regular.

11. *Magic help to upper world.* He gets magic power by biting the ear of one of the devils he has defeated. Cf. No. 6, incident II, above. Both versions are Mexican, and undoubtedly represent Spanish tradition.

17. Chilcotin: Farrand, JE, ii, No. 28. [Cf. Nos. 4 and 8 above].

D2. *Watch for devastating monster.* A chief is greatly troubled by a thief who steals his vegetables. His son watches one night and shoots the thief.

(E). *Descent underground.* He follows the wounded thief under the earth until he comes to an underground village, but he cannot find the thief.

11. *Magic ascent to upper world.* For a long time the hero cannot get back to the surface of the earth, but at last he succeeds with the aid of a magic horse, which when whipped turns into a real horse. When he reaches the upper world, he whips the horse and it becomes a drawing again.

J. Since the boy has been given up for lost, his father has promised his wives to the man who can ride on the point of a spear fastened in the ground. The boy returns and, not being recognized, is made a slave. In the contest, he wins the prize by the aid of his magic horse and comes into his rights once more.

18. Ojibwa: Jones, JAFL, xxix, 386. (No. 45).

D2. *Watch for devastating monster.* Three brothers, one after the other, are set to watch for a monster that is robbing the fields. The first two fail, but the third and youngest discovers that the thief is a bird.

(E). *Descent to lower world.* He shoots the bird and pursues it through a hole into the lower world. [See Bolte und Polívka, i, 503.] In the lower world he is taken captive, but when he tells the cause of his pursuit, he receives gifts. On his return home he gives the presents to his father.

H. *Treacherous brothers.* His brothers accuse him of having stolen the gifts. He is thrown into a pit, but released by his mother. He then gives the money to his brothers who go to the lower world and receive more.

[This version seems to have lost most of its point.]

19. Assiniboine: Lowie, PaAM, iv, Misc. Tales, No. 34.

A1. *Bear's son.* A woman captured by a bear gives birth to a son in the bear's den. She escapes, and her people kill the bear.

B1. *Unruly bear's son.* The son is unruly and kills several boys at play. Finally one boy conquers him.

20. Kwakiutl: Boas and Hunt, JE, iv (1), pp. 133ff.

A2. *Strong hero.* A youth practices twisting off yew trees in order to gain strength. [Cf. No. 13, incident A2, above, and Chapter XXIII, incident A.]

C. *Extraordinary companions.* He obtains certain magic gifts and sets out for his father's village. On the way he meets three companions: one who has acquired stone hands by washing them in serpent slime, one of a foreign tribe, and one who is dumb.

They go on and have adventures usually found in Indian tales. There is thorough amalgamation in this version of the European and Indian material.

The tale of "John the Bear" seems to have come to the American Indians from two sources, French and Spanish. Complete French versions exist in Canada, and complete Spanish versions in New Mexico. The Tehuano and Tepecano variants are undoubtedly of Spanish origin, all the others of French.

III. THE WONDERFUL COMPANIONS

The story to be discussed under this head has several points in common with the preceding tale of "John the Bear" (Chapter II), and in some European versions it forms a part of that tale. For a discussion of the variants, see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 79.

EUROPEAN VERSION

1. German: Grimm, No. 71.

A. *Extraordinary companions.* [Cf. preceding story, incident C.] The hero is joined, one after the other, by five extraordinary companions: a man who is so strong that he pulls up six trees at a time; a man who can shoot out the left eye of a fly two miles away; a man who turns seven windmills at two miles' distance by blowing from one nostril; a man who keeps one leg tied up lest he run faster than birds fly; and a man who wears a cap over his ear since, if he should wear it straight, everything in the world would freeze.

B. *Race with princess won with help of companions.* A princess is offered in marriage to the man who can defeat her in a race; otherwise the contestant is to be killed. With the help of his companions the hero wins the race. The runners are to bring back water from a distant spring. The Runner obtains the water, but he goes to sleep on the roadside before he returns. The princess empties his pitcher while he is asleep, but the Marksman shoots the pillow from under his head and wakes him, so that he returns to the spring, refills his pitcher, and defeats the princess.

C. *Suitor's tests; contest of heat and cold.* The king is not yet willing to give the princess to the hero. He attempts to kill him and his companions in a heated iron chamber. The Cold-maker raises his cap and makes the room so cold that the food freezes.

D. *Bag of gold carried off.* Next the king orders a huge sack made that will hold all the gold of the realm and orders the Strong Man on pain of death to carry it. To the consternation of the King he carried it away with ease.

E. *Army blown away.* The king sends a regiment of sol-

diers to retake the men, but the Wind-blower blows them back and the companions leave, taking all the king's gold with them.

INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Micmac: Rand, No. 13.

A. *Extraordinary companions.* The hero, Little Thunder, in search for a wife is joined first by a chief, Badger. Next they are joined by a man with his leg doubled up under him to keep him from "running around the world in no time." The third man who joins them has his nostrils stopped to keep him from blowing everything away. A fourth companion is a man who cuts down and trims whole pine trees as he would rails.

D. *Barrel of gold carried off.* They steal a barrel of gold from a merchant, and Pine-chopper carries it away.

E. *Army blown away.* A company of soldiers sent in pursuit is blown away by the mighty blower.

Help from Glooscap. The companions have some adventures (of purely Indian origin) with Glooscap, the Micmac deity. He gives them directions that will help them in their future adventures. With the help of these directions they defeat a huge skunk and beaver who try to kill them.

B. *Race for chief's daughter won by hero's companion.* They come to a chief's house, where the hero becomes a suitor for the hand of the chief's daughter. A race is held with rivals. They are to carry a glass filled with water and to run around the world. The swift runner defeats the rivals with ease. In a wrestling match the Pine-chopper wins.

C. *Suitor test: contest of wind.* As the hero and his wife leave, the chief tries to capsize their boat by a magic wind. The Wind-blower, however, overcomes the storm by blowing from his nostrils and they escape.

The story now takes up certain purely Indian adventures with Glooscap.

3. Micmac: Rand, No. 24. Variant of No. 13.

The hero wishes for a bride with hair like a raven, skin like the snow, and cheeks like blood. [Cf. Grimm No. 47.]

A. *Extraordinary companions.* As in preceding version. Wood-chopper, Runner (with leg tied up), and Wind-blower.

Help from Goosecap. As in preceding version.

B. *Race for chief's daughter won by hero's companion.* As in preceding version.

C. *Suitor tests.* Wrestling and coasting contests won by help of the companions.

C1. *Contest of wind.* As in preceding version.

4. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 253.

A. *Extraordinary companions.* Regular. Stone-to-ankle, who has a stone tied to his ankle to keep him from running too fast; Arrow-shooter, who can shoot arrows into the sky so that they do not return; Pool-drinker, who can drink up whole pools of water; and a man who can hear the grass grow.

C. *Suitor tests.* The hero, before he can marry a girl, is put to tests. He is to remove a rock that overshadows the village. Stone-to-ankle removes it. He is to eat many kettles full of food. Pool-drinker eats it for him.

B. *Race with princess won by help of companions.* Stone-to-ankle runs and outdistances the girl so far that he lies down and rests. The girl comes up to him and louses him until he falls asleep. Then she runs off to finish the race. The man with the keen hearing hears Stone-to-ankle snore. Arrow-shooter shoots and wakes him. Stone-to-ankle wins the race, and the hero receives the girl in marriage.

The Micmac versions are very largely amalgamated with native material. The Ponka tale, on the other hand, is very close to the European original. All are probably of French origin.



IV. THE ENCHANTED HORSE.

The forms in which "The Enchanted Horse" appears usually differ only in the introduction. Type I consists of those having the incident of the sale (wittingly or unwittingly) of a child to the devil. Type II omits this in-

eident. For a discussion of this tale see Cosquin, i, 138-154, and Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, *passim*.

TYPE I.

1. French (Breton): Sébillot, *Contes Populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 3me série, Paris, 1882, p. 74.

A. *Sale of child to devil*. The father and mother of a baby boy, who have no godfather for the child, invite a stranger to take upon himself the office. He accepts and gives the parents a large sum of money on the understanding that he is to return for the boy, Jean, in a year and a day. The boy grows miraculously and is supernaturally brilliant at school. At the end of a year the godfather takes the boy with him to his castle, which he puts in his charge during his own absence.

B. *Abused and pampered horses*. He shows him a stable with two horses and a mule in it: Jean must feed the horses well and care for them but he must beat the mule every day and feed him very little. He is shown a magic wishing ring that will provide him with whatever he may desire.

C. *Forbidden chamber*. There are a hundred rooms in the castle, and all the keys are given to Jean. He has free access to ninety-nine of the chambers, but the hundredth he must under no circumstances enter. With these injunctions the godfather departs. Jean is scrupulously obedient, and everything is in good order when the man returns. Once more the godfather leaves Jean in charge of the castle. The boy has entered all the rooms, and has found each richer than the last. Curiosity induces him to enter the forbidden chamber. Here he sees dead men hanging from the walls, and others lying in their blood.

D. *Permanent work of disobedience*. He gets blood on the key, and he cannot wash it off.

E. *Gold hair*. As a further permanent mark his hair is turned to gold.

F. *Escape on magic horse*. He now visits the stable. The mule tells him that his master is the devil, and will try to kill him. Jean now makes preparations to escape. By the advice of the mule, he takes along a curry-comb, a brush, a wisp of hay, and the wishing ring. He puts an old saddle on the mule and they start off.

G. *Magic alarm*. A magic bell in the castle yard announces the escape to the devil, and he is soon in pursuit.

H. *Obstacle flight*. When he has nearly overtaken them, Jean throws down the wisp of hay. It makes a pond behind them which retards the devil. Similarly the brush becomes a forest, and the curry-comb a high mountain. These obstacles delay the devil and boy escapes.

I. *Gardener disguise (scald-head)*. The mule then leaves Jean, after advising him to cover his golden hair with a cloth, and to pass as a man with the scald-head. Jean goes to the king's court, and takes service as under-gardener.

J. *Imposed tasks; help from horse*. The regular gardener is jealous of him, and gives him impossible tasks. By the help of his mule, which he can call with his wishing ring, Jean accomplishes the tasks, much to the chagrin of the gardener.

K. *Marriage to princess*. The youngest princess one day sees Jean and his mule, and the magically beautiful clothes that he has. She insists on marrying him, even against the will of her father.

L. *Humble disguise*. They are given a mean house near the palace, and have a hard time to make a living.

M. *Unknown knight*. A war now breaks out, and Jean asks the king for a horse. The king gives him a three-legged nag, and starts him off. Jean gets his mule, and with his aid wins the fight for the king. His brothers-in-law, who treated him shamefully when they saw him on the three-legged nag, are very gracious to the man who they think is a prince. Jean departs without disclosing his identity. This happens for two more days. On the third day, Jean concludes a treaty of peace, and wins all the foreign flags.

N. *Tokens*. These he sells to his brothers-in-law for rings given by their wives, and for the privilege of branding them with the mark of his mule. Secretly he removes the centers of the flags and keeps them. He then starts for home, and when the brothers-in-law next see him, he is floundering about on his three-legged nag. One of them strikes him, and the point of the sword remains in his leg.

O. *Indentification by sword-point in leg*. Jean goes home and has his leg dressed, and takes care to keep the sword point. Later, by means of all the proofs he has accumulated—the rings, the marks of the mule's hoof, the centers of the flags, and the point of the sword—he exposes his brothers-in-law, and forces the

king to take back the words that he has just uttered; namely, that all of his daughters had married well except the one who had married him.

2. *Mali-eet*: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 247.

A. *Sale of child to devil*. A man sells his son, Louis, in exchange for some gold, to a gentleman who engages to give him back at the end of twenty years. The gentleman takes Louis to his house and gives him permission to eat and drink whatever he wants.

C. *Forbidden pots of gold*. But he shows him two pots, one full of gold, and the other full of silver, that he must not touch.

B. *Abused and pampered horses*. In the stable, he shows him a black and a gray horse. The black he is to water three times a day, and to wash and feed. The other he is to beat three times a day, to water once in twenty-four hours, and to feed very sparingly. He is never to take the bridle off the gray horse. After giving these instructions, the man leaves home for a few weeks. The boy carries out the orders to the letter, and when his master returns, he is greatly pleased. He cuts the boy's hand and heals it with a magic salve. The man now leaves home for another week.

D. *Permanent mark of disobedience—gold finger*. This time Louis's curiosity gets the better of him, and he uncovers the pots and dips his finger into the golden liquid. The finger immediately turns into gold. Louis also stops beating the gray horse. When the gentleman returns, he discovers the golden finger, but otherwise he is pleased. He cuts and heals the finger again, and then departs for a three weeks' journey.

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter*. On this occasion, Louis is kind to the gray horse, and the horse tells him that the gentleman is the devil, and that he is fattening Louis for slaughter. Every time the devil cuts the boy's finger, it is to see whether he is fat enough to eat. If he is not fat enough the next time, he will be turned into a horse, just as the gray horse had been.

F. *Escape on magic horse*. The boy and the horse now plan their escape together. The boy cuts the legs of the black horse so that they are all of different length.

E. *Gold hair*. They get the gold and silver pots and make a silver tail and a gold mane and ears for the gray horse. Louis turns his own hair to gold. Then, on the advice of the horse he

takes three grains of black corn, a flint, a piece of steel, a piece of punk, an awl, a pebble, and a pointed wisp of hay. Then they flee.

H. *Obstacle flight.* The devil pursues, and as often as he approaches them the speed of the gray horse is increased by means of the corns. Then Louis throws back the objects he is carrying, and they become magic obstacles in the path of the devil—the awl, a field of thorn-bushes; the flint, a high rock wall; the punk, a forest fire; and the pebble, a lake. The wisp of hay becomes a magic bridge across the sea. As Louis crosses it on horseback, it folds up behind him.

I. *Gardener disguise.* Louis and the horse reach the court of a king and Louis becomes gardener.

J. *Horse helper.* The horse is kept in a cave near by.

K. *Marriage to princess.* The princess sees Louis combing his golden hair, and marries him, rejecting a prince who had been her suitor.

L. *Humble disguise.* The king in anger sends them to the pig-pen, and they live there, obtaining provisions from the magic horse.

M. *Unknown Knight.* The king now has to go to war against the disappointed prince. Louis asks for a horse, and receives a sorry-looking nag from his father-in-law. On this he rides to the cave where his magic horse is kept. Here, with a magic wishing-ring he obtains beautiful armor. Then he takes his enchanted horse and rides to war. As he passes the pig-pen, his wife does not recognize him. Louis wins the battle for the king, but leaves the field before he can be thanked, and remains unknown. The same thing happens on the next two days in succession.

O. *Identification by sword-point in leg.* On the third day, the king in order to identify him, cuts him in the leg with his sword. The point breaks off and remains in the wound. By this means the king discovers that the Unknown Knight is Louis. He begs forgiveness for his former ill-treatment, but Louis is obdurate. During the night, Louis, by means of his wishing ring, builds himself a marvelous castle. The next morning he fires cannon on the king's palace and destroys the entire city. [This peculiar ending of the Maliseet tale seems original with the narrator.]

3. Dakota: Riggs, CNAE, ix, p. 108.

A. *Gift of boy to Great Spirit.* A man gives his son to "The Great Spirit," and the boy is taken to the Great Spirit's house.

C. *Forbidden chamber.* Though allowed the freedom of the house, he is forbidden to enter a certain little building.

(B). *Boy left to care for horses.* The boy is left to care for the horses while the Great Spirit is on a journey.

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter.* A crowd of men come and look at the boy to see if he is fat enough to eat. They say "The boy is good; that is enough." One of the horses advises the boy to disobey the commands in regard to the little house.

D. *Permanent mark of disobedience.* He does so and finds a round yellow thing.

E. *Gold head.* Into this he dips his head, which immediately becomes golden. The horse tells him to flee, for he is being fattened for eating.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* The boy flees on the horse, and the Great Spirit pursues.

H. *Obstacle flight.* The boy throws an egg behind them and this makes a magic sea, in which the Great Spirit is drowned.

(M. *Unknown Knight.*) The boy goes on and wins a fight by the help of his horse, which is now golden.

4. Micmac, No. 5.

A. *Salc of child to devil.* A boy is sold to the devil by his father, who is very poor. The brother of the boy, who is born after his departure, is precocious in growth and strength. He obtains the help of a stranger who is visible to him alone, and sets out in search of his brother. After he has entered the supernatural country through the clouds, he learns that his brother has been transformed to a horse by the devil.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* He talks with the horse, and they escape.

H. *Magic flight with whip.* In the flight he uses a magic whip that makes the horse go like the wind. The horse, while asleep takes on his human form again.

Christian element. The two boys are finally taken off by the angels.

[In this version the fact that the enchanted horse is a boy who has been bought by the devil is made very much clearer than in the French forms. The addition of the Christian elements is noteworthy. The Micmacs and the Maliseets have several legends that show a distinct influence of the monasteries and convents.]

TYPE II.

5. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFI, xxix, 37. Cf. Cosquin, No. 12.

A2. *Accidental arrival at ogre's house.* A mistreated stepson wanders from home and arrives at the home of an old witch. She employs him.

B. *Abused and pampered horses.* As in No. 1.

C. *Forbidden chamber.* As in No. 1.

D. *Permanent sign of disobedience.* In the forbidden chamber he finds a trough filled with gold. He discovers that he has made his finger gold. When the witch returns, she discovers his disobedience by means of the finger [Cf. No. 2]. She leaves again, however, and the boy again becomes restless.

E. *Gold hair.* He returns to the forbidden chamber and makes his hair gold.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* Regular.

H. *Obstacle flight.* They throw back an awl, a bridle, and a bottle, one after the other, which become a mountain of awls, a mountain of bridles, and a mountain of bottles, respectively. In this way they escape from the witch.

I. *Gardener disguise (scald-head).* On advice of the horse, he takes service with the king as gardener.

K. *Betrothal to princess.* The princess sees the golden head and falls in love with the hero.

M; J. *Unknown knight; help from magic horse.* As in Nos. 1 and 2. The hero goes to the fight the first day in white, the second in red, and the third in black. [Cf. Cosquin, No. 43.]

O. *Identification by sword-point in leg.* As in Nos. 1 and 2.

P. *Marriage to princess.*

6. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, No. 36.

A2. *Accidental arrival at chief's house.* A boy wanders into a chief's house and is ordered by the chief to stay.

B. *Abused and pampered horses.* The chief gives him meat to feed the horse and hay for the lion and silver-gray fox.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* The animals refuse to eat, and the horse asks the boy for hay. The boy promises to help the animals escape. He leaves the lion and fox soon, but gets their blessing. On the horse he flees from the chief.

H. *Obstacle flight.* They throw back awls, steel pieces, and flint. These become respectively a mountain of awls, a fire, and a mountain of flint.

Disenchantment by decapitation. The horse asks the hero to cut off his head. When the hero does so, the horse becomes a beautiful girl. [This is a well-known incident in European tales. See Kittredge, "Disenchantment by Decapitation," JAFL, xvii, 1.]

(K). *Marriage to disenchanted girl.* He takes the girl to her home, where, in spite of her father's objection, she insists on marrying the hero.

(L). *Humble disguise.* The hero and the girl are banished from the house.

M. *Unknown knight.* When war breaks out, he is given an old plug. The rest of the army leaves him. He goes to the woods and gets help from the silver fox, who procures a beautiful horse for him. He defeats the enemy, but returns on his old plug. From that time on he is the best warrior in the country.

7. Thompson River: Teit, *ibid.*, p. 387.

A2. *Accidental arrival at ogre's house.* A boy comes to a cannibal's house and is left to cook for the cannibal.

C. *Forbidden chambers.* There are two rooms which he must not enter.

B. *Abused and pampered horses.* He is to feed the red and starve the black horse.

(D). *Disobedience: no sign.* He enters the rooms. In one is gold and silver, and in the other a naked girl is chained.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* The boy and the girl flee together.

H. *Obstacle flight.* They throw water and make a lake, stone and make a mountain, clay and make a morass, and combings of hair and make a thick brush. Finally they pull down a cloud and make a fog, through which they escape.

8. Thompson River: Teit, *ibid.*, p. 387.

C. *Forbidden boxes*. A boy is left by a chief and told not to look into four boxes which he points out.

D. *Permanent sign of disobedience*. As soon as the chief leaves, the boy explores. In the first box are ropes, in the second bridles and saddles, in the third blood. Here he gets his hand stained.

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter* (?). Cf. No. 2. When the chief returns he cuts the boy's finger off and leaves again.

F. *Escape on magic horse*. In the fourth forbidden box the boy finds a horse. [Cf. Dasent, *Norse Popular Tales* ("Norræna," 1906), p. 70.] He and the horse plan flight. They kill the chief, but he revives.

H. *Obstacle flight*. In their flight the horse spits and makes mud and later a lake in which the chief is drowned. In later adventures the boy and his horse are attacked but cannot be harmed.

9. Assiniboine: Lowie, PaAM, iv, No. 10.

A2. *Accidental arrival at ogre's house*. A boy, in his wanderings, reaches an ogre's house where he is held captive. The ogre is accustomed to cooking people and horses.

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter*. He owns a mule, which on one occasion warns the boy and tells him that after a while he will be killed.

F. *Escape on magic mule*. With the mule's help, the boy plans flight.

H. *Magic flight*. "When the ogre pursues you," says the mule, "you will make me perspire white sweat. Bathe your body in my sweat. The ogre will try to burn you on a heap of firewood, but with my perspiration on your body you cannot burn up." The ogre catches them and the boy is put on a fire. He remains unscathed. The ogre tries to find the secret of his magic strength, and the boy deceives him, and burns him up. The boy now goes on other adventures in which his horse helps him.

J. *Imposed tasks: help from horse*. Among these are tests set by his father-in-law—one of them the bringing of cattle from the bottom of the sea.

[In the use of the sweat of the horse, the bringing of things from the bottom of the sea, and the foolish imitation in which the

king and the giant lose their lives, the Assiniboine and Menominee tale immediately following it, show remarkable resemblances. The Assiniboine story is mixed with much Indian matter. It is probably derived from the same, or nearly the same, tradition as the Menominee, though it has evidently lost much of the original material.]

10. Menominee: Skinner, JAFL, xxvi, 76.

Spendthrift knight. A king sends his son out with goods to sell, and the boy gives them all to ghosts. [For this incident see Gerould, *The Grateful Dead*, *passim*.] This happens three times in succession, and finally the king has the boy whipped until he appears to be dead.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* A horse comes to the boy and tells him that he has pitied him because of his mercy. He takes the boy to another court, and himself stays near the palace.

I. *Cook disguise.* The boy becomes a cook, and the horse gives him magic papers which make the food excellent.

J. *Imposed task; help from horse.* The door-keeper becomes jealous of the boy and suggests impossible tasks for him. The king orders the hero to perform these tasks upon pain of death. The first task is to bring in certain wild ponies. His horse gives him a magic ointment by means of which he catches the ponies easily. He trades them off for horses that look just like them. [Cf. Cosquin, i, 143.] The second task is to bring a queen from the middle of the ocean; and this he accomplishes through trickery. By means of his magic powers, he brings the queen's house. Through the help of fish he fetches some keys from the bottom of the ocean. (Cf. Chapter XI, incident E3, below.) His last task is to blow himself up with gunpowder. Through the efficacy of the magic sweat of his horse, he is unharmed and made only more beautiful. The king now imitates the hero and is killed. The hero marries the queen whom he has brought from the middle of the ocean.

11. Kickapoo: Jones and Michelson, PAES, ix, 89.

This tale belongs quite as much to the cycle of "The Marooned Rescuer" (Chapter XIV, below) as it does here.

Boy advised by old woman. Cf. Chapter VI, incident B.

Fee-fi-fo-fum. Cf. Chapter V, incident E. These first two incidents seem to belong to "The White Cat" (Chapter VI).

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter.* Through the advice of the wife, however, the hero is not slain immediately.

B. *Abused and pampered horses.* The hero is to feed hay to a lion and blood to a horse. He disobeys.

F. *Escape on magic horse.* The hero escapes on his magic horse. The ogre pursues on the lion.

H. *Obstacle flight.* Regular. The objects thrown are: flint, which makes a fire; shoe peg, which makes cactus bushes; string, which makes vines; whetstone, which makes boulders. They break a bottle and this makes a body of water behind them.

J. *Horse helper.* The horse gives the hero a hair that will produce magic food for him. Later in the story the hero is helped again by the magic horse.

The story now goes into "The Marooned Rescuer." See Chapter XIV, No. 6.

12. Cheyenne: Kroeber, JAFI, xiii, 172.

The first part of the tale does not belong to this story, but, beginning with the humble disguise of the hero it is a faithful version. For the story, see p. 406, below. The incidents that it contains belonging here are:

L. *Humble disguise.*

M. *Unknown knight.*

N. *Tokens.*

O. *Identification by wound in horse.*

All the versions of this tale come within well-recognized spheres of French influence, so that there can be little doubt that they have all been taken at one time or another from French Canadian sources.



V. LITTLE POU CET.

The two tales which follow have many points in common, so far as the experience at the house of the ogre is concerned. The parts of the present tale may be most easily studied by means of a general type, with references

to this type from particular versions. For a discussion of the story see Bolte und Polívka, i, 115.

GENERAL TYPE.

A. *Abandoned children.* Needy parents abandon their children in the woods.

B. *Bread-crumbs trail.* The children find their way by means of bits of cloth or colored pebbles that they have dropped. The second time, however, the birds eat up the trail of bread-crumbs, and the children cannot find their way home.

C. *Protection from ogre's wife.* The children (or the hero alone) come to the house of an ogre. The wife (or daughter) of the ogre gives protection.

D. *Fee-fi-fo-fum.* The ogre enters and smells human flesh. He usually utters the formula "Fee-fi-fo-fum, I smell the flesh of a human being," or the like.

E. *Fattening of hero for slaughter.* The ogre keeps the hero (or heroes) for fattening before slaughter, (E1) at the suggestion of the wife or (E2) of the hero.—E3. *Keeping of hero as husband for daughter.* At the wife's suggestion the hero is kept as a husband for their daughter (or the heroine as a wife for their son).

F. *Places changed with ogre's children.* The ogre places red caps (or gold crowns) on the heads of his children at night. After the house is quiet, the heroes exchange places and caps with the ogre's children. The ogre kills his own children by mistake—F1. *Ogre's wife or child burned in his own oven.* The hero offers to help the ogre's wife (or daughter) prepare the fire on which he is to be roasted. He beguiles her into looking into the oven, and pushes her in.

G. *Hero escapes in ogre's seven-league boots.*—G1. *When ogre pursues hero, his seven-league boots are stolen from him.* The hero beguiles the ogre into sleeping, and steals the boots from him.—G2. *Magic flight.* The hero escapes from the ogre by means of a magic flight.

H. *Stealing from ogre imposed as a task.* Jealous rivals suggests to the king to command the hero to steal objects from the ogre.—H1. *Stealing from ogre for revenge.* The hero returns on seven-league boots and gets revenge by stealing objects from the giant.

I. *Objects stolen from giant by trickery.* The hero uses strategy and steals objects from the ogre (usually money, boots, a moon, or a violin).—II. *Hero captured through magic alarm.* The hero is captured because of the alarm raised by a magic object of the ogre's. This incident is usually followed by "F1."

J. *Giant captured by trick.* The hero beguiles the giant into a cage and takes him to the king's court.—J1. *Giant killed by trick.* The hero tricks the giant into killing himself.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French: Perrault, "Le Petit Poucet," (Andrew Lang, ed., Oxford, 1888, p. 60.)

A. *Abandoned children.*

B. *Bread-crumb trail.*

C. *Protection from ogre's wife.*

D. *Fce-fi-fo-fum.*

E1. *Fattening of children for slaughter at wife's suggestion.*

F. *Places changed with ogre's children.* Gold crowns exchanged.

G1. *Ogre pursues children and his seven-league boots are stolen.*

H1. *Stealing from ogre for revenge.*

I. *Objects stolen by trickery.*

All regular.

2. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 76.

A. *Abandoned children.*

B. *Bread-crumb trail.*

C. *Protection from ogre's wife.* She is their aunt.

D. *Fce-fi-fo-fum.*

F. *Places changed with ogre's children.* Brown caps exchanged.

G1. *Ogre pursues heroes and his seven-league boots are stolen.*

H1. *Stealing from ogre for revenge.*

I. *Objects stolen by trickery.* (a) The wife is tricked into giving up all the ogre's money; (b) the hero, masking as a dog, steals the ogre's magic violin.—II. *Hero captured by magic alarm.*

E2 *Hero fattened for slaughter at his own suggestion.*

F1. *Ogre's wife burned in own oven.*

J. *Ogre captured by trick.* The hero tricks the giant into a box and lets him perish there.

[All the incidents of this version are regular except where noted.]

3. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAF, xxix, 70.

H. *Stealing from ogre imposed as task.* An unpromising youngest brother follows his elder brothers to court. They are angry at him, and at their suggestion he is sent by the king to steal objects from a giant.

I. *Objects stolen from ogre by trickery.* (a) Boots are stolen by use of an invisible robe; (b) a moon is stolen by throwing salt into the giant's soup so that his daughter has to leave the room for water and take the moon along to light her way; (c) a violin is stolen by using an invisible robe and a hatchet.—I1. *Hero is captured through magic alarm.*

E2 *Hero fattened for slaughter at his suggestion.*

F1. *Ogre's wife and daughter burned in their own oven.*

J. *Giant captured by trick.* The hero takes an iron chariot with twenty men and entices the giant into the chariot. He carries the giant to the king's court.

The hero succeeds in having his treacherous brothers punished by the king.

4. German: Grimm, No. 70a (Bolte und Polivka, ii, 77).

C. *Protection from ogre's wife.* An abandoned princess finds her way to an ogre's house and is kept by the ogre's wife.

E3. *Keeping of heroine as wife for son.* She keeps the princess so that she may grow up as a wife for her son. The girl, however, falls in love with a prince. The old woman finds them and imprisons them.

F. *Places changed with ogre's son.* The prince and the ogre's son sleep near together. The girl changes the golden crown from the ogre's son's head to the prince's. The ogre is thus tricked into killing his own son.

G. *Hero and heroine escape in ogre's seven-league boots.*—G2. *Transformation flight.* The ogre pursues in a second pair of seven-league boots. The young people have with them a wishing-rod, a

cake, and a bean that answers, "Yes, I am here." By means of the wishing-rod they change their forms and escapes detection. The third time the princess enchants them, she throws the rod so far away that she cannot disenchant herself and the prince. By accident her mother disenchants her.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

5. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 318.

A. *Abandoned children.* Regular.

B. *Phosphorescent dust trail.* The first trail is of string; the second is of a dust that shines day and night, but is brightest at night. The children find their way half the distance to their home, but they go off shooting birds and lose their trail.

C. *Heroes protected by cannibal's wife.* Regular.

D. *Fee-fi-fo-fum.* Regular.

E. *Fattening of heroes for slaughter.* It is the cannibal's own plan.

F. *Places changed with cannibal's children.* Regular.

G2. *Magic flight.* The heroes steal a magic staff, some gold, and the house-key from the cannibal. When he gives chase, they escape over a magic bridge made with his staff.

H. *Stealing from ogre imposed as task.* The boys take service under a difficult master. The elder tells the master that Jack, the younger, has boasted that he can steal from the cannibal.

I. *Objects stolen from ogre by trickery.* (a) He steals a magic bell by causing a deep sleep to come over the cannibal. Then he escapes over a magic bridge.—(b) He steals a magic light by practicing the salt trick (as in No. 3 above).

J. *Giant captured by trick.* The cannibal is enticed into an iron chest and delivered to Jack's master.

6. Thompson River: Teit, MAFLS, vi, No, 38. [A variant of the last tale.]

C. *Protection of heroes by ogre's wife.* Regular.

D. *Fee-fi-fo-fum.* Regular.

F. *Places changed with cannibal's children.* Regular.

G2. *Magic flight.* As in preceding version.

H. *Stealing from ogre imposed as task.* As in preceding ver-

sion. The brothers work for saloon-keepers. A chief orders the brothers to steal the cannibal's fire. The younger brother undertakes the task.

I. *Object stolen from ogre by trickery.* (a) Magic light is stolen by the salt trick (as in Nos. 3 and 5 above); (b) a horse and wagon are stolen.

J. *Ogre's captured by trick.* He is made drunk and captured.

7. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 291.

(A). *Lost children.*

C. *Protection by cannibal's wife.* Regular.

D. *Fec-fi-fo-fum.* "Hum, hum, I smell human flesh."

G2. *Magic flight.* As in last two versions, by means of magic staff which produces magic bridge.

8. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii(7), No. 65.

C. *Protection from ogre's wife and daughters.* The heroes chance upon a cannibal's house and are hidden under the bed.

D. *Fec-fi-fo-fum.*

E3. *Keeping of heroes as husbands for the daughters.*

F. *Places changed with cannibal's daughters.* The boys are put to bed with the daughters. Red caps are put on the boys and white on the girls. The boys change the caps in the night, and the cannibal kills his daughters.

G2. *Magic flight.* The boy escapes with blankets which they throw back when the cannibal pursues. The blankets become a thicket, then fallen timber, then boulders, and finally bushes. The cannibal is thus delayed.

I. *Objects stolen from cannibal.* While the cannibal is sleeping after his pursuit, the boys steal all his magic objects.

9. Shuswap: Teit, *ibid.*, No. 52.

(I;11). The hero comes to steal a cannibal's great light, and is captured by the cannibal's wife.

E1. *Fattening of hero for slaughter at cannibal's wife's suggestion.* The cannibal's wife becomes enamored of the hero and allows him to come out of the cage, where, at her suggestion, he is being fattened.

J. *Cannibal captured by trick.* The hero makes a coffer of iron and entices the cannibal to get into it. He burns the cannibal and steals the light.

10. Ojibwa: Jenks, JAFL, xv, 33.

A. *Deserted children.* Little Bear and her two sisters come to an old woman's house.

F. *Places changed with ogre's children.* The two sisters sleep with the old woman's daughters. During the night Little Bear exchanges the places, and the old woman cuts off the heads of her own daughters. The children escape.

H. *Stealing from ogre as task.* A chief offers his sons as a prize to the girl who will steal certain objects from the old woman. She has stolen the sun and hidden it in her house.

I. *Objects stolen from ogre by trickery.* Little Bear recovers the sun by throwing sugar into the old woman's soup and causing her to go out of the house. [Cf. Nos. 3, 5, and 6.] In the same way she steals the moon. Thus she wins husbands for her sisters.

11. *Heroine captured through alarm.* In trying to capture the chief's horse, which the old woman has, Little Bear neglects to remove one of the bells it has on, and as a result is captured. She soon makes her escape, captures the horse, and receives the chief's son as her husband.

Loathly Lady. Little Bear is so ugly that the chief's son refuses to sleep with her. She asks to be thrown into the fire, and when she emerges, she is a beautiful woman. Then she refuses to sleep with the king's son. [This incident, known as "The Loathly Lady," forms the groundwork of Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale," and is very widely distributed in European folk-lore. For a discussion see Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, *passim*. The disenchantment usually occurs when the husband embraces the lady.]

11. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 224.

Master Thief. For the beginning of the version see p. 427, below.

H. *Stealing from ogre imposed as task.* After the hero has become husband of the princess and the ruler over half of the kingdom, the courtiers become jealous of him and report to the king that he has boasted of his ability to steal a certain wonderful vio-

lin belonging to a giant and his mother. This violin the king orders him to secure on pain of death.

11. *Hero captured through magic alarm.* Mteza, the hero, very easily gets his hands on the violin, but as soon as he has touched it, it begins to play. The giant wakes and captures Mteza.

E2. *Fattening of hero for slaughter at own suggestion.* At Mteza's suggestion, the giant fattens him for slaughter. One day when the giant has decided that Mteza is fat enough, the boy persuades him to invite his friends to a feast.

F1. *Ogre's mother burned in her own oven.* While the cannibal is gone, the mother prepares the oven. Mteza offers to help her and burns her up in the usual manner.

I. *Object stolen from ogre.* Mteza takes the violin and goes back to court with it. It compels all who hear it to dance, and the king and the nobles come dancing down the stairs in their night clothes. [Cf. pp. 370, 415 ff., below.] He makes the king promise that he will be assigned no more tasks.

J. *Giant captured by trickery.* The king later forgets his promise and under the encouragement of the courtiers orders Mteza to fetch the giant to court. The boy asks for a carriage with a spring lock on the door. He beguiles the giant into the carriage and brings him to court. He threatens to open the door, and it is only after they have sworn to leave him in peace for the future that he rolls the carriage into the sea and drowns the giant.

12. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 284.

E. *Fattening of hero for slaughter.* A boy is carried off by a cannibal snake man and fattened for slaughter.

(C). *Advice by old woman watcher.* An old woman advises him to kill her and escape.

G. *Hero escapes in cannibal's magic moccasins.* They carry magically but return and the hero has to resort to—(G1). *Magic flight.* He changes himself to various animals—fish, turtle, etc., to deceive the snake.

J1. *Cannibal killed by trick.* The hero entices the snake into the water and drowns him.

13. Bella Coola: Boas, JE, i(2), 57.

C. *Protection from ogre's wife.* The hero is warned against

the cannibal by the cannibal's wife who has become enamored of the hero.

Eating contest: sham eating. The hero makes the cannibal believe he is eating meat, but instead drops the meat into a bag. [For this incident see Chapter XXI, No. 3.]

J1. *Ogre killed by trick.* On the woman's advice the hero stays awake until after the cannibal is asleep. He then points the cannibal's magic wand at the cannibal and kills him. The hero marries the woman.

14. Mewan: Merriam, *The Dawn of the World*, p. 163.

F1. *Cannibal drowned in own tub.* A cannibal tells a boy whom he has captured to lean over and drink from a tub of blood. The boy asks to be shown how to do it and when the cannibal shows him, he pushes the monster in and drowns him.

[This seems to be borrowed, for the details are exactly the same as in the burning incident.]

15. Uintah Ute: Mason, JAFL, xxiii, 319.

A. *Abandoned child.* The parents of a boy wish to desert him because he eats so much. When he realizes what they are trying to do he consults an old woman.

B. *Grain trail.* She tells him to drop ashes every few steps when they try to abandon him. His father takes him far into the brush, but he finds his way by means of the ashes. The second time he takes corn with him, but when he tries to go back he finds that the birds have eaten it. He finally makes his way to a white man's house, where he takes service.

[It seems reasonable to suppose that this last story is traceable to a Spanish source. The Spanish collections of tales are by no means complete, so that the fact that no Spanish variants are reported in Bolte and Polívka's exhaustive treatment of the story can only be taken to mean that it occurs in none of the inadequate collections of Spanish tales. It occurs in France, Portugal, and Italy and its occurrence in Spain seems most likely. It is, of course, possible that this tribe borrowed the story from English or other peoples, but they have been in contact with the Spanish for several centuries.]

Aside from the last tale cited, the obvious inference to be drawn from a comparison of these Indian versions with the French, especially in view of the fact that contact between the tribes concerned and the French has been continuous for a long time, is that we have direct borrowing either from the actual French or French Canadian versions given, or from similar forms of the tale. The Mewan incident (13) is puzzling, for the California tribes have practically no European elements in their tales.



VI. THE WHITE CAT.

The tale of "The White Cat" has several points in common with that of "Little Poucet." The principal action consists of experiences of the hero at the house of an ogre, where he is helped by the wife or daughter of the ogre. The introduction and the conclusion, however, are so different from the "Little Poucet" as to make it a thoroughly independent tale. For a discussion of its world-wide distribution see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 516.

GENERAL TYPE.

A. *Bankrupt gambler.* The hero gambles with the devil (or a man who is an ogre in disguise) and finally loses his own body. He is to go to the ogre's house and deliver himself up.

B. *Help from old woman.* An old woman directs him on his way and advises him.

C. *Swan-maidens.* The hero sees birds bathing in a lake. They are really transformed women. He steals the clothes of one and thus gains power over her. She agrees to marry him and helps him magically to the house of her father who he finds is the ogre.—

C1. *Pursuit of bird.* The hero in pursuing a beautiful bird comes to the house of an ogre.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero.*

E. *Fec-fi-fo-fum*. The ogre enters and smells fresh meat and discovers the hero.

F. *Attempts to kill hero*. The ogre tries in various ways to kill the hero, who escapes by following the directions of the girl.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter*. The ogre gives the boy impossible tasks (cleaning of "Augean" stable, cutting down forest, building magic bridge, catching magic horse, sorting grain, etc.), which are accomplished through the magic of the ogre's daughter.

H. *Transformation of heroine to animal*. At the girl's request the hero transforms her to a white cat.

I. *Resuscitation*. Following directions, the hero assembles the bones of the slain cat and resuscitates the girl.—I1. *Missing member*. One bone, however, is missing, and this makes a defect in the revived girl.

J. *Choice of wives* ("Three caskets incident"). The ogre gives the hero choice of his three daughters as wives. They look just alike.—J1. *Missing member betrays*. By observing the missing member he chooses the right girl.

K. *Magic flight*. The hero and heroine flee.—K1. *Speaking objects*. They leave behind them objects that talk and thus make the ogre believe they are still present.—K2. *Magic boots*. They steal the ogre's seven-league boots and escape.—K3. *Obstacle flight*. They throw behind them magic objects which become barriers in the way of the pursuer.—K4. *Magic bridge*. They make a magic bridge over which they escape.—K5. *Transformation flight*. They transform themselves in order to escape detection.

L. *Forgotten fiancée*. The hero leaves the heroine to make a visit home. She warns him against kissing anyone at home. His mother kisses him and he magically forgets his fiancée.

M. *Waking from magic forgetfulness*. The hero is finally brought to remember his fiancée by kissing her.—M1. *Speech with magic birds*. The heroine succeeds, by arousing gossip, in attracting the attention of the hero to her magic birds, who tell the story of the adventure with the ogre. The hero recognizes his fiancée and marries her.

LONGER VERSIONS.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 32.

A. *Bankrupt gambler*. A young man has lost all his money

at gambling, and when the devil supplies him with more, he loses that. The boy cannot pay, and in consequence the devil makes him agree to meet him in a year and a day at the Black Forest. The boy wanders about, and after a wearisome journey, comes to the Black Forest.

B. *Help from féé.* Here he meets a féé, who shows him a fountain in which three feathers, a green, a yellow, and a white, are bathing.

C. *Swan-maidens.* He is to try to catch the green feather, to take her clothes from her, and give her a kiss. He accomplishes this, and the green feather—now a girl—tells him that her father is the devil.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero.* When he comes to the house he is to do the exact opposite of the thing the devil asks.

E. *Attempt to kill hero.* By following the girl's instructions, the boy escapes death, and to the devil's chagrin is still alive the next morning.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter.* The devil now tells him that he must cut down the whole forest, chop it into cordwood, and take it to the king's palace. The young man goes forth, and in half a day succeeds in cutting down a very little. Green Feather comes to him at noon, bringing his lunch, and with a movement of her wand she accomplishes the whole task. The next day, he is commanded to build a handsome castle with a beautiful arrow in the front of it.

H. *Transformation of heroine to animal.* Green Feather tells the boy that she is going to change herself into a white cat, and that he is to kill her, boil her skin, and keep her bones in exactly the position they beiong. Inside the body he will find an arrow. He obeys to the letter, and the castle magically arises with the arrow in the front of it.

I. *Resuscitation with missing member.* The girl comes to life, but lacks a little finger, for he has misplaced the bone of this finger.

J. *Choice of wives.* The devil acknowledges that the hero is stronger than he, and brings forth his three daughters, Green Feather, Yellow Feather, and Black Feather, who look exactly alike. If he can choose the one who changes herself into a white cat, he may have her for his wife.

J1. *Missing member betrays*. Because of the missing little finger, he is able to make the right choice.

K. *Flight*. That night, the boy and the girl flee. The boy has been ugly, but when the girl kisses him, he becomes beautiful.

L. *Forgotten fiancée*. She warns him not to kiss anyone when he reaches home, but he forgets the injunction and kisses his old grandmother. Immediately he becomes ugly again. [Cf. New Mexican Spanish: Espinosa, JAFL. xxiv, 402.]

(M). *Disenchantment*. The girl, however, forgives him, and, by kissing him causes him to regain his good looks.

2. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL. xxx, 36.

A. *Bankrupt gambler*. Regular.

B. *Help from old woman*. Regular.

C. *Swan-maidens*. Regular.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero*. Regular.

F. *Attempts to kill hero*. By following the advice of the ogre's daughter the hero escapes safely.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter*. The tasks are to dip water out of a large lake and to build a bridge a thousand leagues long.

K1. *Magic flight leaving speaking objects*. The hero and the heroine are playing cards and leave a magic object that talks and makes her father think they are still playing cards. They escape from the house.—K3. *Obstacle flight*. As the ogre approaches them they throw back objects that become barriers in his way.—K5. *Transformation flight*. The hero and heroine turn themselves into ducks in order to escape detection from the ogre's wife who has given chase.

L. *Forgotten fiancée*. The hero returns home, but is warned by his fiancée not to let anyone kiss him. While he is asleep his godmother kisses him and he forgets all about his adventures.

M1. *Waking from forgetfulness with magic birds*. The hero is to be married and the heroine comes to the wedding. She has some magic birds and when she is told to have them perform, they tell the story of the hero and the heroine. This brings back his memory and they are married and live happily.

3. Menominee; Skinner, JAFI, xxvi, 64.

(F). *Attempts to kill hero.* The story begins with this incident, which belongs in this story, but the details are those that occur in the native Indian tales. [Cf. Lowie, "The Test Theme in American Mythology," JAFI, xxi, 101.]

Fortunatus. The hero comes into possession of self-supplying table cloth and a dance-compelling fiddle, by means of which he gets out of prison and then departs with the jailor's money. [See pp. 364, above and 415, below.]

* * * * *

A. *Bankrupt gambler.* He then gambles with a man and wins the man's services for a year, but he is not satisfied with his good fortune, and when he continues gambling, he finally forfeits his own services to the man for the following year. He asks permission to go and tell his wife before beginning work. When he is ready to enter the man's service, the latter has disappeared, and the hero follows in the direction he has gone.

B. *Help from old woman.* He comes to a great lake where he finds an old woman, who takes him across in her canoe and, as she leaves him, she tells him of Red Cap's four daughters, who come there to swim; three of them are dark, and one is white; they will come in the shape of doves, and he is to hide in the sand so as not to frighten them away.

C. *Swan-maidens.* The hero follows her instructions and steals the white dove's clothes. The other sisters put on their clothes and fly away, leaving White Dove naked. The hero now comes forward and offers her the clothes if she will take him to Red Cap. She dresses and becomes a dove, and the hero makes himself small enough to be carried on her back.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero.* She tells him that her father will ask him to clean up the house, but that she will help him when she brings his meals.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter.* Red Cap gives the hero a shovel, and orders him to clean a barn that has not been cleaned for fifteen years. The hero goes to work, but by noon he has accomplished very little. White Dove brings him his dinner and sits beside him. She offers to louse him, and when he puts his head on her lap he soon falls asleep, only to waken and find the barn clean. This, she tells him, is in payment for his returning the clothes. The next day exactly the same thing happens

in regard to a well that he has been told to dig, and the next day in regard to a farm that he must clear and fence. The fourth day she helps him catch and bridle a magic horse.

J. *Choice of wives.* The girl now tells him that her father will assign him one more task—to choose between four knives that he will take out of a trunk. He is to choose the white-handled one. When he obeys her instructions, he finds that the white-handled knife is really White Dove. She takes the hero back over the ocean as she had promised.

[This story is an excellent example of the amalgamation of an Indian tale with a European story. All the details of the latter are retained, but they are told of a hero who does deeds usual with Indian heroes. The European magic number three has been changed to four—the magic number of most of the Indian tribes. We have here four daughters, and four tasks, instead of the European three. The conventional happy-marriage ending has been lost, and a less sensible one substituted.]

4. Thompson River: Hill-Tout, BAAS, lxix, 540.

B. *Help from old woman.* A young man in his wanderings meets an old woman, so old that trees are growing out of her head, who gives him a magic root that imparts miraculous strength. She also interprets a dream for him and tells him that he is to fall into the power of a shaman. It falls out as the dream has predicted.

G. *Tasks performed by following old woman's advice.* The shaman agrees to teach him the arts of shamanism if he can accomplish the tasks that are assigned to him, but if he cannot perform them, he is to be thrown to certain roaring beasts that are waiting to devour him. The shaman further agrees to give him his daughter as wife if he succeeds in accomplishing the tasks. The first of these is the clearing of a whole field in a day. Following the old woman's advice, the hero asks for a mattock large enough for twelve men. He eats of the magic root and takes care not to eat anything from the table of the shaman. In this way he obtains sufficient strength to perform the task. That night when he is given the choice of the shaman's daughters for his wife, he chooses the youngest.

F. *Attempts to kill hero.* The shaman prepares a pitfall for the hero, but his wife, who really loves him, warns him in time.

She also tells him how to pass the next test, which is to choose her from her mother and sisters.

J. *Choice of wives.* The father will transform them to a speckled trout, all of which look exactly alike. She will let herself be known by jerking her head.

D. *Help from ogre's daughter.* After the youth has successfully picked out his wife, he is given another test—a race with the shaman. The youth seems to be losing the race, but when he looks on his wife he receives magic power to go ahead of the shaman, and the latter is compelled to acknowledge his defeat.

K5. *Transformation flight.* The girl now advises flight, and at night they escape from their father's house. The shaman soon pursues them, but when he approaches them they turn into two trees. He comes to the trees and addresses them, but the trees say that they have seen no one pass. When he goes back home, his wife laughs at the deception. The second time, they turn themselves to an old woman and a man by a hut. The third time, they are ducks in a lake, and the shaman, deciding that they must have drowned themselves, returns home.

L. *Forgotten fiancée.* The young man now leaves his wife in the woods, and goes to prepare his family for her arrival. She has warned him not to kiss them, but he forgets and does kiss them, and loses all memory of her. She waits for him in the woods for a long time, but he does not come.

M. *Waking from forgetfulness with magic birds.* Finally he arranges to marry one of the girls in the village, and all preparations are made for the wedding. The father of the girl plans a grand celebration, and invites everyone who possesses anything curious or wonderful to bring to the feast. The girl in the woods, in the meanwhile, has built a house and made two wonderful magic birds. It is her purpose to draw the attention of the wedding party to these birds. Accordingly, she entices a young man to stay at her house at night, and is apparently about to allow him to come to bed with her, when her birds, which are outside the house, fall off their perch. She tells him to put them back before he returns, but since they are magic birds, they will not stay on their perch, and the young man remains there in his night-clothes until the break of day. Then, at last, he succeeds, but when he returns to her, she coldly repulses him, and sends him home immediately, in order that he may reach there before morning, and

thus avoid gossip. He runs and arrives at home in time, but he cannot keep the secret, and another youth tries it with the same result. Finally the fame of the birds becomes so great that the girl receives a special invitation to bring them to the wedding. When she has them play for the party, the male bird snatches things from the female, whereupon the female upbraids him, and tells the story of his ill-treatment of her (really the story of the hero and the shaman's daughter). Little by little the hero's attention is attracted, and at last he recognizes the girl, and kisses her. The whole past comes back to him; the girl he was to marry releases him, and he and his wife live happily ever after.

[This last incident has been given at such length because it represents so exactly one of the regular endings of the story. The experience of the young men with the birds and the dénouement of the story by means of their conversation is well-known in European tales. For a discussion of the incident and its distribution, see Cesquin, ii, 28.]

5. Shuswap, Teit, JE ii (7), No. 49.

A. *Bankrupt gambler*. A lad is visited by Red Cap, a thunder, who gambles with him and wins everything from him. They finally stake their own bodies, and the lad is successful. Red Cap, however, disappears into the ground.

(B). *Help from eagle*. The lad now starts out to find Red Cap, and, after much wandering, comes to Eagle, who advises him, and carries him on his back. The lad feeds Eagle with the hoofs of the carcasses he is carrying. [Cf. Chapter II, incident 11.] When they have arrived in the vicinity of Red Cap's house, Eagle gives him some advice, and starts him on his way.

C. *Swan-maiden (rationalized)*. He soon sees two girls bathing in a stream, and steals their garters. He agrees to give them back when one of the girls consents to marry him.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero*. She tells him that her father is a cannibal, and that he will give him difficult tasks. In these he will succeed if he will think constantly of her.

E. *Attempts to kill hero*. By following the girl's advice, he passes four tests; he is first shut up in a den of bears, then in a pit of excrement, then in a cave of needles, and lastly in cave of ice.

K. *Flight on magic horses.* The boy and his wife now flee on her father's magic horses who can go like the wind, can walk on ropes and hairs without falling off, and on water without sinking.

K3. *Obstacle flight.* Red Cap pursues them and they throw behind them a red blanket, which becomes a large tract of mud. Later when he approaches them they throw a white blanket which becomes a slippery stretch of alkali land. The other object thrown in this obstacle flight is a black blanket which becomes a thicket of hawthorn bushes.

K4. *Magic bridge.* A hair from the girl's head makes a bridge for them, but breaks as soon as Red Cap steps on it.

[It is worthy of note that the name of the ogre, "Red Cap," is the same in this story as in the Menominee version (No. 3).]

6. Chilcotin: Farrand, JE ii, No. 11.

A young man goes to the sky to obtain the daughter of Thunder as his wife. All young men who have tried this task before have been decoyed into a den of bears and destroyed.

C. *Swan-maidens (rationalized).* The hero comes to a lake where he sees three women bathing, and takes their clothes. They are the daughters of Thunder. When the eldest sister promises to marry him, the man gives them their clothes, and turns his back while they dress.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero.* On the way to Thunder's house his fiancée tells him how to outwit her father.

F. *Attempt to kill hero.* Aided by her instructions, he escapes the bears and performs the tasks imposed upon him.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter.* These tasks are to build a house in a day, and to clean a garden. The hero simply covers up his head and thinks, and when he looks up, the task is performed. As reward for the successful completion of the tasks, he is married to the daughter.

K. *Magic flight.* During their first night together, she proposes that they flee. The hero obtains a large amount of provisions which he compresses magically so that it can be carried with ease.

K5. *Transformation flight.* As soon as they flee, Thunder pursues them, but when he has nearly overtaken them, they turn themselves into ducks and hide under an owl's wing. Thunder

feels all over the owl, but neglects to look under the wing. The father returns home, and his wife, who has seen through the deception, scolds him.

(L. *Forgotten fiancée: confused*). The hero now goes ahead of his bride to prepare his family for their coming, and the girl makes four horses, and furnishes them with accoutrements from her magic roll. When Thunder again pursues, the girl makes a big crack in the ground, and into this he falls.

7. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 289.

A. *Bankrupt gambler*. The hero gambles all his property away, even his wife and children.

B. *Help from women*. He comes to a lodge where some women give him a magic knife and belt. He hears of a girl undergoing puberty rites [Indian element].

K. *Flight*. She elopes with him.—K5. *Transformation flight*. They change their forms in order to elude her father who gives chase. They become (1) an old man and old woman, (2) a young man with a dog by a lodge. The girl's mother knows of the deception.—K4. *Magic bridge*. They make a bridge through virtue of the magic belt; and when the pursuers get to the middle, the bridge is withdrawn and they are drowned. The girl throws down sticks and makes a magic house and magic slaves.

SHORTER VERSIONS.

8. French: Cosquin, No. 9.

C1. *Pursuit of bird*. The hero pursues a beautiful green bird from branch to branch till the night overtakes him. He finally sees a light, and about two o'clock in the morning arrives at the house.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero*. A beautiful girl comes to the door and tells the hero that her father is an ogre: he is away at night, and sleeps in the day. She hides the hero, and he goes to sleep.

E. *Fee-fi-fo-fum*. The next morning when the ogre returns, the first thing he says is, "I smell the flesh of a Christian!" The girl tells him about the young man, and recommends him as a good workman.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by ogre's daughter*. The ogre lets

the boy sleep, and at eight o'clock calls him and tells him that he must untangle a large amount of thread; if he has not finished by noon, he will be eaten. The girl comes to him and performs the task with a movement of her wand, and she helps him in the same way when he is told to catch three magic feathers.

K5. *Transformation flight.* The night after this, the girl proposes to the boy that they flee. They are pursued by the ogre, but when he approaches them, they change into a pear-tree with an old woman gathering pears. When the ogre reaches home his wife tells him of the deception. He is deceived a second time, when they become a hermit and a hermitage. The third time they change themselves into a carp and a river. The ogre dives for the carp and is drowned.

9. Biloxi: Dorsey and Swanton, BBAE, xlvii, 99.

(F). *Attempts to kill hero.* The hero's uncle puts him to some hard tests, hoping to make away with him. By dint of his cleverness the hero succeeds in accomplishing them all: bringing spotted arrow shafts, white turkey feathers, deer sinew, and a young bird for a child to play with. At last he brings an eagle which carries the child up and kills it. The boy is next left on the wrong side of the stream by his uncle. [This "test-theme" is a native element. For its distribution among the Indians see Lowie, "The Test-Theme in North American Mythology," JAF, xxi, 97ff., and Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, RBAE, xxxi, 794ff.]

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero.* The hero arrives at a cannibal's house, where he is entertained by the daughter and hidden.

E. *Fee-fi-fo-fum.* The cannibal woman enters and exclaims, "I smell human flesh." She detects the hero and catches him.

G; (+F). *Tasks performed by cleverness; attempt to kill hero.* She first commands him to catch a certain bird. By magic he catches it and escapes the death she has planned. She next has him race with her, but he throws her into a hole. [Cf. No. 4, above.] He has to catch a deer. To do this he makes a wax man which the deer goes. Last of all, she tries to catch him in a trap, but he tricks her and kills her. [For the trap incident in a European tale see Kritensen, *Jyske Folkeminder*, xii, 85-90; 333-337.]

K. *Flight.* The hero escapes across the water on the back of an alligator.

[This tale has gone a long way toward being amalgamated with native Indian tales. It throws the Indian "son-in-law tests" into such juxtaposition with the analagous European incident as to suggest that that Indian incident may not be thoroughly native.]

10. Ojibwa: Jones, JAFL, xxix, 386.

(B). *Magic help from sister.* When the hero leaves home, he is promised magic help from his sister.

G. *Hero's tasks performed with help of ogre's daughter.* The hero meets a maiden with whom he falls in love. Her father sets him certain tasks before he may wed her: to clear a forest with wooden tools, to dip a pond dry with a broken vessel and a flower cup, to trim the branches of a pine forest with wooden tools. The girl louses him each time, and he finds the work performed by magic.

K1. *Magic flight: speaking objects.* The heroine and the hero flee. They leave behind them some beans that perform so as to make the parents think the young people are present.—K5. *Transformation flight.* When the parents pursue, the fugitives become, in turn, pines, grouse, and ducks.

11. Assiniboine, Lowie, PaAM, iv, Misc. Tales, No. 9.

F. *Attempts to kill hero.* A young man is offered a girl for his wife, but as soon as they are married, the father-in-law begins to plan to put the boy out of the way. He commands the boy to cut down all the trees on a hill.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by aid of grandmother.* This the lad accomplishes through the magic aid of his grandmother. The next task is to eat a whole cow, and he deceives the old man by pretending to eat, but really throwing the meat into a hole. The last task takes the form of a challenge to a shooting match with the father-in-law, and in this contest the boy kills the old man. The mother-in-law is not satisfied yet, and forbids the couple to sleep together.

K5. *Transformation flight.* They, however escape, and when she pursues, they run into a snake hole and turn themselves into chickens, and later into mosquitoes.

12. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii(7), No. 64.

F. *Hero's task performed with help of animals.* Two young

men train in magic so that they may pass successfully the tests imposed by a chief on his sons-in-law. They are assisted by Antelope and Buffalo, who give them swiftness, and by Ant and Duck, who accompany them to the house of the chief. The first of the tests is a running contest with the chief [Cf. Nos. 4 and 9 above], and this the boys win through their fleetness of foot acquired from Antelope and Buffalo. They are next required to sort out a pile of small colored beads, and this task Ant performs for them. [Cf. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i, 238.] The third task is the recovery of a grain of corn from the bottom of a lake. This the boys easily bring up with the help of Duck.

K. *Magic flight*. They now take the chief's daughters and paddle across the lake toward their home, with the chief in pursuit. The boys raise a magic wind which finally capsizes the chief's boat.

13. Micmac: Rand, No. 4.

F; G. *Heroes' tasks performed by magic; attempts to kill heroes*. Two boys perform the tasks set for them by their prospective father-in-law through their magic powers. The tasks are: (1) bringing a dragon's head, (2) coasting down a mountain, (3) running a race with the magician [as in Nos. 4, 9, and 12 above], (4) diving for a very long time.

K. *Magic flight*. As the boys are leaving in their boat with the girls they have won, the father-in-law raises a magic storm, but the boys blow it away by magic and escape.

14. Natchez: Swanton, JAF, xxvi, 204.

Fatal imitation. This part of the tale has much incongruous matter in it, among which is the story of the deception of a man so that he kills his own wife. See Chapter XIX, incident B.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by magic*. The hero falls into the power of certain animals who give him tasks to perform. The first is to cut canes in a snake-infested cane-brake. This he does with the help of a magic ball given him by his lion parents, which kills the snakes. Next he is to bring the beard of a cannibal, and to do this he transforms himself to a granddaddy long-legs.

C. *Swan-maidens*. On his way he sees some girls bathing and takes their clothes, but gives them back when they consent to be his wives.

D. *Ogre's daughters advise hero*. They tell him that their father is a cannibal and will try to kill him, but they agree to help him.

F. *Attempts to kill hero*. By their aid he escapes a pitfall which the father-in-law has laid in the race-course where he and the boys race. They also help him when the father tries to burn him up.

K. *Flight*. In escaping with the girls, he crosses a river on a large snake.

15. Tepecano: Mason, JAFI. xxvii, 174, 207.

A. *Boy given to devil*. The devil acts as a godfather, and the hero, according to agreement, goes to him when he is fifteen.

(G). *Tasks*. The boy is given various tasks but performs them all wrongly.

F. *Attempts to kill hero*. Regular.

D. *Ogre's daughter advises hero*. Regular.

Giant burned in own cauldron. Cf. Chapter V, incident F1.

K3. *Obstacle flight*. Regular. Ashes, salt, pines, and comb become a fog, lake, pine brake, and maguey field.

L. *Forgotten fiancée*. Confused, but unmistakable.

16. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 381.

K. *Flight (elopement)*. A girl runs away with a boy to marry him.—K1. *Speaking object*. She leaves behind a whistle which she has spit upon. It plays, and her escape is not noticed. [The use of spit as the speaking object occurs widely in European tales. See Bolte und Polivka, ii, 527 for a page full of references.]—K5. *Transformation flight*. They turn themselves into stumps, an old man, an old woman, and a dog beside a lodge. They tell the pursuers that they have not seen the daughter.—K4. *Magic bridge*. They make a bridge by means of a magic belt and drown the father.

17. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii(7), No. 51.

(K5) *Transformation to win wife*. The hero dupes a neighboring chief. He first wants to marry the latter's wife, and in order to do this turns himself into a cat so that he is taken into the house by the wife. [Cf. Cosquin, i, 166.]

K. *Flight (elopement)*. While the chief is away, he assumes his own form and persuades the woman to elope with him.—K5. *Transformation flight*. The chief pursues them, but the hero transforms the wife into an old wrinkled woman and makes a magic house by the roadside. The chief inquires if he has seen the wife, and the hero answers "No." The same incident is repeated with the chief's second wife. In this case, the hero becomes a beautiful cock, and is carried into the house by the woman. The hero next steals the chief's horses and causes them to turn into white horses. Their change of color throws the chief off the scent.

18. Assiniboiné: Lowie, PaAM, iv, Misc. Tales, No. 15a. Variant: No. 15b.

K. *Flight (elopement)*. A boy elopes with an old man's wife.—K5. *Transformation flight*. When the husband pursues them, they escape by transforming themselves into grass and a tree. In the variant, they become icicles. The man catches them and strips them, but the hero produces clothes by magic.

19. Micmac: Rand, No. 2.

D. *Ogre's wife helps hero*. The hero is shielded by the wife of a savage chief.

G. *Hero's tasks performed by magic*. He is required to remove a high mountain in one night. This task he accomplishes by means of his magic manitou: sounds of magic laborers are heard at night. Later, in a war with a neighboring tribe, all the enemy are killed by the manitou.

20. Passamaquoddy: Leland, *Algonquin Tales of New England*, p. 227.

K. *Transformation flight*. Wildcat is pursuing Rabbit. Rabbit changes himself into an old man and transforms a tree to a house and when Wildcat comes along he entertains him. Wildcat goes to sleep and wakes up cold in the woods. The second time, Rabbit is a preacher in a church, and Wildcat has the same experience. Rabbit has made the village and the church from some twigs. The third time, Wildcat finds a chief and two daughters in a house. Wildcat sings a song, and finally Rabbit consents to sing if all the guests will close their eyes. He takes this opportunity to give Wildcat a severe wound. The fourth time, Wildcat finds an old man and his daughter, and soon Rabbit, in the guise

of a doctor, comes to heal Wildecat's wounds. By this time, Wildcat suspects that Rabbit is a trickster, and the latter has a hard time to explain the slit in his nose. He finally satisfies the gullible Wildecat, however, and as usual puts him to sleep. The last time Wildecat comes after Rabbit, he finds him on the water in a magic man-of-war. When Wildecat comes near, Rabbit drives him back, and at last escapes from the pursuit of Wildecat.

21. Miemac: Rand, No. 54.

K5. *Transformation flight*. Rabbit, pursued by Otter, changes himself to an old woman, and when Otter comes along he is persuaded to carry in wood for the old woman. The next time Otter chases him Rabbit becomes an Indian chief, and at a feast to which he has invited Otter knocks him senseless. The third deceit shows Rabbit as a sea captain on a man-of-war floating in a lake which was formerly a swamp. He shoots at Otter and causes him to flee.

22. Miemac: Leland, *op. cit.* p. 311.

Joha the Bear. [For the beginning of the story see Chapter II, No. 15.]

L. *Forgotten fiancée*. When the hero leaves his bride and goes home for a visit, she warns him not to allow the dog at the wigwam door to lick his hands. He neglects the warning and forgets his wife.

M. *Waking from magic forgetfulness*. While she is waiting for him in a tree over the water, an old man discovers her by her reflection in the stream, and compels her to marry him. She, however, forces a magic storm so that the old man cannot sleep with her. When she sings a magic song, the hero notices her and remembers.

All the tales given in the foregoing summaries have every indication of being direct borrowings. Of the longer, and of many of the shorter, versions there can be no doubt at all, for though the action of the tale is complex, the Indian versions are true to the European type. A confusing element in the story is the tests the hero is put to by the heroine's father. This is such a usual ele-

ment in native Indian tales that the details belonging to the Indian test-theme are found instead of European incidents. In a few cases it has been quite impossible to decide whether tales including the tests performed with the help of the wife or daughter, followed by an elopement, are native or borrowed. I have included such as seemed to me most likely to be foreign origin. Most of the versions come from French sources, though the Tepecano variant (No. 15) is undoubtedly of Spanish origin.



VII. CINDERELLA

VIII. THE TRUE BRIDE.

The stories of "Cinderella" and of "The True Bride" have so many points in common that it will be convenient to consider them together. The relation of the versions collected among the Indians will be clarified by reference to a general type containing the incidents of both stories.

The best discussion of these stories is found in Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, which is entirely devoted to these and closely related tales. See also Bolte und Polívka, i, 165ff.

GENERAL TYPE EMBRACING BOTH TALES.

CINDERELLA.

A. *Cruel stepmother*. The heroine, though surpassing her stepsisters in beauty and goodness, is cruelly mistreated by her stepmother.

B. *Help of mistreated heroine*. The heroine is helped in her distress—(B1) *by fairy*, (B2) *by magic animals*, (B3) *by ghost or reincarnation of mother*, (B4) *by grandmother*, (B5), *by kind person*.

C. *Success at dance*. Though the heroine is left behind when her sisters go to a dance, she receives beautiful clothes from her helper and goes to the dance, where she wins the heart of the prince.

D. *Tabu broken*. She has been forbidden to remain beyond

midnight. She does so and is compelled to flee from the dance unidentified.

E. *Jealous sisters*. Her sisters are jealous at her success when they discover it, and plot against her.

F. *Slipper test*. The only means the prince has of identifying the girl of the dance is from a slipper that she has let fall in her hurried departure. Cinderella is the only girl in the land whose foot it fits.

G. *Happy marriage with prince*.

THE TRUE BRIDE.

A. *Cruel stepmother*. As above.

H. *Enforced quest*. The stepmother in the hope of getting rid of the heroine sends her on impossible quests.

I. *Kind and unkind*. The heroine meets a person who makes a request with which she graciously complies. As reward she receives the gift of increasing beauty and the power of dropping jewels from her mouth as she talks. In addition, she is able to accomplish the object of her quest. Her stepsisters try the same thing, but their conduct is so ungracious that they are made increasingly ugly and with each word they utter a toad drops from their mouth.

G. *Happy marriage with prince*. A prince observes the heroine and marries her.

J1. *Animal-birth slander*. When the heroine bears her first child, the stepmother succeeds in substituting an animal for it and persuading the husband that the wife has borne the animal. The child is hidden.—J2. *Heroine thrown into water*. The heroine is thrown into a stream to drown.—J3. *Heroine transformed*. The heroine is transformed—usually into a duck or a deer.

K1. *False bride*. The husband is persuaded to marry the ugly sister.—K2. *Substitute bride*. The ugly sister takes the heroine's place without suspicion from the husband.

L1. *Care of abandoned children by animal*. The child (or children) are cared for by a helpful animal, who also assists in disenchanting or resuscitating the mother.—L2. *Enchanted mother suckles children*. The enchanted mother in her animal form (or the ghost of the drowned mother) returns to suckle her child which is in the room with her husband.

M1. *Husband's attention attracted by helpful animal.*—M2. *Husband's attention attracted by returned mother.* The mother returns for three times. On the third occasion the husband sees her and calls her name.

N. *Disenchantment.*

VERSIONS OF "CINDERELLA."

1. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 55.

A. *Cruel stepmother.* Regular.

B1. *Help from fairy.* Regular.

C. *Success at dance.* Regular.

D. *Tabu broken.* She leaves before eleven o'clock the first time, but at a second dance she over-stays the time. In her haste she drops her slipper.

F. *Slipper test.* Regular.

G. *Happy marriage.* Regular.

2. Zuñi: Cushing, *Zuñi Folk Tales*, p. 54; Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 234.

B2. *Help of mistreated heroine by magic animals.* A poor and mistreated girl, who tends turkeys at some distance from the camp, cannot attend the big dance at the camp because she has no clothes fit to wear. The turkeys take pity on her and promise that they will fit her out for the dance if she will be back at a certain hour and if she will not forget her turkeys. They make her a magic gown bedecked with all kinds of jewels.

C. *Success at dance.* When she goes to the dance, all the young men want to dance with her, and the chief's son in particular falls in love with her.

D. *Tabu broken.* She is so entranced with the splendor of the occasion that the hours pass swiftly for her and she forgets her turkeys. At last she remembers them, but it is too late. She rushes back and asks their forgiveness, but her beautiful garments are changed to her old miserable rags.

[It seems most likely that the tale just cited is due to Spanish influence. "Cinderella" exists in all parts of the world, and the lack of published versions should not make us conclude that it is not told among the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Mexico

and Arizona; comparatively few of their tales have been collected, For a version from Chile see Bolte und Polívka, i. 182.]

3. Micmac: Rand, No. 12.

A boy has the power of transforming himself into a moose, and is consequently called Moose. He is invisible to everyone except his sister.

(F) *Marriage test*. He sends word throughout the country that he will marry any girl who can see him. Many girls try without success.

A. *Abused youngest daughter*. Among those who fail are two sisters who, not considering their youngest sister worthy to compete, have left her at home. They have always cuffed her about and ill-treated her until she is dwarfed and ugly.

Mean disguise. The young sister is not discouraged, however, and makes herself a dress of birch-bark and wears ugly moccasins. All who see her make fun of her. [For the mean disguise see Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-79.]

G. *Happy marriage*. When the sister of the boy asks her, "What are my brother's shoulder-straps made of?" the girl replies, "A rainbow." This is conclusive evidence that she really sees the boy. As soon as the hero has married her, she becomes magically beautiful. [Cf. the incident of "The Loathly Lady," p. 363, above.]

[This "Cinderella" story, if it be one, has become greatly corrupted. This is true of many of the Micmac tales. Three centuries of contact with the French have resulted in such amalgamation of the tales as to make them hopelessly confused.]

4. Piegan: Michelson, JAFL, xxix, 409.

Dr. Michelson reports that "Cinderella" is told among the Piegans, and that it has been only recently acquired by them.

VERSIONS OF "THE TRUE BRIDE."

For a discussion of the distribution of "The True Bride," see Bolte und Polívka, i, 99.

5. German: Grimm, No. 13.

A. *Cruel stepmother*. Regular.

H. *Enforced quest.* The stepmother, hoping to make away with the heroine, sends her out into the cold winter snow in a paper dress in search of ripe strawberries.

1. *Kind and unkind.* She finds a little house in the forest which is occupied by three little men. She is gracious to them, and divides her lunch with them. As a reward they direct her to look under the snow at their back door. She does so and finds ripe strawberries. They also wish her increasing beauty, the power of dropping gold from her lips as she talks, and a king as her husband. When her stepmother tries her fortune by visiting the little men, she is ungracious to them. As a reward she is given increasing ugliness, the misfortune of dropping toads from her mouth at each word, and the promise of an unhappy end.

G. *Happy marriage with prince.* The stepmother sends the heroine out into the cold to work. A king rides by and is so taken with the beauty of the heroine that he marries her.

J2. *Heroine thrown into water.* When the heroine bears her first child, the stepmother succeeds in entering the room while the king is absent and throwing her into the stream.—J3. *Heroine transformed.* She is transformed into a duck on the stream.

K2. *Substitute bride.* The ugly stepsister takes the heroine's place in the bed and the king does not know of the change.

L2. *Enchanted mother suckles child.* In the night the duck returns, and in the form of the heroine suckles the child.

M2. *Husband's attention attracted by returned mother.* On the third night the king sees his wife.

N. *Disenchantment.* By following the directions which she has given to the kitchen-boy, the king succeeds in disenchanting her. The stepmother and her daughter are punished.

6. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 54.

A. *Cruel stepmother.* Regular.

H. *Enforced quest.* The heroine is sent to get the water of youth.

I. *Kind and Unkind.* Regular incident with old woman. The heroine drops jewels from her mouth, the sister toads.

G. *Engagement to prince.* The prince sees the heroine and promises to return for her.

K1. *False bride (unsuccessful)*. When the prince returns, the mother places a veil on her own daughter, and tries to pass her off for the heroine, but the frogs dropping from the stepsister's mouth betrays her. The prince marries the heroine, and they live happily.

7. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL. xxix, 301.

A. *Cruel stepmother*. Regular.

H. *Enforced quest*. The heroine is sent after strawberries in snowy winter. [Cf. No. 5, above.]

I. *Kind and unkind*. She finds a house in the forest in which four young men live. She bespeaks them graciously, and they instruct her to scrape snow off the roof of their house. She does so and finds ripe strawberries. The brothers each give her a gift: the power of spitting up gold, a pair of magic shoes, a magic dress, and a robe. The second sister obtains the strawberries, but afterwards, because of her ill-mannered answer, they curse her so that with each word she spits up a foul-smelling toe-nail.

G. *Happy marriage with prince*. As in No. 5, above.

J1. *Animal-birth slander*. When the heroine is about to give birth to her first child, the stepmother attends her and substitutes a cat for the child, saying that the heroine has brought forth a cat. The child is thrown into a hole under the house. The husband accepts the matter philosophically. The next year the same thing happens, and the wife is accused of having borne a snake.—

J2. *Heroine thrown into water*. The husband now has his wife thrown into a lake.—J3. *Heroine transformed*. The four little men who have given her strawberries prevent her from drowning and tell her that her children are living and that all will be well. They transform her into a goose, which swims on the lake.

K1. *False bride*. The prince marries the ugly stepsister.

L1. *Care of abandoned children by animal*. A faithful dog rescues the children when they are thrown under the house and cares for them. One day the stepmother sees the children and when the dog is away poisons them.

Quest for water of life. The dog starts to the sun for help. He runs continually day and night.

Questions for the sun to answer. On the way he passes an old horse, an apple-tree, and a spring. They give him questions to

put to the sun: the horse, why he is growing old; the apple-tree, why it is drying up; and the spring, why it is drying up. After being reduced almost to skin and bones from swimming, the dog reaches the sun and puts his questions. The answer is that all of the questioners are too lazy—the horse, to move about and get food and water; the apple-tree, to take the nail out of its trunk, to trim its branches, and to loosen the ground round its roots; the spring, to keep itself cleaned out.

Resuscitation of the children. The dog, by following the course of the sun, is able to reach the children with the water of life in time to resuscitate them. They come to life, one bearing on his head a sun and the other a moon.

Quest for bird of truth. The dog now goes on a long quest for a bird who knows everything and always speaks the truth. He returns with the bird under his robe.

M1. *Husband's attention attracted by helpful animal.* The king hears a noise under the house and investigates. He finds the children, the dog, and the bird of truth. The dog tells the story. The king investigates and the bird of truth confirms all that the dog has told.

N. *Disenchantment.* The prince shakes the goose until her goose-skin falls off, and thus disenchants the heroine. The step-mother and sister are hanged and the prince and his wife live happily.

[The tale just given is remarkably coherent to be a combination, as it is, of three well-defined tales. Beginning with incident "J," the story is taken in large part from the tale of "The Bird of Truth." The trip to the sun and the questions put to the sun belong to the story of "The Devil with the Three Golden Hairs." The principal points of these stories are as follows:

"The Bird of Truth."—For discussion see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 380. French: Cosquin, No. 17; French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 112, German: Grimm, No. 96. Cf. also No. 11, below.

A. Three girls make boast that if they marry the king they will have triplets with golden hair, a chain around the neck, and a star on the forehead. The king overhears the youngest and marries her.

B. A dog is substituted by the evil sisters for the new-born children and the children are thrown into a stream, where they are rescued by a miller (or a fisher). The wife is thrown into prison.

C. After the children grow up, the eldest boy starts out to find his father. He has adventures, but does not find his father. The second brother goes for his brother but fails to find him. The sister, by the help of an old woman, succeeds in bringing back not only her brothers but also a glass of magic water and the bird of truth.

D. The king meets his son out hunting and discovers the truth about him. This is confirmed by the bird of truth and the wife let out of prison. She is brought back to health by the water of life.

(The French Canadian story omits "C," but has a dog as helper of the imprisoned wife.)

"The Devil with the Three Golden Hairs."—For discussion see Bolte und Polívka, i, 276. Geïman: Grimm, No. 29; Meier, No. 73; Portuguese: Romero, No. 2.

Our tale is nearer to Meier's and Romero's versions than to any others. In these a youth is sent to a dragon or the sun to get a remedy for a sick person. On the way he is asked various questions which he is to find out from the sun. These are about the apple-tree, the spring, and why a ferryman must continue to ferry. At the house of the sun the youth is entertained by the wife of the sun.

It will be seen that our Indiān version begins with the "True Bride"; then with an incident common to the two stories (the quest) it goes over temporarily into "The Devil with the Three Golden Hairs." The story then returns to "The Bird of Truth," which has an ending similar in several respects to that of "The True Bride."]

8. Alabama: Swanton, JAFL, xxvi, 211.

Unpromising heroine. A girl with a chaff head goes out to drive in hogs.

1. *Kind and unkind.* She meets old women and offers them bread. In return for her kindness she is given the power of dropping coins from her lips at each word. Her sister, who has a good head, meets the old women and does not offer them bread. As a punishment she always coughs up frogs.

9. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxvii, 55.

I. *Kind and unkind*. See Chapter XIX, No. 20; XXI, No. 5, and xxii, No. 3 for rest of story.

10. Ojibwa: Skinner, JAFL, xxix, 334.

A. *Cruel stepmother*. Regular. Girl named Cinderella.

B5. *Help of mistreated heroine by young man*. Some peculiar ultra-modern elements: "One young man thought the youngest daughter should go (to the dance). He jumped in his rig and asked her to come along." The young man is a "manitou" and furnishes her magically with clothes.

C. *Success at dance*. The young man falls in love with her at the dance and gives her a magic box which supplies her with clothes.

E. *Jealous sisters*. The sisters are jealous and try in vain to draw the attention of the young man to themselves.

H. *Enforced quest*. They send the heroine out after the water that sings. [Cf. Bolte und Polívka, ii, 380.]

I. *Kind and unkind*. She meets an old woman and answers her questions civilly. She is told how to get the water and is made twice as beautiful as she was. Her sister is impudent to the old woman and is made to have a trailing nose.

B5. *Help of mistreated heroine by young man*. The heroine is sent out into the woods and is rescued by a young man who happens along. Her stepmother succeeds in getting her back home again.

B4. *Help of mistreated heroine by grandmother*. At a second dance the heroine is again left behind. Her grandmother appears to her and helps her find her magic box of clothes.

C. *Success at dance*. The chief's son falls in love with her at the dance.

G. *Happy marriage to prince*. She marries the prince.

J3. *Heroine transformed*. At the birth of her first child, her stepmother transforms her to an elk.

K2. *Substitute bride*. The ugly sister takes the sister's place without the husband's suspecting it.

L2. *Enchanted mother suckles child*. The elk enters at dinner time, day after day, and suckles the child.

Feigned sickness to secure death of magic animal. The false

bride says that she must have elk meat. The husband wounds his elk-wife, but does not kill her. [This is in the French version. Cf. Cosquin, No. 21.]

N. *Disenchantment*. The elk hobbles in and nurses the child. The husband notices the broken leg and takes pity on it. He accidentally removes the pin from her neck and thus disenchants her. The sister and stepmother are hanged and the husband and wife live happily.

F. *Slipper test*. [Added as an afterthought]: "At the last dance the girl lost her shoe and the chief's son found it."

* * * * *

11. Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 200, 210.

This is an almost perfect version of "The Bird of Truth" as outlined in No. 7, above. For a discussion of Spanish American types of this story see Espinosa, JAFL, xxvii, 230.

It is strange that stories which are so detailed and complete as the Thompson River and Ojibwa versions cited in this chapter should be combined in the peculiar way they are. The exact combinations I have not been able to find among European tales, and it seems as if perhaps the amalgamation may have taken place among the Indians themselves. The Tepecano version of "The Bird of Truth" is of Spanish origin.



IX. THE BLUE BAND.

A story that is found only once among the published collections of Indian tales, but which is told by them with remarkable fidelity to the European original, is that of "The Blue Band." The tale occurs in Germany and Scandanavia, but no versions have been reported from France. The Indian version from the Chipewyans of Alberta was collected but recently, and it may have come from Scandinavians, who are settling that country in increasing numbers. Mr. Goddard, the collector, is in-

clined to believe, however, that the story is of French origin. In that case it goes back to a version that has not been collected. Besides the version given below, see German variants in Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern und Rugen*, i, 194; Ey, *Harzmärchenbuch, oder sagen und märchen aus dem Oberharze*, pp. 154-159; Müllenhoff, *Sagen der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lanenberg*, p. 416. For Scandinavian forms see Asbjörnson og Moe, 2d ed., p. 365, and Jakobsen, pp. 374-376.

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. Norwegian: Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (1859), p. 178.

A. *Magic belt*. A woman and her son while walking through the woods see a little blue belt which the boy wants to take along. The mother, however, tells him to leave it, for there is witchcraft in it. After they have gone on a little while, the boy slips back and puts the belt on. Immediately he is so strong that he feels as if he could lift a whole hill. He rejoins his mother, and they go on until nightfall. They seek shelter for the night and see some lights, but the mother is afraid to approach, for she is sure it is the home of Trolls. The fearless boy, however, persuades her to enter the house, where they find a giant.

B. *Treacherous mother*. Although the mother is greatly frightened, the giant persuades her to sleep in his bed. During the night the boy hears the giant and his mother planning to make away with him, so that they may marry. In accordance with this plan the giant begins an active attempt the next day to put the boy out of the way.

C. *Strong hero bluffs giant*. He takes the boy to a quarry. After working a while, he sends the boy down to examine the cracks. He rolls a great boulder down on the boy, who simply puts his hand up and catches it. The boy now comes up and tells the giant that he must go down to see about the cracks. The giant is afraid to disobey, and as soon as he is down below, the boy throws a whole hill-side at him and breaks his hip. He then takes the giant on his back and trots home with him, nearly shaking him to death. [Cf. Chapter XXIII, incident D, below.]

D. *Tasks imposed through feigned sickness.* The troll and the mother soon begin to plan the boy's destruction. The mother shams sickness and says that nothing will cure her except lion's milk. The troll answers that his brother has a garden with twelve lions in it, but that he knows no one who can milk them. The boy takes a pail and by his great strength kills one of the lions, frightens the others, and returns with a single drop of lion's milk. The troll doubts that the boy has really milked the lions. As proof, the boy turns the beasts in on him until he cries for mercy. Soon they again begin to plan his destruction, and by the same ruse send him for some apples that grow in the orchard of the Troll's brother. The apples are of such a nature that as soon as the boy has tasted of them he will sleep for three days, and the brothers will tear him to pieces. When the boy falls asleep, the lions protect him and kill the Trolls.

E. *Rescue of princess.* When the boy awakes, he passes by the window of the Trolls' castle, where a beautiful maiden hails him and tells him of the death of the Trolls. He marries the girl, takes possession of the castle, and lives there until she decides to go to her father, the King of Arabia. The boy then returns to his mother and the troll, and invites them to share his castle.

F. *Secret of strength discovered.* Hardly has the mother started on her way to the castle before she asks the boy what is the source of his strength. He tells her that it is the Blue Belt. When he shows it to her, she snatches it out of his hands and wraps it around her wrist.

G. *Hero blinded.* The wicked couple now blind the helpless boy and set him adrift in a boat.

H. *Helpful animals.* The faithful lions, however, draw the boat to land, obtain meat for the boy, and care for him.

I. *Blindness cured through imitation of animal.* One day the lions see a rabbit cure his blindness by going to certain water. By using the water, they restore the boy's sight.

J. *Belt recovered.* He now goes back to the castle and steals his belt. As soon as he puts it on, he recovers all his strength and puts out the eyes of his mother and the Troll.

K. *Recovery of wife.* The boy soon sets out to find his wife. On the way he has a number of adventures, and when he reaches Arabia he finds that the princess's father has hidden her away and has promised her to the man who can discover her. The boy mas-

querades as a bear and in this guise finds her. Then in his own clothes he enters the contest and discovers her again. They marry the second time and live happily.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

2. Chipewyan: Goddard, PaAM, x(1), No. 13.

A. *Magie belt*. A woman is walking along with her son through the forest. They see a bi-colored ribbon on a tree, but the mother forbids him to take it. He slips back, however, and puts it on. It imparts magic strength to the lad. The mother and boy find a house occupied by two cannibals.

C. *Strong hero bluffs giants*. The boy bluffs the giants and forces them to leave him in peace.

B. *Treacherous mother*. The mother marries one of the giants, and the boy lives in a house near by. The mother and her husband plan to put the boy out of the way.

D. *Tasks imposed through feigned sickness*. The mother feigns sickness and sends the boy for berries which are guarded by a hundred panthers. The boy, however, kills them and secures the berries. On the same pretext, he is next sent for certain waters which are guarded by a very dangerous man. The boy kills the man, gets the water, and enters the man's house.

E. *Rescue of girl*. In the house he rescues a girl whom the man has stolen.

F. *Secret of strength discovered*. The mother again feigns sickness and insists that she know where is the source of the boy's strength. When he tells her, she snatches the ribbon from him and puts it on herself.

G. *Hero blinded*. She receives the supernatural strength, and taking the helpless boy to the woods, blinds him and deserts him.

H1. *Hero helped by chief's cook*. The boy is rescued by the servant of the chief and is cared for by the chief's cook. With the cook he attends a meeting of the suitors for the chief's daughters.

K. *Recovery of wife*. The youngest chooses the hero, and tells him that she is the girl he rescued. Her father gives her money but turns her away from home because she has chosen the blind boy.

I. *Blindness cured through imitation of animals*. One day the girl sees a moose heal his blindness with the water of a certain

stream. This water she applies to the boy's eyes and restores his sight.

J. *Belt recovered.* The next night the hero steals back the belt, receives his strength, and becomes a great chief.

The whole tale corresponds with the Norse version quite as closely as the different European forms resemble one another. It is a good example of borrowing done at a comparatively recent date.



X. TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD.

For a good discussion of the tales of "Truth and Falsehood" summarized below, see Cosquin, i, 87.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French (Brittany): Luzel, *Légendes chrétiennes de Basse-Bretagne*, i, 111.

A. *Dispute as to good and evil.* An older and a younger brother dispute as to which is the better, good or evil.

B. *Hero blinded.* The man to whom they refer the matter decides against the partisan of good. The elder brother deprives his defeated younger brother of his fortune and blinds him.

C. *Secrets learned from tree hiding place.* He wanders about and finally climbs a tree. While he is in the tree, some devils have a meeting place under it and he learns from them secrets: how to cure blindness from the water of a certain river, how to heal a princess, and how to obtain water for a city. For the two latter feats large rewards have been offered.

D. *King's favor gained because of secret knowledge.* The man makes his way to the river and cures his blindness. Then he goes to the city and secures the water supply according to the instructions he has received. Afterwards he heals the princess and becomes king.

E. *Wicked companion tries same method of learning secrets.* One day he sees his brother and tells him his story. The brother,

in his turn, tries to obtain secrets by sitting in the tree, but he is caught and killed by the devils.

2. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 25.

B. *Hero blinded by brother.* The younger brother agrees to be blinded so that they can make their living by begging. The elder abandons him.

C. *Secrets learned from tree hiding place.* As above.

D. *King's favor gained because of secret knowledge.* As above.

E. *Wicked brother tries same method of learning secrets and is punished.* As above.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION

3. Micmac: Rand, No. 14.

A. *Dispute as to good and evil.* Two partners make a wager as to which is the more beautiful, heaven or hell. They leave the decision to the priest, who, in league with the elder partner, decides in favor of hell.

B. *Hero abandoned.* The defeated partner, now destitute on account of his loss, wanders about until he meets an old man to whom he is kind. In return he is helped by the old man.

C. *Secrets learned from tree hiding place.* The hero climbs a tree and while he is aloft some men come under it and talk. They tell how the king can be cured of his blindness by the sweat of a white horse.

D. *King's favor gained because of secret knowledge.* The man now uses this knowledge and restores the sight of the king, for which service he is rewarded with a large fortune. Being a pious man, he spends it all for charity.

E. *Wicked companion tries same method of learning secrets and is punished.* When the wicked partner hears about the fortune, he climbs the same tree, but the men see him and kill him.

4. Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 189, 209.

Falling on robbers. Regular. Cf. Chapter XIX, incident E.

Fatal imitation. See Chapter XIX, No. 4, incident B (i), for exact parallel.

B. *Hero blinded.* Rich man blinds poor man.

- C. *Secrets learned from tree hiding place.*
- D. *King's favor gained because of secret knowledge.*
- E. *Wicked companion tries same method of learning secrets and is punished.*

All regular.

This Micmac tale corresponds with the European version in everything except the blinding. Considering the close contact of the tribe with the French, little doubt can be entertained of its French origin. Likewise the Tepecano version is certainly from a Spanish original.



XI. THE WISHING RING.

The story of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp is the literary form of a widely distributed folk-tale. It has been studied with great thoroughness by Aarne in his *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, pp. 3-82.

GENERAL TYPE.

See Aarne, pp. 38-56.

A. *Magic object received.* The hero receives a magic object (usually a ring or a magic stone) which will perform all the wishes of its owner, from (A1) a man whose son the hero has saved from death, or (A2) a cat and dog which he has rescued.

B. *Magic castle.* The hero builds a magic castle by means of his wishing ring, and marries the king's daughter.

C. *Theft of magic object.* The wishing ring is stolen by (C1) the wife, or (C2) a third person who wants to possess the wife.

D. *Removal of castle.* The castle and the wife are transported to a distant island.

E. *Recovery of object.* The hero recovers the missing ring with the help of (E1) a grateful cat and dog who swim to the island and bring back the ring, or (E2) a magic object by means of which the hero transports himself to the island. [The latter is the usual literary form.]

F. *Restoration of castle.* The castle is restored, the thief punished, and the hero lives happily.

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. French: Sébillot, *Contes des Provinces de France*, p. 15. Cf. also Norwegian: Asbjörnson (1873), No. 63; Tyrol: Schneller, No. 44; French Canadian; Barbeau, *JAFI.*, xxx, 107.

A. *Magic object received.* The three sisters of a fisherman marry the kings of the fishes, birds, and mice. The latter gives the fisherman a snuff-box that complies with every wish.

B. *Magic castle.* Regular. Marriage to princess.

C. *Theft of magic object.* The box is stolen by (C2) a former suitor of the princess, while the hero is hunting.

D. *Removal of castle.* The castle and the princess are removed to a distant place.

E. *Recovery of object.* The hero calls on (E3) the king of the fishes and the king of birds (the eagle) for help. He rides on the back of the eagle to the castle. [Cf. Chapter II, incident 11.] He steals the box while the impostor sleeps.

F. *Restoration of castle.* Regular.

For a large collection of variants from all over the world, see Aarne, pp. 3-38.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Micmac: Rand, No. 2.

A. *Magic object received.* An abused youngest son who has a magic arrow, and thus travels fabulous distances, is kind to an old man. In return the man gives him a box containing a dancing man (or 'manitco'), who will perform all the hero's wishes.

B. *Magic castle.* The hero pays court to the chief's daughter, and by means of his magic man performs the tasks set him by the chief—removing a high mountain and defeating a neighboring tribe in war. He then builds a large castle and marries the chief's daughter.

C2. *Theft of magic object.* A servant steals the box while the master is out hunting.

D. *Removal of castle.* The house and the princess are removed to a distant island.

E2. *Recovery of object.* By means of his magic arrow the hero reaches the island and recovers the box while the impostor is asleep.

F. *Restoration of the castle.* Regular. The impostor is killed and flayed, and a doormat is made of his skin.

Dragon fight. The story ends by the chief's sending of the hero to fight with a dragon. By means of his mannikin the hero kills the dragon, and in this way rids himself of the malignant power of the chief, whose magic came from the dragon.

3. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 229.

Strong John. The story begins with the adventures of Strong John [Chapter XXIII, below]. Finally, out of fear the king allows John to marry the princess.

A. *Magic object received.* John receives from a little man (out of pure generosity, it would seem) a box with a mannikin in it. This mannikin will perform the owner's will.

B. *Magic castle.* He builds a castle across from the king's palace, and he and his wife live in it.

C2. *Theft of magic object.* A giant (whom John has duped earlier in the story) is a servant in the house. He steals the box while John is duck-hunting.

D. *Removal of castle.* The castle is transported to an island in the sea.

E. *Recovery of object.* John finds the old man who has given him the box. The man gives him the power of changing himself into a fox. On the back of an eagle he rides to the island [Cf. No. 1]. Then, turning himself into a fox, he tempts the giant to chase him. As a fox he runs through the house and recovers the box.

F. *Restoration of castle.* Regular.



XII. THE MAGIC APPLES.

This story of the Magic Apples is very closely related to the last tale discussed, "The Wishing Ring," and the one immediately following, "The Magic Bird-heart." In all of them occurs the theft and recovery of the magic object. They are all treated in great detail by Aarne, who cites a large number of versions.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 11. Cf. French: Carnoy, *Littérature orale de la Picardie*, p. 292.

A. *Presents from cat-women.* Three soldiers come to a deserted house in the woods and there find themselves served by mysterious agents. They see cats, and these cats (really enchanted princesses) give the men each a present: to one a self-filling purse, to another a magic traveling-cap, and to the third a whistle which furnishes as many soldiers as the owner desires.

B. *Loss of magic object.* The owner of the purse plays cards with a princess who steals the purse from him.

C. *Transportation to distant place.* By means of the traveling-cap he transports the princess and himself to a distant island.

D. *Escape of princess.* The princess escapes and returns home with the magic object, leaving the hero behind.

E. *Discovery of the apples.* The hero eats an apple which causes horns to grow on his head. Later he finds apples which remove them.

F. *Punishment of the princess.* He makes his way back to court and succeeds in causing the princess to eat one of the apples. Horns grow on her head.

G. *Recovery of the objects.* Posing as a doctor, the hero undertakes to cure her. He demands her confession and recovers the objects as, one by one, the horns fall off.

2. Scotch (Gaelic): Campbell, *Popular Tales from the West Highlands*, No. 10.

A. *Presents from enchanted princesses.* Regular.

B. *Loss of magic object.* Regular.

C. *Transportation to distant place.* Regular.

D. *Escape of princess.* Regular.

E. *Discovery of the apples.* Regular.

F. *Punishment of the princess.* Regular.

G. *Recovery of the object.* Regular.

H. *Marriage to disenchanting princesses.* The three soldiers return and marry the three disenchanting princesses from whom they received the presents.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

3. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxviii. 56.

A. *Presents from cat-women.* Three soldiers come to a deserted house in the woods, where they are mysteriously served. They observe three cats, who become beautiful maidens in the day. The men live with these women and receive from them presents: one a self-supplying table-cloth, another a wallet that is never empty, and the hero a cap that will transport him wherever he wishes to go.

B. *Loss of magic object.* Jack is infatuated with a woman to whom he gives as presents his friends' magic objects. She keeps the objects but refuses to marry him.

C. *Transportation to distant place.* Jack, in pretending to kiss the princess, draws his cap down over their heads and wishes them in America.

D. *Escape of princess.* She is soon able to steal the cap and wish herself and the magic objects back in London.

E. *Discovery of the apples.* Jack finds apples that make a tree grow out of his head, and later some that take the tree off.

F. *Punishment of the princess.* Jack makes his way to London and displays his wonderful apples. The princess buys one, and as soon as she has eaten it a tree grows out of her head.

G. *Recovery of the objects.* Jack poses as a doctor and undertakes to cure her. He tells her that she must confess. She does so and gives up the objects. Jack leaves her to die, without curing her.

H. *Marriage to disenchanted princesses.* The three soldiers return to the cat-women. The latter are disenchanted when Jack kills a large bull and allows the girls to eat of his heart. The soldiers marry the disenchanted girls.



XIII. THE MAGIC BIRD-HEART.

The tale here discussed and that treated in the preceding chapter have many elements in common—especially the stealing of the magic objects and the re-

covery by means of a magic fruit or vegetable. For detailed treatment and variants see Aarne, pp. 143-200.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxx, 98, Cf. French: Scbillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, No. 14; German: Grimm, No. 122.

A. *Bird with writing on wings.* A woodsman brings two birds home to his sons. A prince sees the birds and reads on the wings of one: "Whoever eats my heart shall have a hundred coins under his head each morning." On the other bird's wing is written: "Whoever eats my heart shall become king." The prince promises the boys' mother that if she will cook the two birds for him, he will marry her daughter. The woman does so, but the two boys eat parts of the birds before they are served—one the heart and the other the head.

B. *Help from old couple.* The boys escape and come to the house of an old couple. Here they live as the sons of the old people. Each morning Jean finds a coin under his head.

C. *One brother becomes king.* Pierre wins the princess as his wife by lifting a castle on four golden chains.

D. *Loss of bird-heart.* Jean meets an old woman who poses as his grandmother. She gives him poisoned tea, which causes him to vomit up the bird-heart. Later he secures a magic gun by exchange, but the witch puts him to sleep and steals that.

E. *Transportation to distant place.* She magically transports Jean to a distant place high in the air. By the help of an eagle he reaches the earth once more.

F. *Discovery of magic fruit.* The hero finds an herb that turn him into a mare, and later an apple that restores him to his own form.

G. *Punishment of witch.* He returns to the witch's house and entices her, her servant, and a princess who is with her to eat of the herb and become mares. He forces the witch to vomit up the magic bird's heart.

H. *Happy ending: reunion with brother.* He goes to his brother and invites him to his wedding. When the guests arrive, he disenchantes the princess and the servant. He marries the princess and lives happily.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

2. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, No. 16.

A. *Bird with writing on wings.* Two boys catch a bird and take it home. The boys cannot read the writing that they find on its wings, but their mother informs them that it tells that whoever eats the head will find silver under his pillow and whoever eats the heart of the bird will find gold. In spite of the mother's warning to the contrary, the boys eat the head and the heart of the bird and flee from home.

B. *Help from old man.* The boys find an old man who adopts them and educates them.

C. *One brother marries princess.* The elder brother starts out with the determination to marry a princess. He hears that the princess has gone from her father's house. For the time being he takes up his residence in a house in the woods, where he is so kind to a lion that the lion becomes his helper. The beast tells the man that the princess is in a certain palace guarded by a den of lions. Through the help of the lion he succeeds in passing the lions, but finds that the princess has departed. The boy pursues. He receives from an old woman a potion that causes him to sleep for seven years. When he revives, he finds his clothes in ruins. He gives the woman some of her own potion and kills her. [Cf. No. 1, incident D.] He continues his pursuit, and is helped by an eagle which carries him on its back. [Cf. No. 1, incident E.] Later on in another flight a Thunder Bird takes him to where the princess is. She has married another man, but she kills her husband and marries the hero.

D. *Loss of bird-heart.* One morning the princess sees gold under the pillow of her husband. When he tells her about the properties of the bird-heart, she causes him to vomit it up and later swallows it herself.

E. *Banishment to lonely place.* She orders him sent to a lonely island to starve.

F. *Discovery of magic fruit.* While there he discovers some plums which cause the nose to grow long, and others that restore it to normal size.

G. *Punishment of princess.* He makes his way back to the neighborhood of the princess and sells her the plums. Some of them are poisoned so that she vomits up the bird's heart and the

hero recovers it. At the same time her nose becomes long, and while she is in this predicament he leaves her. [Cf. Chapter XII, incident F.]

H. *Happy ending: reunion with brother.* He volunteers to go to war against a powerful king, but discovers that the king is his brother. They return and live happily together.



XIV. THE MAROONED RESCUER.

The tale here presented has points in common with the Aladdin story (Chapter XI), in which magic objects are stolen by the hero's wife or servant, and with "The Dragon Rescue" (Chapter I), in which a princess is rescued and an impostor attempts to claim the reward. The tale of European origin which most nearly approaches the Indian versions is perhaps the French Canadian variant outlined below. This will be taken as typical of the European form of the story.

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. French Canadian: Morin, JAFI, xxx, 147.

A. *Hero obtains magic objects.* The youngest of the three princes who have gone out on adventures in boats obtains from an old woman a magic self-supplying plate. Later by means of this plate he tricks a giant into trading him a sabre that will cut for seven leagues around. No sooner has he traded than he forces the giant to restore the magic plate. In the same way he trades with another giant for a magic horn that will produce an army of men. [Cf. for the trading, Grimm, No. 54.]

B. *Hero rescues princess.* He finds a castle in which a princess is imprisoned by three giants. By means of his magic army and sabre he rescues the princess.

C. *Witch's victims released.* By means of his magic objects he overcomes the magic of a witch who has enchanted a number of shiploads of people. When he delivers them, he discovers that his two brothers are among the victims.

D. *Hero cast overboard by impostor.* On the way home on board a ship one of the men whom he has rescued becomes jealous of him and casts him overboard.

E. *Hero rescued from island.* The hero swims to an island and by means of his magic objects builds a ship. He has no sails, but the old woman who gave him the magic plate conveys the ship by magic to the country of the princess whom the hero has rescued.

F. *Impostor detected.* The hero goes to the king's court and takes service as a gardener. He attracts the attention of the princess by magically providing roses. An open competition is held for the hand of the princess. When the candidates pass before her, she chooses the hero, much to the discomfiture of the impostor.

G. *Magic castle.* Although the princess is disowned by her father, the hero builds a magic castle and shows his worth in such wise that the king recognizes him as his son-in-law.

H. *Villain nemesis.* He punishes the impostor with death.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Passamaquoddy: Leland, *Algonquin Legends*, p. 227.

B. *Hero rescues chief's daughter.* The hero, with the help of Rabbit, escapes from a giant with the chief's daughter whom the giant is planning to devour the next day. The giant pursues, and Rabbit by magic helps the hero and the heroine. A magic pole is made and the hero and heroine ascend to the top of the mountain. When the giant tries to pursue, the hero pushes over the pole and kills him.

D. *Hero cast overboard by impostor.* The hero and the heroine are married, but they soon fall in with companions who covet the wife. When they are all in a boat, they cast the hero overboard.

E. *Hero escapes from island.* A crow tows the boy to an island. There the boy is hungry, and a fox turns him into a horse so that he may graze and satisfy his hunger. The boy reaches the mainland by swimming and holding to the tail of the helpful fox.

F. *Impostor detected.* The boy reaches the village on the day of the marriage of one of the imposters to the chief's daughter.

H. *Villain nemesis.* By his magic the hero turns the impostors into porcupines and hogs.

G1. *Happy ending.* The hero re-marries the heroine.

3. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii(7), No. 50.

Substituted heart. A chief whose son has tried to seduce his step-mother orders the boy killed. The servants substitute a dog's heart and permit the hero to escape.

A. *Hero obtains magic help.* On his travels the hero meets a man who offers to help him whenever he calls "Friend."

B. *Hero rescues chief's daughter.* He finds a chief whose daughters are being devoured by a cannibal. The next day the chief is to give up his fourth and last daughter. The hero calls on his helper, and from him obtains a knife and a magic picture of a horse that will become a real horse when the picture is thrown on the ground. The hero defeats the cannibal by means of the knife and the horse. [Cf. Chapter I, incident C.] The hero refuses to take the chief's daughter in marriage as a reward, and leaves.

B (repeated). *Hero rescues chief's daughters.* He finds a chief whose two daughters have been stolen. He manages to find them and to take them across a lake in a boat furnished by his helper.

D. *Hero cast overboard by impostors.* On the way they meet some people of whom the girls are suspicious, and as a protection the girls give the hero tokens. The people cast a spell over the hero and steal the girls. They go to the girls' father, but the girls ask for a year [as in No. 1] before they marry the impostors.

E. *Hero rescued from island.* A fox helps the hero from the island where he takes refuge. As in the preceding version, the fox tows the hero to land.

F. *Impostors detected.* The hero hastens to the home of the girls' father and by means of the tokens exposes the impostors.

G1. *Happy ending.* The hero marries one of the girls and gives one of them to his helper.

[This tale, though in some respects told with a native atmosphere, is in others thoroughly European. Carriages, harness, silk handkerchiefs, and all the surroundings of civilization make it incongruous in an Indian surrounding. The collector thinks that it was learned from the Hudson's Bay Company halfbreeds.]

4. Cheyenne: Kroeber, JAFI, xiii, 172.

A. *Hero obtains magic objects.* The hero, having decided to go to help a girl who is to be stolen from the camp, receives a magic book from an old woman. This he exchanges by a trick [as

in Nos. 1 and 6] with a giant for a magic sword. Later he makes a similar exchange with another giant.

B. *Hero rescues princess.* The hero rescues the girl from her doom by killing the old man and woman who have been left to guard her.

C. *Witch's victims resuscitated.* The hero resuscitates all the people who have been destroyed. He boils their skulls and thus brings them back to life.

D. *Hero cast overboard by impostor.* By means of his magic objects the hero provides for himself and the girl. At length her father and her brother, White Man, appear. The brother takes the hero fishing and pushes him overboard.

E. *Impostor detected.* The boy saves himself and later takes part in a contest for the hand of the heroine. The boy keeps tokens of his victory in the contest.

Unknown Knight. The girl recognizes the boy and comes to his tent. When White Man discovers this fact, he and the chief induce the tribe to go to the tent and defile it. When the chief must go to war, the hero asks for a horse. He is given a pig, but by means of his magic objects he provides himself with a white horse and wins the battle because of his gallantry. On the third day his horse is out on the buttock. In order to pose as the hero, White Man also cuts his horse. By means of the tokens, however, the hero exposes the cheat. [This entire incident belongs elsewhere: see Chapter IV, No. 12.]

H. *Villain nemesis.* White Man is thrown into the river and is eaten by fish.

5. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, No. 37.

Falling on Robbers. The hero hides in a tree. Soon a chief and his men camp under it. The hero lets fall a pail, which so frightens the chief that he leaves behind his clothes. The hero masks in the chief's clothes and poses as chief until he is detected. [For this incident, cf. Chapter XIX, incident E.]

A. *Hero obtains magic powers.* Because of his kindness in dividing a carcass for a wolf, a raven, and a spider, the hero obtains the power of transforming himself to any of these animals. [Cf. Chapter I, Nos. 8 and 10.]

B. *Hero rescues chief's daughters.* A chief's daughter is

carried off by a monster. By turning himself into a spider, the hero makes his way to the place where the girls are imprisoned. He kills the monster and rescues the girls. Soon one of the girls dies, and the hero marries the other.

D. *Hero cast overboard by impostors.* By order of the chief, two men cast the hero overboard.

E. *Hero rescued from island.* The hero turns himself into a spider and reaches an island. The raven helps him to the mainland.

F. (*Impostor detected*). The hero reaches the place where his wife lives, on the day when a dancing contest is being held for her hand. He wins the contest and remarries his wife.

H. *Villain nemesis.* He kills the chief who has tried to make way with him.

6. Kickapoo: Jones and Michelson, PAES, ix, 89.

This story begins with the tale of "The Enchanted Horse" [see Chapter IV, No. 11]. The incidents belonging in the present tale are:

A. *Hero obtains magic objects.* From his magic horse the hero obtains a hair that produces magic food. This he exchanges with a man for a cap which produces magic soldiers, and with the soldiers obtains the hair again. [See Nos. 1 and 4.]

F1. *Humble disguise and marriage to princess.* The hero comes to a town and assumes a mean disguise. The mayor's daughter falls in love with him, and marries him, much to her father's displeasure. [See No. 1.]

G. *Magic castle.* Although condemned to death by the mayor if they should return, the boy and the girl take heart. With the help of the magic horse, they build a magic house. The mayor sends soldiers to take possession of the magic food-producing hair, but by virtue of the cap the hero is always able to resist with a larger body of soldiers than the mayor can send.

H. *Villain nemesis.* The hero finally exposes the mayor as a target and causes him to be shot.

[In spite of the Indian atmosphere into which the narrator has thrown this story, it is purely European.]

There can be no reasonable doubt of the French ori-

gin of the last four stories treated (Chapters XI, XII, XIII, and XIV).



XV. THE ANIMAL BROTHERS.

In the Micmac version of the story here treated, a fusion is made of two very closely related European tales. In European tradition they have been often combined. For a discussion of them see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 198, and Tonnelat, *Les contes des freres Grimm*, (1912), p. 37.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. German: Grimm, 82a. [See Bolte und Polívka, ii, 190 for text.]

A. *Spentthrift king sells daughters*. A king spends all his fortune. One day, threatened by a bear, he promises the bear his daughter in marriage in return for safety and a sum of money. The same thing happens with an eagle and a whale.

B. *Animal brothers-in-law*. The animals take off the girls. The bear becomes a prince every seven days, the eagle every seven weeks, and the whale every seven months. A brother of the princesses, born after their leaving, goes in search for them and visits them.

C. *Magic objects from animal brother-in-law*. On leaving his sisters, the boy receives from his bear brother-in-law three hairs, from the eagle three feathers, and from the whale three scales. These he can use to call on them for help.

D. *Defeat of monster with external soul by help of animal brothers-in-law*. The hero finds a castle guarded by a bull. He calls on the bear, who kills the bull. From the bull flies a bird, which the eagle kills. From the bird drops an egg, which falls into the sea. It is recovered by the whale. Inside it is a key to the castle.

E. *Disenchantment of princess and brothers*. The hero enters the castle, where he disenchant a sleeping princess. By the same act he removes the spell from his animal brothers-in-law.

2. German: Grimm, No. 197.

B. *Animal brothers.* An enchantress turns two of her sons into an eagle and a whale. The third son fears the same fate and goes in search of them.

C1. *Magic objects obtained by trickery.* The hero acts as umpire for two giants who are quarreling over a magic hat. He takes the hat and tells them to run a race to where he stands. He uses the hat to wish himself away at the castle of a princess he has heard of.

D. *Defeat of monster with external soul by help of animal brothers.* As in the preceding story. From the ox comes a bird and from the bird an egg. In the egg is a crystal ball.

E. *Disenchantment of princess and brothers.* By means of the ball the hero disenchant a princess in the castle and marries her. He also disenchant his animal brothers and renders his mother harmless.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

3. Micmac: Rand, No. 3.

A. *Spendthrift king sells daughters.* Exactly as in No. 1.

B. *Animal brothers-in-law.* The animals take off the girls. The brother born later goes in search for them.

C1. *Magic objects obtained by trickery.* By a trick [as in No. 2] the hero obtains from three men who are quarrelling over them a coat of invisibility, shoes that carry the wearer like lightning, and a sword that will perform all that the owner desires.

C. *Magic objects obtained from animal brothers-in-law.* As in No. 1. The hero visits his animal brothers-in-law and receives a scale from the whale, a lock of wool from the ram, and a feather from the goose.

D. *Defeat of monster with external soul by help of animal brothers-in-law.* The hero comes to a place where an ogre carries off all the newly-married girls. He marries a princess, and she is soon stolen by the ogre. By putting on his coat of invisibility he finds the stolen women in a cave. He tells his wife to discover from the ogre where he keeps his soul. Following her directions, the hero finds the soul at a particular place in the sea, a chest surrounded by six other chests, each outside the other. He reaches the chest with the help of the whale, opens it with the help of the ram, and catches the soul with the help of the goose. The soul is

finally killed with help of the magic sword. [For this latter incident see Dasent, *Norse Tales*, (1874), p. 59.]

E1. *Restoration of stolen women.* The women are all taken back to their husbands, and the hero and his wife live happily.

There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the Micmac version goes back to a French original in which the same combination of stories occurs.



XVI. MAKING THE PRINCESS LAUGH.

Some versions of "the literal fool" (Chapter XVIII, incident B) end by making the lucky hero win a princess who has been offered to the man who make her laugh. Most often, however, the incident occurs in connection with the story outlined below. For discussion see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 39, and Polívka, *Pahádkostorné studie* (1904), pp. 67-106.

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. German: Grimm, No. 64.

A. *Magic objects from old man as reward of kindness.* A youngest son divides food with an old man whom his brothers have refused to take pity on. [See Chapter VII-VIII, incident I.] In exchange for the kindness, he gives the boy a golden goose that will magically bind whomever the hero desires to have bound.

B. *Magic binding.* At an inn where he lodges the landlord's three daughters, one after the other, try to steal feathers from the golden goose but they stick to the goose and cannot free themselves. The hero takes them with him the next morning and on the way encounters the priest and three peasants who join the crowd and cannot get away.

C. *Making the princess laugh.* Because of the ridiculous plight of the parson, the peasants, and the girls, the hero causes a princess to laugh. She has been offered by her father to the man who can make her laugh.

D. *Final winning of the princess with magic help.* The king

does not want to give the princess to the hero; consequently he demands that he perform certain tasks. These are accomplished with the aid of the old man who gave the magic goose.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Micmac: Rand, No. 6.

A1. *Magic objects obtained by exchange.* An unpromising hero takes a cow to town to sell. On the way he meets a man who asks for the cow. When the boy refuses to give up the cow, the man gives him a magic morsel of food which is inexhaustible and which compels a person to eat until the master orders it to stop. The boy is forced in this way to give up the cow and receives the magic food in exchange. When he returns home, he prevents his mother's punishing him through the power of the magic morsel.

B. *Magic binding.* In the same manner the hero acquires a magic belt that will tighten magically around anything as the hero commands, and a magic fiddle that compels people to dance. He tries these on his mother and forces her to forego punishing him. Later, when the king comes for the rent they compel him to deed them the house they are living in. The hero then leaves home in search of adventures.

C. *Making the princess laugh.* He enters a contest, the end of which is to make a princess laugh three times. This he does by means of his magic objects which, one after the other, he uses on her and her suitors. He calls them off only when she laughs.

D. *Final winning of princess by magic.* The king, being unwilling to give the princess to the hero, throws him into a prison filled with wild beasts. The hero ties them with his magic belt and renders them helpless. When the princess is married to a rival, the hero through the use of his magic fiddle causes a swarm of wasps to attack the bridegroom in the bridal chamber. The princess leaves the groom, and when this same experience occurs to succeeding bridegrooms, the king realizes that he is dealing with a magician and gives the princess to the hero as wife.

3. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 67.

A2. *Magic object obtained from helpful animals.* An unpromising hero is helped by a magic steer. In spite of the unsuccessful attempts of the boy's stepmother to get rid of the steer, the animal and the boy escape. When the steer dies, he tells the boy to take a belt from his back. This the boy uses as a charm.

A1. *Magic object obtained by exchange.* The boy is adopted by an old woman. He defeats a wicked neighbor and wins all his land for the old woman. He takes a cow to town but exchanges it for a magic fiddle and dancing mice. Later he exchanges a cow for a veil by means of which he can magically cut wood. With the veil he makes much money for himself and the old woman.

C. *Making the princess laugh.* By means of the fiddle and the dancing mice he makes a princess laugh and thus wins her as wife.

D. *Final winning of princess by magic.* The hero is thrown into prison with lions, but he subdues them by means of the veil. Finally, the lions roar so much that he is rescued and, after taking revenge on his chief rival, he lives happily with the princess.

4. Maliseet: Meehling, JAFL, xxvi, 219.

A. *Magic objects obtained from old man because of kindness.* A numskull sells for a penny apiece some cows that he is sent to market to dispose of. He then divides the last penny with an old man who gives him a horse whose droppings are of gold.

(B). *Magic objects lost but recovered at an inn.* The hero takes his horse to an inn and boasts of its ability to drop gold. At night the landlady exchanges his horse for another. [Cf. No. 1.] When he returns home and boasts to his mother about the horse, he is chagrined to find that he has only a worthless horse. The old man who has been his benefactor before gives him a magic cudgel, and with this he belabors the landlady until she gives him back the gold-producing horse. [This incident is similar to No. 1 above, but it really belongs to quite another tale. For a discussion of the variants, see Bolte und Polívka, i, 346. For a French Canadian version see Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 93.]

C. *Making the princess laugh.* Having obtained a magic self-moving wagon and a wishing ring from his benefactor, the hero goes to the city. As he rides by the palace, the princess sees him and laughs at his strange wagon. He is angry and wishes her pregnant. When the child is born, it has an apple in its hand. This no one but the father can take from the child's hand, and thus the hero is proclaimed the father of the princess's child.

D. *Final winning of the princess with magic help.* The king will not yet give him the princess, but demands other tests. First

he sends him in a leaky vessel in search for gold. By means of his wishing ring, he turns the ship into a luxurious vessel, on which he goes to a foreign country and receives a shipload of gold. On his return he finds the princess about to be wedded to a rival. When he proves his claim, the king imprisons him. The hero wishes himself a beautiful uniform, and becoming magically fair and strong, kills his rivals and the king, marries the princess, and reigns over the kingdom.

5. Penobscot: Speck, JAFLL, xxvi, 81.

Parricide prophecy. A caribou gives a prophecy that a man will some day kill his father. The man flees the country to avoid the fulfilment of the prophecy. [Cf. the story of Oedipus.]

A. *Magic objects obtained from old man because of kindness.* Exactly as in No. 4.

B. *Magic objects lost and recovered at an inn.* As in No. 4.

C. *Making the princess laugh.* Exactly as in No. 4.

D. *Final winning of princess with magic help.* Exactly as in No. 4.

Parricide prophecy fulfilled. In spite of the hero's precaution, he does finally kill his father. These incidents, which occur in Maliseet tales as well, do not rightly belong to this story.

The two last tales cited have obscured the incident of making the princess laugh, but the sequence of events makes it quite certain that we have here the same story as the German tale given as No. 1. It is likely that French Canadian variants which have not been collected account for the divergence of all the Indian tales from the European types.



XVII. OUT-RIDDLING THE PRINCESS.

The American Indian version of the tale of "Out-riddling the Princess" preserves incidents from several European types. It is probably derived from an unpub-

lished French Canadian version. For a discussion of the tale see Bolte und Polívka, i, 192.

EUROPEAN TYPES.

1. German: Grimm, No. 22.

A. *Princess offered to propounder of riddle.* A princess is offered in marriage to the youth who can propose a riddle which she cannot solve.

B. *Accidental clues furnished hero on way to princess.* On the way to the contest the hero is given a clue. He sees a horse poisoned and then eaten by a raven who in turn falls dead. The ravens are then eaten by twelve men who die of the poison.

C. *Princess won by riddle.* The hero propounds the riddle: "One killed none, and yet killed twelve."

D. *Outwitting the princess.* The princess tries to find the answer by visiting him at night and learning it from his dreams. He is, however, aware of her visit, keeps a token, and proves that she has visited him.

Variants:

A1. *Hero obtains magic objects.* The hero obtains a food-supplying cloth, an inexhaustible purse, and a fiddle that compels people to dance. [See Bolte und Polívka, i, 192.]

B1. *Accidental clues found.* The hero picks up objects while on his way to the princess—usually an egg and other things. [See next incident.]

C. *Princess won by riddle.* The hero asks the princess why her mouth is so red. She replies that there is a fire in it. He then tells her to cook the egg with it. She continues thus and he answers each time by producing one of the objects he has brought. The answers are usually indecent. [For many variants see Bolte und Polívka, i, 201.]

D1. *Magic objects help hero from prison.* The hero is treacherously imprisoned and escapes from prison by means of his magic table-cloth, purse, and fiddle. [See next incident.]

D. *Outwitting the princess.* The hero gets the princess into his power through the magic of the fiddle. She obtains release only by promising to answer all the hero's questions by "No." That night by means of this strategem he gains access to her bed

and later marries her. [See Bolte und Polivka, i. 192 for many variants of the last two incidents.]

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

2. Ojibwa: Skinner. JAFI, xxix, 337.

A. *Princess offered to propounder of riddle.* A princess is offered in marriage to a man who can propose a riddle which she cannot solve.

A1. *Hero obtains magic objects.* An abused youngest son follows his brothers and their friends who are going to enter the contest for the princess. He has a good time while his brothers are trying in vain to think of riddles. On the way he receives three magic objects: a food-producing cloth, an inexhaustible flask, and a fiddle which compels people to dance.

B1. *Accidental clues found.* On the way the hero picks up an egg and a door-latch. He eases himself and takes his faeces along. By means of these he confounds the princess. [The jests are confused and indecent, but they are remarkably close to the European originals.]

D1. *Magic objects help hero from prison.* The princess refuses to marry him and sends him to prison. He feeds the inmates from his magic cloth and flask, and makes them dance by means of his fiddle.

D. *Outwitting the princess.* The princess wants the magic objects, but he refuses to sell them. He lets her have them only if she will do three things: sit in his presence for five minutes in her night clothes, permit him to sleep outside her door, and answer "No" to all his questions. By asking appropriate questions he gains admittance to her bed, and the next day marries her.



XVIII. JACK THE NUMSKULL.

The stories of numskulls in European folk-lore usually center about the literal following of instructions in some foolish manner, the foolish giving away of goods out of pity, and foolish adventures with inanimate objects. These incidents appear in any number of orders

and combinations. Unlike the usual folk-tale, there is no well-defined line of action, and for this reason it is for the originals of separate incidents that we must look, rather than for originals of any particular combination. In many European tales these numskull incidents are followed by adventures of a clever hero, such as are found in the next chapter of this paper. This type is represented in Europe by Zingerle, No. 24, and among the Indians by Rand, No. 57. Only incidents found among the Indians will be considered in the following comparisons.

EUROPEAN TYPES.

1. German: Grimm, No. 59.
2. English: Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, p. 152.
3. German: Zingerle, No. 24.

A. *Mr. Long-Winter*. The fool is instructed to keep the bacon for the long winter. He talks this about to his neighbors. Finally a man appears who poses as Mr. Long-Winter, and the fool gives the bacon away to him. [See Bolte und Polívka, i, 521, 526 for variants.]

B. *Literal fool*. Jack works for a farmer from whom he receives a penny as payment. On his home he loses the penny. "You stupid boy," says the mother, "you should have put it in your pocket." "I'll do so another time," replies Jack. The next day he receives a jar of milk for his work and straightway puts it in his pocket. By this process of strict obedience Jack carries cream cheese on his head, loses part, and gets the rest matted in his hair; he carries a cat on his head and is scratched; he trails a shoulder of mutton along in the dirt; and finally carries a donkey home on his shoulders. [Jacobs. Cf. Grimm and Zingerle.]

C. *Sympathetic fool*. The fool sees the ground cracked from drought and fills the holes up with butter in order to heal them. [Grimm.]

D. *Race with pot*. The fool challenges a three-legged pot to race with him. In his anger he finally breaks off all the legs of the pot. [For variants see Bolte und Polívka, i, 521, note.]

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

4. Micmac: Rand, No. 57.

A. *Mr. Longdays*. The youngest of three brothers, a numskull, is left at home to care for the house. One day when the brothers leave him to be gone on a long journey, they tell him to keep the pig for the long days. He tells this to all the neighbors, and soon "Mr. Longdays" appears and claims the pig. [For a related incident in which a girl marries "Mr. Wisdom" see Chapter XX, No. 7.]

B. *Literal fool*. At another time his brothers send him to bring home a horse. He takes the bridle off before he reaches home and tells the horse to go up to the house. When the horse runs away, his brothers scold him and say that he should have ridden the horse down the lane. The boy promises to do better next time. By this process of literal obedience he rides an old woman down the lane and tries to kiss a pig.

C. *Sympathetic fool*. The hero goes for lard, and seeing how cracked and hard the ground is, oils it with the lard. In the same way he fills up holes in the stubble with the needles for which he has been sent. With the red flannel that he brings from market he clothes the crosses in the graveyard, which he thinks must be cold.

B. *Literal fool*. When he is told to wash the mother's face, he does it as he would wash clothes: he puts her face in boiling water and kills her.

Clever fool. For rest of story see Chapter XIX, No. 3.

5. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii(7), No. 63.

C. *Sympathetic fool*. The hero is sent to buy needles and on his way home sees women who he thinks have use for them and gives all his away. At this his father is very angry. He is next sent to buy fat, and he fills cracks in dry plants.

D. *Race with pot*. When sent to buy a pot, he buys one with four legs. When he tries to race with the pot and can get no response, he breaks off the legs one after the other. His father is so angry that the boy is forced to leave home.

Dragon Rescue. For the rest of the story see Chapter I, No. 19.

6. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 315.

D. *Race with pot*. Exactly as in last story.

7. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 315.

C. *Sympathetic fool*. Jack sees the cracks in a dry puddle and fills them with lard so as to cure them.

The numskull stories given here were probably derived from French sources, like other tales told by the Micmac and Thompson River tribes.



XIX. JACK THE TRICKSTER.

The incidents in this and the next two stories to be considered (Chapters XX and XXI) are often interchanged. The first four incidents as they come in the French Canadian version of the present tale usually appear in the order given. The rest have no well-established succession. References for each of the incidents will be found after the description of it in the type given below.

GENERAL TYPE.

A. *Sale of worthless objects*. The hero sells worthless objects by making the buyer believe they have magic properties. [See Bolte und Polívka, ii, 10; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii, 229; Espinosa, JAFL, xxvii, 221.]

B. *Fatal imitation*. The hero places a bag of blood at the throat of his grandmother. He pretends to kill her and then revive her with a magic wand. He sells the pseudo-magic wand to a man who tries it on his wife with fatal results. [Same references as for A.]

C. *Substitute for execution*. The hero is condemned to be thrown into the sea in a bag. As his executioners approach the sea, they leave him for a moment. He calls out continually that he doesn't want to go to heaven, and a peasant who investigates is persuaded to take his place in the bag so that he may go to heaven. [Same references as for A. See also: Dähnhardt, *Natur-sagen*, iv, 26; Cape Verde Islands: Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 236; Bahama Islands: Cleare, JAFL, xxx, 229.]

D. *Diving for cattle.* The hero, with the flock of sheep he has acquired from the shepherd he has duped, meets the man who has had him condemned. Naturally surprised to see the drowned man, he asks where the sheep came from. The hero replies that he got them from the bottom of the sea after he was thrown in. If he had gone on a little farther, however, he would have found a drove of cattle. The man dives for the cattle and is drowned. [Same references as for A.]

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E. *Falling on robbers.* The hero takes a house-door up into a tree. While he is there, some robbers come and count their money under the tree. The hero lets the door fall, and the robbers flee, to the great enrichment of the hero. [See Bolte und Polívka, i, 522.]

F. *The exchanged corpse.* The hero, who has killed a person, sets the corpse up in such a manner that it is knocked over by another, who is thereupon accused of the murder. [See Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii, 242; Montaignon-Raynaud, v, 115, 215, vi, 117; Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, i, 65.]

G. *Tails in mud.* The hero kills and sells pigs and leaves their tails sticking in the mud. The owner, when he tries to pull the tails up and finds that they come up easily, is convinced that the pigs have escaped underground. [See Cosquin, i, 50.]

H. *Misreported order.* The hero is sent as the bearer of an order concerning himself. He misrepresents the order so that he is given many desirable things. [See Bolte und Polívka, i, 286; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii, 458.]

I. *Holding up the rock.* The hero puts his shoulder under a great rock and pretends to be holding it up. He persuades a man to take his place, and meanwhile runs off with the dupe's goods. [See Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 237, xxxi, 229 for variants. It is known in Spanish America. For Cape Verde Island version, see JAFL, xxx, 235; for Mexican, see Boas, JAFL, xxv, 206, 237.]

J. *Holding down the hat.* The hero steals a man's hat by telling him that he has a valuable bird under the hat that he is holding down on the ground. The man consents to hold the hat down while the hero goes after a cage. The man lends the hero his good hat and the hero goes off with it. [Mr. Teit says that he has heard this tale in Europe.—JAFL, xxix, 314.]

K. *The defiler rewarded.* The hero defiles a church, and then

collects a reward for cleaning it. [Mr. Teit has heard this tale among the whites of British Columbia.—JAFL, xxix, 315.]

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 99.

A. *Sale of worthless objects.* The hero makes the curé believe that he is making soup boil by waving a wand over it. He sells the wand to the curé for a good price. When the curé finds that it will not work, he is angry and goes after the rascal.

B. *Fatal imitation.* When the curé returns in anger, he finds the hero killing his mother. By means of the bag of blood which he has placed at her neck, that makes it appear that she has been killed. Then he blows a whistle and she comes to life. The curé, thinking that she has really been resuscitated by means of the whistle, pays the hero a good price for it. The curé kills his servant only to find that the whistle will not work.

C. *Substitute for execution.* The hero is condemned to be thrown into the sea and is carried in a sack. He cries out "I don't want to go there!" and when his guards go into a tavern to drink, a poor man comes and asks him what is the matter. He tells the men that they are trying to make him sleep with the princess, but that he will not consent. The poor man exchanges places with him and is thrown into the sea.

D. *Diving for horses.* The next day the curé is surprised to see the hero driving a drove of cattle. The rascal tells the curé that he got them from the bottom of the sea, and that if the guards had only thrown him a little farther, he would have fallen into a fine drove of horses. The curé dives after the horses and is drowned.

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2. French: Cosquin, No. 20.

B. *Fatal imitation.* Regular.

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular.

D. *Diving for cattle.* Regular.

For other European versions see references after each of the incidents of the general type.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

3. Micmac: Rand, No. 57.

Numskull. See Chapter XVIII, No. 4, for the beginning of this tale.

F. *The exchanged corpse.* The hero, who has killed his mother by putting her face in boiling water, places the corpse against the door and calls the priest, who knocks the corpse over and is accused of the murder.

G. *Tails in mud.* He cuts the tails off the pigs which he steals from his brothers. He sticks the tails in a quagmire and tells the brothers that the pigs have escaped and sunk. When the tails come loose, the brothers suppose the pigs have escaped underground.

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular. The hero tells the dupe that he is going with his brothers in search of treasure and that he is here to be concealed.

E. *Falling on robbers.* Regular. After the robbers have fled and left the money, the hero obtains more money by throwing a baby's corpse among them while they are counting their money. They flee and leave their money for him.

4. Maliseet: Speck, JAFL, xxx, 483, No. 8.

E. *Falling on robbers.* Regular incident.

B. *Fatal imitation:* (i) The hero takes the money he has got from the robbers and lets the king see him sweeping it out. He tells the king that he got it by selling hog skins at the rate of a dollar for each bristle. The king kills all his hogs in the hope of getting the same price. [For this incident see Cosquin, No. 20 and Bolte und Polívka, ii, 1] (ii) The hero fills a bladder with blood and ties it around his wife's neck. When the king comes to have him killed, he seems to quarrel with his wife and stab her. She "bleeds," and he drags her into the next room. She soon comes out, but she is much subdued. This seems a good way to the king to obtain obedience and he tries it on his wife with fatal results.

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular. The hero says he is going to heaven.

D. *Diving for cattle.* Regular.

5. Ojibwa: Skinner, JAFL, xxix, 336.

A. *Sale of worthless objects.* The hero sells a stuffed cow-skin as a cow and buckets of dung for syrup.

B. *Fatal imitation.* He pretends to stab his mother and revive her by means of a whistle. The king tries it with his own wife.

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular. Hero says he is going to heaven.

D. *Diving for cattle.* Regular.

6. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 69.

Numskull. The hero hits the head of a sleeping child instead of a mosquito and kills the child. His mother sends him away.

E. *Falling on robbers.* When at night he hides in a tree, thieves sit under him. He falls among them and is mistaken for the devil, and the thieves run away and abandon their gold.

Master thief. The hero in order to be believed is put through several tests. [For these see Chapter XX, No. 6.]

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular. The hero says he is going to the land of bliss.

7. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 316.

Master thief. [See Chapter XX, No. 5]

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular.

D. *Diving for cattle.* Regular.

8. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, No. 37.

E. *Falling on robbers.* Regular.

Marooned rescuer. [See Chapter XIV, No. 5]

9. Dakota: Riggs, CNAE, ix, 127.

Master thief. The story starts with the regular tale of the "Master thief." [See Chapter XX, No. 4.]

B. *Fatal imitation.* Regular. The dupe kills his wife.

C. *Substitute for execution.* Regular. The hero says they are trying to make him live with the chief's daughter.

D. *Diving for cattle.* Regular.

10. Zuñi: Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 216, 219.

B. *Fatal imitation.* Snow-birds make Coyote believe that they fly by virtue of carrying their grandmothers' heads on their backs. He kills his grandmother in order to get this power, but when he tries to fly he fails.

11. Creek: Speck, p. 150.—12. Yuchi: Speck, UPenn, i, No. 19.—13. Jicarilla Apache: Russell, JAFL, xi, 267.—14. Alabama: Swanton, JAFL, xxvi, 213.—15. Pochulta: Boas, JAFL, xxv, 204.—16. Chalina: Boas, JAFL, xxv, 235.—17. Astec: Mechling, JAFL, xxix, 549.—18. Tuxtapec: Mechling, JAFL, xxix, 553.

C. *Substitute for execution.* These stories all belong to either the Spanish American or negro cycle of tales. The incident is related of coyote (or another member of the animal cycle). He is in a bag and persuades the other animal to take his place. He usually says that he is in the bag being carried to marry a pretty girl. All the tales cited are unmistakable borrowings of this incident. See Boas, "Notes on Mexican Folk-lore," JAFL, xxv, 204, ff.

19. Hitchiti: Swanton, JAFL, xxvi, 215.

G. *Tails in mud.* Rabbit, who lusts after two sisters, makes their father believe that he is rescuing some hogs from the mire. The father holds the tails (which are only stuck in the ground) while Rabbit goes to the house to get a shovel and a hoe.

H. *Misreported order.* Rabbit tells the girls that their father sent him to the house to have intercourse with them. When they refuse to believe him, he calls back to their father, "Did you say both?" "Yes, I said both!" the old man answers with impatience. The daughters are thoroughly convinced and obey. [The collector says that this story is current in South America.]

20. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxviii, 55.

Kind and unkind. [See Chapter VII-VIII; No. 9.]

Anger bargain. [See Chapter XXII, No. 3.]

Lucky Eoaster. [See Chapter XXI, No. 5.]

G. *Tails in mud.* Jack cuts off the noses and ears of the king's swine and sticks them in the mud. He gets help from the king, who pulls so hard that he falls back in the mud and ruins his clothes. He sends Jack to the house to get clothes from the queen.

H. *Misreported order.* Jack tells the queen that he has been ordered to come and have intercourse with her. She calls to the king and asks if what Jack says is true. "Yes, and be quick about it," he replies. When he returns to the house he is so angry that

he breaks his "anger bargain" and lets Jack cut four inches of skin from his back.

21. Wichita: Dorsey, CI, xxi, No. 54.

H. *Misreported order*. Coyote sends Turkey home with orders to Coyote's wife to kill Turkey and save Coyote a wing. Turkey tells the woman that Coyote has sent him to have intercourse with her. She obeys.

22. Pima: Neff, JAFL, xxv, 55.

H. *Misreported order*. [Variant of last.] Turkey tells her that Coyote has instructed her to cook some old shoes.

23. Jicarilla Apache: Goddard, PaAM, viii, No. 38.

H. *Misreported order*. [Variant of last two.] He orders her to kill and eat Coyote's youngest child.

24. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 313.

I. *Holding up the rock*. Jack sees the priest coming on horseback. He places his back against a huge boulder and pretends to be holding it up. He groans and asks the priest for help, telling the priest that if the rock should fall it would kill many people below. The priest takes Jack's place, and Jack takes the priest's horse, telling him that he is going to get a block of wood to place under the boulder. Jack takes the horse and wins a race with it. Then he gambles with the money and at last sells the horse. The priest finally grows tired and runs to the side. He finds the boulder stable.

25. Hopi: Voth, FM, viii, No. 79.

I. *Holding up the rock*. Coyote sees Grasshopper lying with his feet against the house. Grasshopper tells him that he is afraid the house will fall over, and Coyote volunteers to hold it up for a while. Grasshopper jumps up and leaves, and after a time Coyote finds that the house stands very well, and that Grasshopper has played a joke on him.

26. Pueblo: Lummis, *Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories*, p. 227.—27. Tuxtepec: Mechling, JAFL, xxix, 553.—28. Pochulta (Zapotecan): Boas, JAFL, xxv, 204, (cf. p. 250, note 5).—29. Zuñi: Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 229.—30. Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 135, 204.

I. *Holding up the rock.* This story is told in the coyote cycle of stories cited above. They are all like 24 and 25 above.

31. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 314.

J. *Holding down the hat.* [As in the general type above.]

32. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 315.

K. *The defiler rewarded.* Jack eases himself in a new church. The priests cannot tell how to get rid of the smell and finally decide to remove the church. They offer a reward which Jack wins by removing the defilement.

33. Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 168.

A. *Salvage of worthless objects.*

J. *Holding down the hat.*

C. *Substitute for execution.*

D. *Diving for goats.* All regular.

We have in these trickster tales undoubtedly borrowing from the French in Canada and the North, from the Spanish in the Southwest, and from the negroes in the Southeast.



XX. THE MASTER THIEF.

The widespread European tale of the Master Thief resembles some of the native Indian motives to such an extent that there has undoubtedly been amalgamation, as in the Chitimacha tale below. There are, however, several good versions of the European tale that show no influence of the native myths. For the European distribution of the story see Cosquin, ii, 274.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 70. [Cf. New Mexican Spanish: Espinosa, JAFL, xxiv, 411.]

A. *Youngest son robber.* Three brothers go out to make their way in the world and the youngest becomes a robber.

B. *Boastful parent*. He returns home and tries to keep the secret of his profession, but his mother tells a neighbor and the king hears of it.

C. *Stealing horses from stable*. He commands the boy to steal his horse, which is guarded in the stable by twelve men. The boy enters the stable dressed as a friar, makes the guards drunk, and steals the horse. One of the guards he leaves suspended by ropes from the top of the stable.

D. *Stealing cows from herdsman*. The next task is to steal six cows that are being driven by twelve men. The boy goes in front of the men and feigns to be hunting a rabbit. The drivers, becoming interested, leave the cows and join in the chase, while the boy makes a detour and steals the cows.

E. *Frightening priest to death*. The boy is commanded to frighten the priest to death. This he does by enticing the priest into a sack so that he may be taken to paradise. The priest is dragged about and left in a ridiculous situation in a chicken-house, and from the effects of the exposure dies in a few days.

2. German: Grimm, No. 192.

B1. *Boastful thief*. The thief himself boasts to the earl that he is a master thief. The earl tests his skill.

C. *Stealing horse from stable*. As in preceding tale.

F. *Stealing sheet from bed*. The thief waits till the earl and his wife are in bed. Then he takes a corpse from the gallows and raises it to the earl's window. The earl shoots the corpse, which falls. He follows it out the window, and soon the thief enters and tells the lady that he has killed the intruder and needs the sheet to wrap him for burial. Thinking her husband is speaking, she gives the sheet to the thief.

F1. *Stealing ring from hand*. The lady is then persuaded to give up the ring that is on her hand, so that the thief may be buried in it. Soon the earl himself comes back, and they know that they have been duped.

E1. *Stealing priest from church*. As in preceding story, except that the priest does not die.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

3. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFI, xxvi, 224.

Impudent fool. Mteza, the son of a poor man, takes service

with a king. Having offended the king, he is exiled. He returns with a piece of sod, on which he stands. "Did I not tell you that you would be executed if you ever set foot on my land?" demands the king. "King," says Mteza, "I am not on your land, but in that of another king." The king dismisses him, telling him that he does not want to see his face again. Nevertheless Mteza returns and enters the presence chamber with his back toward the king. The king says, "Did I not tell you I did not want to see your face again?" Mteza replies, "That's not my face; that's my rump." [For this incident see: Bobertag, *Küchners Deutsche Literatur*, xxv, 9; W. Uhl, *Murners Gauschmatt*, p. 268.] At the king's advice, the boy's father sends him to sea with the pirates. The first place they rob is the king's castle. Mteza is sent down the chimney to rob, and after he has sent up all the booty he is deserted. By masking in a cow's hide he frightens the king so that he is let out of the castle. Later he frightens the pirates away from their treasure and keeps it himself. [Cf. with this last incident Chapter XIX, incident E.) The king gives Mteza tests of his ability to rob.

C1. *Stealing horse from plowman.* Mteza is ordered to steal a horse from a plowman. When the plowman is off his guard, Mteza lets a rabbit loose in front of him, and when the plowman chases the rabbit, Mteza steals the horse.

C. *Stealing horse from stable.* Exactly as in Nos. 1 and 2.

F. *Stealing sheet from bed.* Exactly as in No. 2.

G. *Sleeping with princess.* The king gives Mteza the task of gaining access to the princess's bed. Though the room is guarded by many soldiers, he accomplishes his purpose by having a large hollow golden calf made. This the princess takes a fancy to and takes to her room. Mteza is concealed inside. He receives the princess as wife. [I have found no exact parallel in folk-tales to the last incident, but it has obvious resemblance to the Trojan Horse and to the entrance of Iachimo into Imogen's chamber in Cymbeline. For a French Canadian parallel to the latter story see Barbeau, JAF, xxx, 117.]

[For the rest of the story see Chapter V, No. 11.]

4. Dakota: Riggs, CNAE, ix, 127.

B. *Boastful parent.* A boy tells his mother that he wants to be a robber. He finally gains her consent and steals until the chief hears about him and consults his mother. The chief tells the boy's

mother that he must steal the ring off the finger of his wife, or he will lose his head.

F1. *Stealing ring from hand.* Exactly as in No. 2.

Jack the trickster. [For the rest of the story see Chapter XIX, No. 9.]

5. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 316.

Thief hired to rob rival chief. A youth, continually dismissed from service on account of stealing, is employed by a chief to rob a former master.

C2. *Stealing purse from chief.* By making the guards drink, the thief steals the chief's purse.

F1. *Stealing ring from hand.* Regular, as in Nos. 2 and 4.

Jack the Trickster. [For the rest of the story see Chapter XIX, No. 7.]

6. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 69.

[For the beginning of this story see Chapter XIX, No. 6.]

B1. *Boastful thief.* The hero boasts of his skill to the chief.

C1. *Stealing oxen from plow.* The thief accomplishes the task of stealing the horses by chasing quail and making the plowman leave his plow to join in the chase.

F1. *Stealing ring from finger.* Regular, as in Nos. 2, 4, and 5.

FRAGMENTARY AMERICAN INDIAN TALES PROBABLY RELATED TO THE MASTER THIEF.

7. Micmac: Rand, No. 79.

The hero is told in a prophecy that he will be king. He hears of a beautiful girl who has been told in a dream that she is to marry a man named Wisdom. He induces her to marry him by pretending that Wisdom is his name. Her supernatural protectors, the whales, kill her for disobedience.

The hero and a wise servant go to a king's court. He claims to be the king's long lost brother and is received with open arms. One day he walks with the princess in the woods and deserts her. When she is offered as a reward to her finder, he brings her in and marries her.

Soon after his marriage to the princess, he tells the king that

he has dreamed of the downfall of the city. During the panic into which this throws the king, the hero robs the palace of its treasure and escapes.

8. Miemac: Rand. No. 86.

Mouse and Weasel induce other mice to rob from the chief, and then they obtain concessions from the chief for keeping the robbers off. They finally go to the king's court where in the day they work as men. At night they take on their animal forms and steal the king's treasure.

9. Chitimacha: Swanton, JAFI, xxx, 475.

Rabbit goes to God and asks for more power. God tells him that he has enough power already, and to prove it sends him on various missions.

Stealing teeth of alligator. He finds alligator asleep and ties a cord around his teeth. Then he sets the surrounding grass on fire so that the alligator jerks out his teeth.

Stealing tusks of elephant. In a similar manner he makes elephant jerk out his tusks.

Stealing rattlesnake. He persuade rattlesnake to let himself be tied to a stick. In this way he is able to take him to God. God tells Rabbit that he does not need more power.

The last three tales differ in detail from the Master Thief cycle, but have a striking general resemblance to it. The first two seem to be taken from a European version unknown to me. The last tale may be quite original with the Indians.

All the European borrowings are probably French Canadian in their origin.



XXI. THE LUCKY BOASTER.

The incidents included in the story of "The Lucky Boaster" are all of the same general type, but there is a

great variety in the order and number of the parts. The story is often joined to that of "The Anger Bargain" (Chapter XXII) and sometimes contains incidents belonging to "Jack the Trickster" (Chapter XIX). The principal adventures of the boaster will be seen in the summaries below. For the distribution of the tale, see Bolte und Polívka, i, 148.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 95.

A. *Boastful fly-killer.* A man who has killed a large number of flies writes on a placard, "I have killed a thousand of them and five hundred on the rebound." The king is interested and employs him.

B. *Tricking giants into killing one another.* He is commissioned to put certain giants out of the way. He sits in a tree and when the giants sleep under it he throws stones and provokes a fight in which they kill one another.

C. *Tricking unicorn.* He catches a savage unicorn by tricking him into a church, where he imprisons him.

D. *Frightening the enemy.* When the hero goes to war, his horse runs away with him. To help himself he grasps a wooden cross from a graveyard. The cross comes loose. He waves it from side to side and frightens the enemy so that they flee.

2. German: Grimm, No. 20. (Some incidents, not pertinent here, are omitted.)

A. *Boastful fly-killer.* The tailor kills seven flies. His girdle bears the inscription, "Seven at a blow."

E. *Squeezing water from stone.* He enters a contest of strength with a giant. They are to squeeze water from a stone. The tailor substitutes soft cheese and makes the whey run out of it.

F. *Throwing stone into sky.* In this contest with the giant the hero takes out of his pocket a bird which he releases. The giant believes he has thrown a stone into the sky.

* * * * *

- B. *Tricking giants into killing one another.* As in No. 1.

C. *Tricking unicorn*. He makes the unicorn run his horn into a trunk of a tree and thus captures him.

G. *Tricking wild boar into building*. He tricks a wild boar into church and imprisons him. [Cf. No. 1, incident C.]

For South American variants see Bolte und Polívka, i, 162.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

3. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 229.

A. *Boastful dish-breaker*. John breaks many dishes. He makes a placard with the legend: "I killed one hundred and fifty with my right hand and one hundred with my left." The king employs him, but tries to get rid of him.

G. *Tricking lion into building*. As in No. 2.

C. *Tricking unicorn*. As in No. 2, incident C.

B. *Tricking giants into killing one another*. John goes to the giant's home and makes the mother drunk. He then hides and when the other giants come, he provokes a fight by hitting them when they are asleep. They kill one another. One giant has been away. To him John hires as cook. John cooks the bodies of the dead giants after cutting out their tongues, and then makes him a bag that will hold soup. He challenges the giant to an eating contest, and through the use of the soup bag causes the giant to overeat. Then he cuts the bag and the giant imitates and cuts open his stomach. [For this last incident Cf. Cosquin, No. 36.]

Urias message. The king, wishing to rid himself of John sends him to a neighboring chief with a message to bring back a bushel and a half of gold. Really it is an order for John's execution. The neighbor king is, however, awed into giving the gold. [For this incident see Chapter XXIII, incident H; and cf. Chapter XIX, incident H.]

[For the rest of the story see Chapter XI, No. 3.]

4. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxvi, 83.

A. *Boastful fly-killer*. Regular.

D. *Frightening the enemy*. The king makes the hero a general. When his horse runs away he seizes a cross and waves it. This frightens the enemy so that they flee.

5. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxviii, 55.

Kind and unkind. Jack, unlike his elder brothers, is kind to

an old woman. She rewards him by warning him against a dangerous rock and dog. [Cf. Chapter VII-VIII, No. 9.]

Anger bargain. [See Chapter XXII, No. 3.]

E1. *Chewing up the rock.* Jack challenges the giant to a contest. He chews up maple sugar and makes the giant believe he is chewing up a rock. [For this exact incident see Clouston, i, 142.]

Punching holes in tree. Jack bores holes in a tree at night and fills up the holes with bark. He then challenges the giant to punch holes in the tree. By punching on the one he has prepared he easily wins. [Cf. Bolte und Polívka, i, 163, note 1.]

F. *Throwing cane into sky.* The hero addresses the Angel Gabriel and makes him an offering of the giant's cane. The giant is afraid of losing his cane, and begs the hero to desist.

[For rest of tale see Chapter XIX, No. 20.]

6. Maliseet: Speck, JAFI, xxx, 482, No. 7.

This story differs from others of this cycle in details, but seems, nevertheless, to be very closely related.

A youth takes service as an expert sailor. He stows provision in the hold of the ship and hides. After a few days, on a calm night, he lets himself out over the side and swims out. He calls for help and is taken into the ship. He greatly impresses the sailors by telling them that he has been swimming all these days to catch up.

In a contest of skill he falls and catches on a rope. The sailors give up contesting with a man of such skill.

When they propose a swimming match he prepares provision for several days, since he says he expects to be gone so long as that. They withdraw from the match. [Cf. No. 5, incident F.]

Though the story of the Foolish Boaster is known in Spanish America, I know of no versions among the tribes of the Southwest.



XXII. THE ANGER BARGAIN.

As a part of several types of European stories there

takes place a bargain between a man and a servant that he has employed to the effect that a forfeit shall be paid by the first to become angry. The servant succeeds in provoking the master to anger. The provocation may come from the cleverness or the awkward strength of the servant. This incident is usually connected with the stories treated in Chapters XIX and XXIII.

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. French: Cosquin, No. 36.

A. *Anger bargain*. A servant and a master make a bargain that the first to become angry shall pay a forfeit.

B. *Abuses heaped on master*. The tricky servant heaps abuses on the master until he finally becomes angry and has to pay the forfeit.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 234.

Strong John. [See Chapter XXIII, No. 2.]

A. *Anger bargain*. Regular.

B. *Abuses heaped on master*. Regular. The deeds of Strong John exasperate the master until he is glad to be rid of John at any cost.

Bear's Son. [For the rest of the story see Chapter II, No. 13.]

3. Penobscot: Speck, JAFL, xxviii, 55.

Kind and unkind. [For beginning see Chapter XIX, No. 20.]

A. *Anger bargain*. Regular.

B. *Abuses heaped on master*. When Jack is told to plant a field he does so in patches. The king almost loses his temper. [For rest of story see Chapter XXI, No. 5. and Chapter XIX, No. 20.]



XXIII. STRONG JOHN.

The story of the supernaturally strong hero occurs in a number of different combinations in Europe. It is

often connected with the story of "John the Bear" (Chapter II) as in the Maliseet version given below. Occasionally the "Anger Bargain" (Chapter XXII) or the giving of a blow at the end of a year by the strong man is a feature of the story. For a discussion of the tale in its various forms see Cosquin, notes to Nos. 14, 46, and 69.

EUROPEAN VERSIONS.

1. French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFI, xxx, 86.

Strong hero practices to gain strength. At seven years of age the hero leaves home for the first time. He carries in six maple trees; when next he goes out, at fourteen, he carries in twelve.

B. *John breaks the roof.* John lets the trees fall and breaks the roof of the house.

C. *John breaks tools when digging.* Sent to work on the ditches by the king, John breaks the tools.

D. *Attempt to kill John in a well.* The king sends him to dig a well and then throws huge rocks on him. [Cf. Chapter IX, incident C.] John asks the king to keep his chickens from scratching sand on him.

E. *John drives devils to court.* The king tries to rid himself of John by sending him to mill where seven devils grind corn. John finds that the devils eat up the ox from his cart. In anger he takes them to the king's court and thoroughly frightens the king.

F. *John brings wild beasts and mill to court.* Sent to a carding mill with wool, John finds that it is kept by a wild beast. He carries both mill and beast to the court.

G. *John wins the war.* Taken to war by the king, John kills the whole army save two persons.

H. *Urias letter.* [Cf. Chapter XXI, No. 3, close of tale.] The king sends John to a neighboring king with a letter ordering the execution of John. Since he is impervious to gun shots, he escapes and returns to his former master. There the king succeeds in getting a substitute to carry out his bargain. When John gives the substitute the stroke agreed upon, the man rises to the sky and has not yet returned.

AMERICAN INDIAN VARIANTS.

2. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFI., xxvi, 234.

A. *Strong hero practices to gain strength.* Huza is suckled for twenty-four years and then goes out to test his strength. He can move elm trees but cannot yet pull them up. After fourteen years longer of suckling he can pull the trees up by the roots.

Giant cane. He has a cane made which is capable of holding fifty salted cattle, and starts on his way. [Cf. Chapter II, incident B2.]

C. *Hero breaks tools.* He takes service with a farmer to thresh grain. At the first stroke he breaks the flail.

B. *Hero breaks the roof.* Huza makes a flail of two whole elm trees, and when he tries to thresh with them, breaks the roof. The farmer gives the boy twenty-five salted cattle and sends him off. Later in his journey he throws a cow on a blacksmith's roof and breaks it.

Anger bargain. [See Chapter XXII, No. 2.]

C. *Hero breaks tools.* Sent to clear land, the hero breaks his axe and pulls the trees up by the roots.

B. *Hero breaks roof.* He throws the trees on the roof and breaks it. The master all but loses his temper.

F. *Hero drives wild horse to court.* Sent to a wild horse in hope that he will be devoured, the hero drives the horse to the house and frightens the master.

D. *Attempt to kill hero in well.* The master sends Huza to dig a well, and then throws a mill-stone down on him. Huza wears the mill-stone as a collar, and nearly tears down the chimney when he hangs the mill-stone on a nail. The chicken incident [cf. No. 1] takes place in the well.

E. *Hero drives devils to court.* Sent to hell to find from the master's grandfather the kind of seed he had sowed in a certain field, Huza drives the whole herd of hell up so that the man can pick out his grandfather.

John the Bear. [For the rest of the story see Chapter II, No. 13.]

3. Quinault: Farrand, JE, ii(3), No. 9.

B2. *Hero brings snow from mountain.* Siseno, who marries Thunder's daughter, is assigned tasks by his father-in-law. Told

to bring snow from the mountain, he returns with a single handful. Thunder thinks it very little, but he is unable to eat it all up, and when he throws it outside it covers the whole region.

F. *Hero brings in wild beasts.* Told to get two mountain lions for pets, he brings them tied together. When Thunder tries to play with them, he almost loses his life.

E. *Hero brings ball of light from under-world.* Sisenó is sent to the under-world for a ball of light, and when he brings it back it gives all the red colors of birds, and animals, and lightning. He is then allowed to marry Thunder's daughter.

4; 5. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 292; Teit, JAFL. xxix, 308.

Bear's son. [See Chapter II, Nos. 10 and 11.]

B1. *John clears forest in one day.* The hero gets a job clearing a forest. He finishes the work in one day and makes enough money to last for many years.

Bear's son. [The rest of the story in Chapter II then follows.]

All these stories of "Strong John" occur in regions where other tales have been borrowed from the French. Their general resemblance to the European form is so close that borrowing may safely be assumed.



XXIV. ANIMAL STORIES.

The following animal stories consist of incidents which occur in such a variety of combinations and orders that their discussion will be facilitated by listing the incidents together and treating them under one general head. For a good discussion of animal tales see Gerber, *Great Russian Animal Tales*.

EUROPEAN TYPES.

A. *Playing godfather.* The fox and the wolf steal a pot of butter and hide it in the woods for winter use. The wolf wants to eat it, but the fox insists on keeping it for the cold days. One day,

pretending to hear someone calling him, he runs off and eats a third of the butter. When he returns, he tells the wolf that he has been called to be godfather to a child. The name of the child, he says, is "Beginning." The next day, the same thing happens, and the fox reports the name as "Middle." The third day, he receives another summons and finishes the butter. This time, he says that the name is "I have seen the bottom." After a time, the wolf wants to go to the butter, and the fox feigns great anger because it has been stolen.

[French: Cosquin, No. 54; French Canadian: Barbeau, JAFL, xxx, 113; German: Grimm, No. 2; American negro: (Georgia) Harris, *Uncle Remus*, No. 17; Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, No. 24; (North Carolina) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 192; (Maryland) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 215; Bahamas: Parsons, MAFLS, xiii, No. 1; Louisiana French: Fortier, MAFLS, ii, 19, 33. For variants see Bolte und Polívka, i, 9.]

B. *Fishing with tail.* The fox suggests to the wolf that they go fishing, and shows him how he can fish with his tail through the ice. When the wolf tries it, he freezes his tail off.

[French: Cosquin, No. 54; American negro: Harris, *Uncle Remus*, 1883, p. 126; notes to Cosquin, No. 54; and Bolte und Polívka, ii, 111.]

C. *Interrupted feast.* Next, he persuades the wolf to enter a house in which a wedding feast is set awaiting the guests. The wolf eats so that he is unable to get out of the narrow hole by which he has entered, and is killed (or beaten) by the guests. [In most versions the wolf goes into a cellar or a smoke-house.]

[French: Cosquin, No. 54 and notes; German: Grimm, No. 73. For variants see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 108.]

D. *Throwing fish off the wagon.* The fox lies down in the road if he were dead and when a wagoner comes along, he throws the fox on the wagon which is filled with fish. The fox throws fish out, jumps off, and eats them. When he tells the wolf about it, the latter tries the trick, but is caught.

[For variants see: Gerber, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Bolte und Polívka, ii, 116; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, iv, 225, 304.]

E. *Diving for cheese.* The wolf sees the reflection of the moon in the water. Persuaded that he sees a large cheese, he dives after it and drowns himself.

[For variants see: Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, iv, 230; Bolte und Polívka, ii, 116.]

F. *The cowardly duellers.* The wolf challenges the dog to a duel. Wolf's second is a wild boar. The dog chooses a three-legged cat. When the dog and the cat approach, the wolf and boar think that the limping cat is picking up stones to hurl each time it limps and that it is waving a saber each time it raises its tail. In terror they hide. The dog and the cat arrive and see no one until the cat spies the boar's ears behind some leaves. Thinking the object is a mouse, the cat seizes the boar's ears, and the boar's squealing so frightens the whole party that they all take to their heels.

[German: Grimm, No. 48. For variants see Bolte und Polívka, i, 424; Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, iv, 209.]

G. *The wolf and the man.* The wolf will not believe the tales of the fox about the strength of a man and wants to see for himself. Fox undertakes to show him. First they see an old soldier, but fox says that this has been a man but is not now. Next they see a young boy. Fox says that this will be a man, but is not yet. They next come across a man with a gun. Wolf approaches the man and is shot. He runs back to the fox and tells him that he could have defeated the man if he had not spit fire at him.

[German: Grimm, No. 72. For variants see Bolte und Polívka, ii, 96.]

H. *The cat and his companions.* Several animals take places in different parts of a house, and when a robber enters they frighten him. As soon as he frees himself from one of the animals he runs into another.

[French: Cosquin, No. 5; German: Grimm, No. 27. For variants, see Bolte und Polívka, i, 237; Sudre, *Les sources du roman de Renart*, p. 205.]

I. *The wolf and the little pigs.* While the little pigs' mother is gone, the wolf comes. They will not open to him because his paws do not look as they should, but at the third attempt he succeeds and kills all the pigs except the youngest. This little pig outwits the wolf and finally will not let the wolf back into the house. When the latter tries to come down the chimney, the little pig starts a big fire and burns the wolf up.

[German: Grimm, No. 5; French: Cosquin, Nos. 66 and 76;

English: Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, p. 68, No. 14; French Canadian; Barbeau, JAFL, xxix, 141, 149. For variants, see Bolte und Polivka, i, 37.

J. *Tarbaby*. The rabbit, who has been stealing fruit from a garden, is captured by means of a tarbaby, an image covered with tar. The rabbit tries to make the tarbaby talk and finally gets so angry that he strikes it. He sticks to the tarbaby and is captured.

[See Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, iv, 26ff; American negro: (Florida) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 222; (North Carolina) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 171; (Georgia) Harris, *Uncle Remus*, No. 2; Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, No. 4; (Louisiana) Fortier, MAFLS, ii, 98; Bahama: Edwards, *Bahama Songs and Stories*, p. 73.]

K. *Briar-patch punishment for rabbit*. The rabbit is caught by his enemies, and threatened with death. When burning is suggested, he seems too anxious and the same is true when they mention drowning. Finally, they say they are going to throw him into the briar-patch and he begs and pleads so that they think they have found the worst possible punishment. They throw him into the briar-patch where he has always made his home and he escapes.

[American negro: (Florida) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 225; (North Carolina) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 171, 181; (Georgia) Harris, *Uncle Remus*, Nos. 4, 12. For variants see Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, iv, 229.]

L. *Rabbit rides fox a-courting*. Fox is the favorite suitor of the girl Rabbit wants. Rabbit tells the girl that Fox is his horse, and when she refuses to believe him, he says he will show her. She agrees to marry Rabbit if he will ride Fox to her house. He persuades fox to carry him—usually by feigning lameness—and wins the girl.

[American negro: (Georgia) Harris, *Uncle Remus*, No. 6; Jones, *op. cit.*, Nos. 7, 13; (Louisiana) Fortier, MAFLS, ii, 112; (North Carolina) Parsons, MAFLS, xiii, No. 17; Annancy: Smith, *Annancy Stories*, p. 17-18.]

M. *Blinding the guard*. Rabbit, imprisoned in a hollow tree, induces his guard below to look up at him. He spits tobacco juice in his eyes and blinds him, and thus effects his escape.

[American negro: (North Carolina), Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 178; (Georgia) Harris, *Uncle Remus*, No. 10; Harris, *Nights with*

Uncle Remus, No. 47; Jones, *op. cit.*, Nos. 38, 43; (Louisiana) Fortier, MAFLS, ii, 115.]

N. *Above the ground; below the ground.* Two men farm on shares. Each chooses whether he will take what is above the ground or below the ground. The first chooses what grows in. The crop is corn and he gets only the roots while the second gets corn. The next time he chooses what is above the ground. This time the crop is potatoes, so that he loses again.

[American negro: (North Carolina) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 175.]

O. *Turtle's relay race.* The turtle, challenged to a race by a rabbit, stations other turtles along the path. At each station the rabbit sees a turtle ahead and at the end acknowledges his defeat when he sees the turtle (or another just like him) pass the mark.

[American negro: (North Carolina) Backus, JAFL, ix, 290; Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 174; (Georgia) Jones, *op. cit.*, No. 7, Harris, *Uncle Remus*, No. 18; Bahama: Edwards, MAFLS, iii, 69; Parsons, MAFLS, xiii, No. 50; Jamaica: Jekyll, *Jamaica Song and Story*, No. 12. For world-wide distribution see Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, iv, 48. For South African distribution see Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 221, note 2.]

P. *Playing dead to catch game.* A trickster feigns to be dead, and after he has attracted animals about him, he seizes them and has them for dinner.

[Cape Verde Islands: Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 232; Bahamas: Parsons, MAFLS, xiii, 91. For variants see *ibid.*, p. 91, note 1.]

Q. *Borrowed Feathers.* Birds give the trickster feathers but take them from him by magic when he is high in air and let him fall.

[For variants (Portuguese, Cape Verde Islands, and the West Indies) see Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 218, note 1.]

R. *Riding on back in race.* Fox and lion have a race. The fox jumps on the lion's back and is carried close to the goal. Then jumping off, he wins the race.

[American negro: (Maryland) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 209; (North Carolina) Parsons, JAFL, xxx, 189.]

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

1. Menominee: Skinner, JAFL, xxvi, 72.

A. *Playing godfather.* The fox and the wolf cache maple sugar for the winter. The fox tells the wolf to pay a visit to a neighboring farmer, and the wolf is driven off and blamed for the fox's thefts. The fox next steals the sugar, exactly as in the French tale. The names of the child are, "Dug out," "Commenced to eat," "Half eaten," and "All licked up."

E1. *Diving for reflection.* The fox now runs off and climbs a tree. When the wolf sees his reflection, he dives after it and almost drowns.

B. *Fishing with tail.* They finally become good friends again, and the fox persuades him to fish with his tail through the ice.

C1. *The interrupted feast.* Later the wolf, at the fox's suggestion, hunts honey in a wasp tree, and is thoroughly stung. [For this exact incident cf. Grimm, No. 73.]

D. *Throwing fish off wagon.* The fox lies down in the road as if he were dead, and when a wagoner comes along he throws the fox on the wagon, which is filled with bread. The fox throws the bread out behind and jumps out. When he tells the wolf about it, the latter tries it and is caught and killed.

2. Onondaga: Beauchamp, JAFI, vi, 179.

D. *Throwing fish off wagon.* Fox throws fish off the wagon. (Bear does not imitate him.)

B. *Fishing with tail.* When bear sees the fish, fox tells him that he has caught them by fishing with his tail through the ice. The bear imitates and loses his tail.

[For an exact parallel to this tale—including the omission of the bear's imitation of the fox on the wagon — see Afanasief, *Narodnyja Russkija Skazki*, i, I, a (cited by Gerber, *op. cit.*, p. 47.)]

3. Iroquois: Smith, RBAE, ii, 77.

D. *Throwing fish off wagon.* Regular. The fox plays the trick on the wolf.

B. *Fishing with tail.* Regular. The fox plays the trick on the bear.

F. *The cowardly duellers.* Regular.

4. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 98.—5. Caddo: Dorsey, CI, xii, No. 55.—6. Peoria: Michelson, JAFI, xxx, 493.—7. Saul-

teaux: Young, *Algonquin Indian Tales*, p. 198.—8. Loucheux, JAFL, xxviii, 256.

B. *Fishing with tail.* Regular.

9. Fox: Lasley, JAFL, xv, 173.—10. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 571.—11. Flathead: McDermott, JAFL, xiv, 247.

D. *Throwing fish off wagon.* Regular.

12. Peoria: Michelson, JAFL, xxx, 493.

C. *The interrupted feast.* This story is merely reported, and is presumably regular.

13. Onondaga: Beauchamp, JAFL, vi, 180.

F. *The cowardly duellers.* Bear and Fox are to have a duel. Fox's seconds are a cat and a lame dog; the bear's, a wolf and a pig. Wolf stays away, and the bear and the pig arrive at the place of the duel first. The bear climbs a tree and the pig hides under the leaves. Soon the bear sees the other party approach, and thinks that the limping dog is a man picking up stones to hurl, and that the cat, with its long tail, is a man waving a club. He is mortally afraid. When the cat hears the pig under the leaves, it thinks it is a mouse and grabs the pig's ear. The whole party is frightened by the pig's squealing, and all take to their heels.

14. Flathead: McDermott, JAFL, xiv, 249.

F. *The cowardly duellers.* Coyote and Wolf agree to have a duel. Coyote's seconds are a cat and a dog; Wolf's are a bear and a boar. Coyote wins the fight. [This is undoubtedly a variant of the regular European story.]

15. Chitamacha: Swanton, JAFL, xxx, 474.

G. *The wolf and the man.* Tiger-Cat has been shot by an Indian. When he tells Bear about the Indian, Bear will not believe that man is so strong. Tiger-Cat undertakes to show him a man. They first see a child, which Bear thought was a man, but Tiger-Cat tells him that he has not seen a man yet. The same thing happens when they see a youth bringing in fire-wood. Finally they see an Indian and the Bear runs after him. Tiger-Cat hides near by, while Bear attacks the Man. The Man shoots Bear, who runs by Tiger-Cat and betrays him to the man. Tiger-Cat is angry at Bear for running near his hiding-place.

16. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 327.

C. *The interrupted feast.* Fox persuades Coyote to enter a grocery store and steal cheese. He eats so much that when the proprietor comes he is unable to crawl through the hole through which he entered. He is severely beaten.

D. *Throwing fish off wagon.* Fox plays the trick and is eating the fish when Coyote arrives. Coyote does not imitate. Cf. the Onondaga version, No. 2, above.

B. *Fishing with tail.* Regular.

17. Miemac: Rand, No. 20.

H. *The cat and his companions.* The Badger is outwitted by the Weasels who have prepared their house for his reception by placing in different parts of it a bundle of thorns, hornets in a hornet's nest, a company of pismires, and an ant-hill. When the unwelcome badger enters in the dark he runs into first one and then another and at the end is glad enough to escape with his life.

18. Flathead: McDermott, JAFL, xiv, 250.

I. *The wolf and the little pigs.* Coyote has killed Little Pig's two brothers. He tries to enter Little Pig's house, but the latter is too clever to let him in. Coyote makes a garden by magic and entices Little Pig into it. Little Pig escapes, and the next morning finds an orchard that Coyote has made by magic. Little Pig climbs an apple tree and when Coyote approaches he knocks him over with an apple and escapes into the house. When Coyote tries to come down the chimney, Little Pig burns him up. [See JAFL, xv, 65, for discussion of a European parallel.]

19. Yuchi: Speck, UPenn, i, 19.

J. *Tarbaby.* Rabbit steals beans from a garden. Finally he is trapped by tarbaby.

Substitute for execution. He is put in a box overnight, but he persuades the son of his captor to get into the box, in which he is thrown into the river the next morning.

[Cf. Chapter XIX, incident C.]

20. Astec: Meehling, JAFL, xxix, 549.

J. *Tarbaby.* As in preceding version.

Substitute for execution. As in preceding. Rabbit fools Coyote.

E. *Diving for cheese.* Rabbit persuades Coyote to drink up the lake in order to get the cheese (the reflection of the moon). Coyote kills himself.

Coyote catches fruit. Rabbit throws Coyote fruit, which he catches and eats. Finally he throws him a green one, which sticks in Coyote's throat, and thus enables Rabbit to escape.

Playing for bridal party. Rabbit persuades Coyote to play for a bridal party, and then he sets fire to the bushes all around Coyote.

21. Tuxtapec: Mechling, JAFL, xxv, 201.

J. *Tarbaby.*

Substitute for execution.

E. *Diving for cheese.*

Coyote catches fruit.

Playing for bridal party. All as in No. 20.

22. Tuxtapec: Mechling, JAFL, xxv, 199.

J. *Tarbaby.*

Substitute for execution.

Coyote catches fruit.

Playing for bridal party. All as in No. 20.

23. Zapotecan: Boas, JAFL, xxv, 204.

J. *Tarbaby.*

Substitute for execution.

Coyote catches fruit.

E. *Diving for cheese.*

Holding up the rock. See Chapter XIX, incident I.

Playing for bridal party. All as in No. 20.

24. Chalina (Oaxaca): Boas, JAFL, xxv, 235.

J. *Tarbaby.*

Substitute for execution.

Coyote catches fruit.

E. *Diving for cheese.* All as in Nos. 19 and 20.

25. New Mexican: Espinosa, JAFL, xxiv, 419.

This tale is not an Indian version, but that of the Spanish

inhabitants of New Mexico. It is so close to Nos. 20-27 in form, however, that it is placed here for convenience of reference. There seems no doubt that the entire group is of Spanish origin.

26. Tepecano; Mason, JAF^L, xxvii, 150.

E. *Diving for cheese.*

Holding up the rock.

Substitute for execution.

P. *Playing dead to catch game.* All as in No. 20.

27. Jicarilla Apache; Russell, JAF^L, xi, 267.

Fox duped into entering bag. Rabbit tells Fox that he is making a bag to protect himself from hail. Fox enters it and is pelted with stone by rabbit.

(C. *The interrupted feast?*) Fox finds Rabbit looking into a beehive. When he puts his face into the hive the bees sting him.

J. *Tarbaby.* Rabbit is caught by a gum scare-crow in a garden.

Substitute for execution. [See Chapter XIX, incident C.]

28. Natchez; Swanton, JAF^L, xxvi, 194.

J. *Tarbaby.* Regular.

K. *Briar-patch punishment.* Regular.

29. Cherokee; Mooney, RBAE, xix, No. 21.

J. *Tarbaby.* Regular.

K. *Briar-patch punishment.* Regular.

30. Creek: Speck, *Southern Workman*, xxxviii, 9-11.—31. Takelma: Sapir, No. 6.—32. Osage: Dorsey, No. 20.—33. Shasta: Dixon, JAF^L, xxiii, 34.—34. Yana: Dixon, UC^a, ix, No. 11.

J. *Tarbaby.* The tarbaby incident occurs in all of these tales, and it seems in every case to be borrowed from negro or European versions.

35. Zuñi: Parsons, JAF^L, xxxi, 229.—36. Creek: Speck, *The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town*, p. 150.—37. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSC^a, xi, No. 13.—38. Tlingit: Swanton, BBAE, xxxix, No. 88.—39. Osage: Dorsey, FM, vii (1), No. 12.—40. Dakota: Zitkala-Sa, p. 159.—41. Dakota: Wissler, JAF^L, xx, 126.—42. Omaha: Dorsey, JAF^L, i, 206.—43. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 271.—

44. Skidi Pawnee: Dorsey, MAFLS, viii, No. 74.—45. Pawnee: Dorsey, CI, lix, No. 147.—46. Cherokee: Mooney, BBAE, xix, No. 31.—47. Sia: Stevenson, RBAE, xi, 147.—48. Hopi: Voth, FM, ix(5), No. 2.—49. Hopi: Voth, FM, viii, No. 58.—50. Maliseet: Jack, JAFL, viii, 193.—51. Abanaki: Leland, p. 56.—52. Cheyenne: Kroeber, JAFL, xiii, 189.—53. Blackfoot: Wissler and Duvall, PaAM, ii, 160.—54. Passamoquoddy: Leland, p. 51, 180.—55. Menominee: Hoffman, RBAE, xiv, 218.—56. Arapaho: Dorsey and Kroeber, FM, v, 237. For other Indian versions see Boas, *Kutenai Tales*, BBAE, lix, 305.

K. *Briar-patch punishment for rabbit*. In many of these Indian versions the turtle or the tortoise is substituted for the rabbit. The turtle is thrown into the water. This incident forms a part of a widely-distributed Indian tale, and it may well be that not all the versions here cited are borrowed. "The Big Turtle's War Party" seems to be a native tale, and yet the drowning of the turtle is so close to the European incident that it should be mentioned here.

57. Natchez: Swanton, JAFL, xxvi, 195.

L. *Rabbit rides for a-courting*. Regular.

K. *Briar-patch punishment for rabbit*. Regular.

M. *Blinding the guard*. Regular. For variant see same article.

58. Yuchi: Speck, UPenn, i, No. 18.—59. Skidi Pawnee: Dorsey, MAFLS, viii, No. 76.—60. Osage: Dorsey, FM, vii(1), No. 1.—61. Arikara: Dorsey, CI, xvii, No. 53.—62. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 101.—63. Piegan: Michelson, JAFL, xxix, 409.

L. *Rabbit rides for a-courting*. Regular. All are obvious borrowings.

64. Biloxi: Dorsey, JAFL, vi, 48.

N. *Above the ground; below the ground*. Rabbit and the Frenchman work the land on shares. Rabbit is told to select his share of the crop, and is duped in the usual manner.

J. *Tarbaby*. Regular.

K. *Briar-patch punishment for rabbit*. Regular.

65. Omaha: Dorsey, JAFL, vi, 49.

N. *Above the ground; below the ground*. Regular.

66. Chuh (Guatemala): Kunst, JAFI, xxviii, 356.

J. *Turbaby*. Regular.

Substitute for execution. [See Chapter XIX, incident C.]

Coyote catches fruit. [See No. 20, above.]

E. *Diving for reflection*. Coyote dives for a tortilla.

67. Ponka: Dorsey, CNAE, vi, 562.—68. Dakota: Zitkala-Sa, p. 103.—69. Sioux: Meeker, JAFI, xiv, 161.—70. Assiniboiné: Lowie, PaAM, vi, 109.—71. Quinault: Farrand, JE, ii(3), No. 13.—72. Shoalwater Bay (Salishan): Curtis, *N. A. Ind.*, ix, 125.—73, 74. Arapaho: Dorsey and Kröeber, FM, v, Nos. 49, 50.—75. Cree: Russell, p. 213.—76. Cherokee: Mooney, RBAE, xix, No. 41.—77. Caddo: Dorsey, CI, xli, No. 60.—78. Wichita: Dorsey, CI, xxi, No. 44.—79. Pima: Neff, JAFI, xxv, 55.—80. Menominee: Hoffman, RBAE, xiv, 164.—81, 82, 83. Blackfoot: Wissler and Duvall, PaAM, ii, 29; Uhlenbeck, VKAWA, xii, (1), 64; McClintock, *Old North Trail*, p. 345.—84. Jicarilla Apache: Russell, JAFI, xiv, 264.

E. *Diving for reflection of food*. In all these Indian tales the trickster dives for the reflection of food. In many cases the incident comes in the midst of a story that appears to be thoroughly native. Some of them may be borrowed from European sources, but it seems unlikely that many of them are. A greater likelihood is that we have here a case of the independent development of an incident. The list of Indian versions given herewith makes no pretense to completeness.

85. Kalispel (Salishan): Curtis, *N. A. Ind.*, vii, 111.—86, 87. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, Nos. 20, 21.—88. Creek: Speck, p. 155.—89. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 14.—90. Cherokee: Mooney, RBAE, xix, No. 20.—91. Natchez: Swanton, JAFI, xxvi, 202 (Alabama and Hitchiti references in footnotes).—92. Caddo: Dorsey, CI, xli, No. 67.—93. Arikara: Dorsey, CI, xvii, No. 56.—94. Piegan: Michelson, JAFI, xxix, 409.—95, 96. Zuñi: Cushing, p. 277; Parsons, JAFI, xxxi, 221.—97. Jicarilla Apache: Goddard, PaAM, viii, No. 46.—98. Pochulta: Boas, JAFI, xxv, 214. For further references see Boas, *Kutenai Tales*, BBAE, lix, 307.

O. *Turtle's relay race*. All of these Indian tales with the exception of 95 and 97 relate to the turtle and are perfectly regular.

That they are borrowed does not seem to admit of doubt. The same story is told of Gopher in 95 and of Frog in 97.

99. Zuñi: Parsons, JAFI, xxxi, 231.—100. Sauk and Fox: Jones, JAFI, xiv, 225.—101. Mississagua: Chamberlain, JAFI, ii, 142.—102. Sioux: J. O. Dorsey, *American Antiquarian*, July 1884, p. 237.—103. Zuñi: Stevenson, RBAE, xi, 150.—104. Wishok: Kroeber, JAFI, xviii, 103.—105. Cherokee: Mooney, RBAE, xix, No. 19.—106. Natchez: Swanton, JAFI, xxvi, 194.—107. Yuchi: Speck, UPenn, i, No. 21.—108. Caddo: Dorsey, CI, xli, No. 52.

P. *Playing dead to catch game*. In all these versions the trickster lies down and pretends to be dead. Animals crowd around him, and when they are close enough he jumps up and captures them. All the versions except 100 and 104 seem close enough to the West Indian forms to make borrowing seem very probable.

109. Zuñi: Parsons, JAFI, xxxi, 219-221.—110. Zuñi: Cushing, p. 237.—111, 112. Hopi: Voth, FM, viii, Nos. 68, 72.—113. Uintah Utes: Mason, JAFI, xxiii, 310.—114. Nez Percé: Spinden, JAFI, xxi, 150.—115. Blackfoot: McClintock, *Old North Trail*, p. 343.

Q. *Borrowed feathers*. All the stories given, except possibly Nos. 114 and 115, seem to be borrowings from the Spanish. Several Indian tales contain the first part of the story—the flying with birds' wing—but not the second, the loss of the wings. See:—Shoshone: Lowie, JE, ii, No. 5; Iroquois: Smith, RBAE, ii, 108; Upper Yukon: Schmitter, p. 24; Kalispel: Curtis, *N. A. Ind.*, vii, 111.

116. Jicarilla Apache: Goddard, PaAM, viii, No. 45.—117. Kalispel: Curtis, *N. A. Ind.*, vii, 111.

R. *Riding on back in race*. In the first of these, Mole beats Coyote by riding on his back in a race; in the second, Turtle beats Eagle by having Eagle carry him up in the air and then dropping to earth before eagle can reach the goal.

The larger number of the animal stories are probably of Spanish origin, though many of them come to the Indian directly from the negro. For the distribution of the animal tales, see the table on p. 459, below.

XXV. FABLES.

Several of the well-known European fables occur among the Indian tribes. They are usually close enough to the original to make any doubt of their European origin impossible.

A. THE FOX AND THE CRANE

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. Aesop's Fables (Townsend edition), p. 175. Cf. Gerber, *Great Russian Animal Tales*, p. 68.

A fox invites a crane to eat with him. He serves him food in a very shallow dish, so that it is impossible for the crane to eat. The crane in turn invites the fox and serves him food in a bottle with a long neck. The crane is able to enjoy the food, but the fox cannot eat.

INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Yuchi: Speck, UPenn, i, No. 16.

Parrot serves food to Heron in a flat dish. Heron retaliates by serving food in a long-necked bottle into which Parrot cannot get his bill.

3. Biloxi: Dorsey and Swanton, BBAE, xlvii, 25.

Otter serves Brant with food in a shallow dish. Brant retaliates by serving him food in a narrow-mouthed dish into which Otter cannot get his face.

4. Biloxi: Dorsey, JAFL, vi, 49.

Rabbit feeds Bear with canes from his briar-patch; Bear retaliates by serving rabbit black bugs. [This version may not belong to the same group of stories as the fable of the Fox and the Crane. There are a number of Indian tales in which one animal invites another and serves him with his own food, which is entirely unsuited to the guest. The treatment is generally repaid in kind. Cf. Shuswap: Teit, No. 14; Tsimshian: Boas, BBAE, xxviii, 73-83; Hopi: Voth, No. 93; etc.]

B. THE COCK AND THE FOX

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. Lafontaine, *Fables*, "Le coq et le renard."

The fox tries to entice the cock from the tree to the ground by telling him that a law has been passed declaring peace on earth. Just at that time the fox hears the dogs and wants to run. He tells the cock that perhaps the dogs have not yet heard of the new law.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

2. Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 65.
(Exact in all details.)

C. THE FOX AND THE CROW

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. Aesop's Fables (Townsend edition), p. 67.

The fox sees a crow in a tree with a piece of meat in his mouth. The fox praises the crow's beauty, but thinks it a shame that his voice does not equal his beauty. The crow, in order to demonstrate his good voice, opens his mouth and lets the meat fall to the fox.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSION.

2. Ojibwa: Jones, JAFL, xxix, 369 (No. 8).

"A fox once killed a hare, one half of which he ate and the other half he cached. The other half was found by Crow, who, when about to eat it, spied Fox coming along. Fox caused Crow to laugh; and when Crow laughed, down came the piece of hare."

D. THE ANT AND THE GRASSHOPPER

EUROPEAN VERSION.

1. Aesop's Fables (Townsend edition), p. 6.

The grasshopper sees the ants in the winter with hay they have collected in the summer. He begs some of them. They ask why he has not stored up food against the coming winter. He says that he was too busy singing. They tell him that if he was foolish enough to sing away his summer, he may dance supperless to bed.

AMERICAN INDIAN VERSIONS.

2. Biloxi: Dorsey and Swanton, BBAE, xlvii, p. 38.

The same story exactly told of Ant and his visitors, Katydid and Locust, who have been improvident.

3. Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii, (7), No. 5.

Grasshopper does not lay up supplies for winter, but has a good time in the summer. When the cold weather comes, his friends will not give him anything to eat.

4. Wyandot: Barbeau. GSCan, vi, No. 64.

Robin is very late making her garden and then has no seeds to plant, because she has been dancing all summer.

[The informant remembered that the fable was longer than this.]



XXVI. BIBLE STORIES.

That many Bible stories have found a place in Indian legend has been known for a long time. For a discussion in some detail of these versions see the author's article "Sunday School Stories Among Savages" in *The Texas Review*, iii, 109 (Jan. 1918). In many cases it is hard to separate native myths from stories borrowed from missionaries, but the following tales (and perhaps others) are clearly borrowed:

A. *Adam and Eve in the garden*. Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 399; Mohawk: Chamberlain, JAFL, ii, 228; Biloxi: Dorsey and Swanton, BBAE, xlvii, 32; Diegueños: Waterman, UCal, vii, 338, Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan vi, No. 2.

B. *Noah's flood*. Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 328, JE, viii, 333; Lillooet: Teit, JAFL, xxv, 342; Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 163.

C. *Tower of Babel*. Choctow: Bushnell, BBAE, xlviii, 30; Papago: Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii, 75.

D. *Confusion of Tongues*. Hare Skin: Petitot, p. 126; Chipewyan; *ibid.*, p. 383; Blackfoot: Wissler and Duvall, PaAM, ii, 19.

E. *Joseph in Egypt*. Piegan: Michelson, JAFL, xxix, 409.

F. *Passage of Red Sea*. Cheyenne: Dorsey, FM, ix, No. 15.

G. *Coming of Jesus*. Menominee: Skinner and Satterlee, PaAM, xiii, 241; Thompson River: Teit, JE, viii, 402; Zuñi: Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 256; Tepecano: Mason, JAFL, xxvii, 164.

XXVII. MISCELLANEOUS TALES.

The following tales, each consisting of a single incident, are for convenience treated here together.

A. OLD WOMAN AND HER PIG.

1. European: Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i, 289. This is the widely known nursery tale of the old woman who called on the dog to bite the pig, the stick to beat the dog, the fire to burn the stick, the water to quench the fire, the ox to drink the water, the butcher to kill the ox, the rope to hang the butcher, the rat to gnaw the rope, the cat to kill the rat, and the cow to give milk for the cat.

2. New Mexican: Espinosa, JAFI, xxvii, 138; cf. California Spanish: *ibid.*, p. 222.

The New Mexican version is practically identical with No. 3 (Tehuano), below.

3. Tehuano: Boas, JAFI, xxv, 219. The formula as it finally appears is as follows: God, how strong you are—God who sends Death, Death who kills blacksmith, blacksmith who makes knife, knife that kills steer, steer that drinks water, water that quenches fire, fire that burns stick, stick that kills cat, cat that eats mouse, mouse that perforates wall, wall that resists wind, wind that dissolves cloud, cloud that covers sun, sun that heats frost, frost that broke my foot.

4. Tepecano: Mason, JAFI, xxvii, 175.

Fragmentary. The sequence is: hare, dog, stick, fire, water, ox, knife, blacksmith.

5. Zuñi: Cushing, p. 411. A mouse throws down a nut from a tree and hits a cock on the head. He also steals the cock's whiskers. The cock goes to an old woman to cure him. She demands two hairs. The formula is: Fountain give up water for forest, forest give up wood for baker, baker give up bread for dog, dog give up hairs to cure the cock.

[Mr. Cushing told this story to some Zuñi Indians, and a year later found it current in the tribe. The Indians has changed the

tale, and had elaborated certain parts of it, making them explanatory of certain physical phenomena. A comparison of the version as it was received one year and of the form it had assumed the next year is very interesting, as showing what can be expected to happen to tales when they are borrowed. Both the European and the Indian versions are printed in Mr. Cushing's collection.]

B. THREE WISHES FOOLISHLY WASTED.

1. European: Bolte und Polívka, ii, 87.

A man is given the power of making three wishes which will come true. He uses the first two foolishly and is compelled to save himself from ruin.

2. Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 257.

A man who is given three wishes by a fairy, transfers one of them to his wife, and sends her to town to get whatever she wants. The first thing she sees is a broom, and her first thought is, "I wish I had that broom." When she returns and her husband sees what use she has made of her wish, he exclaims, "I wish that broom were stuck up your anus!" He has to use the third wish in order to get it out.

3. Passamaquoddy: Fewkes, JAFL, iii, 270; Leland, p. 170.

Lox, the trickster, is given the power of making fire three times, so that he may have comfort on a three-days' journey. He uses up the wishes the first day, and the second night he freezes to death.

4. Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, 16.

Nenibojo, the trickster, is given the power of calling racoons three times. He uses them up foolishly.

[These last two are probably not borrowed.]

THE ENCHANTED POT.

The tale of the priest and his sticking to the enchanted pot has several remote Indian parallels, but none exact.

1. European versions: Bolte und Polívka, ii, 40, 491; Greenough, *Canadian Folk Life*, p. 52.

2. American Indian versions: (Micmac) Rand, No. 69; (Blackfoot) Wissler and Duvall, PaAM, ii, 147; (Arapaho) Dorsey and Kroeber, FM, v, No. 120.



XXVIII. OTHER STORIES.

For various reasons it has been impossible to give all the obvious European borrowings in Indian tales a comparative treatment in this paper. In some cases satisfactory European variants have not been readily accessible; in others the tales have been merely reported, so that a real comparison is impossible; still others open up problems to which the author hopes to devote special attention in the future. In order to give the paper a degree of completeness, however, that may add to its value for reference purposes, a list of obvious borrowings that are not treated in the paper are here given. It does not pretend to be complete, though so far as published collections are concerned, it is measurably near to being so.

Micmac: Rand, Nos. 18, 19, 77, 85, 87; Maliseet: Mechling, JAFL, xxvi, 256, GSCan, iv, Nos. 6, 23; Menominee: Hoffman, RBAE, xiv, 223; Fox: Michelson, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. xv, 699; Potawatomi: Michelson, Letter of March 4, 1918; Ojibwa: Radin, GSCan, ii, Nos. 18, 19; Piegan: Michelson, JAFL, xxix, 409; Wyandot: Barbeau, GSCan, xi, No. 78; Eskimo (Behring Strait): Nelson, RBAE, xviii, 505; Thompson River: Teit, JAFL, xxix, 322, 326, JE, viii, 385, 392, 393; Shuswap: Teit, JE, ii (7); No. 48; Zuñi: Parsons, JAFL, xxxi, 240, 245; Hopi: Voth, FM, viii, No. 27; Tehuano: Boas, JAFL, xxv, 215, 223, 243, 246.



XXIX. RESULTS OF STUDY.

Three chief sources for the European tales told

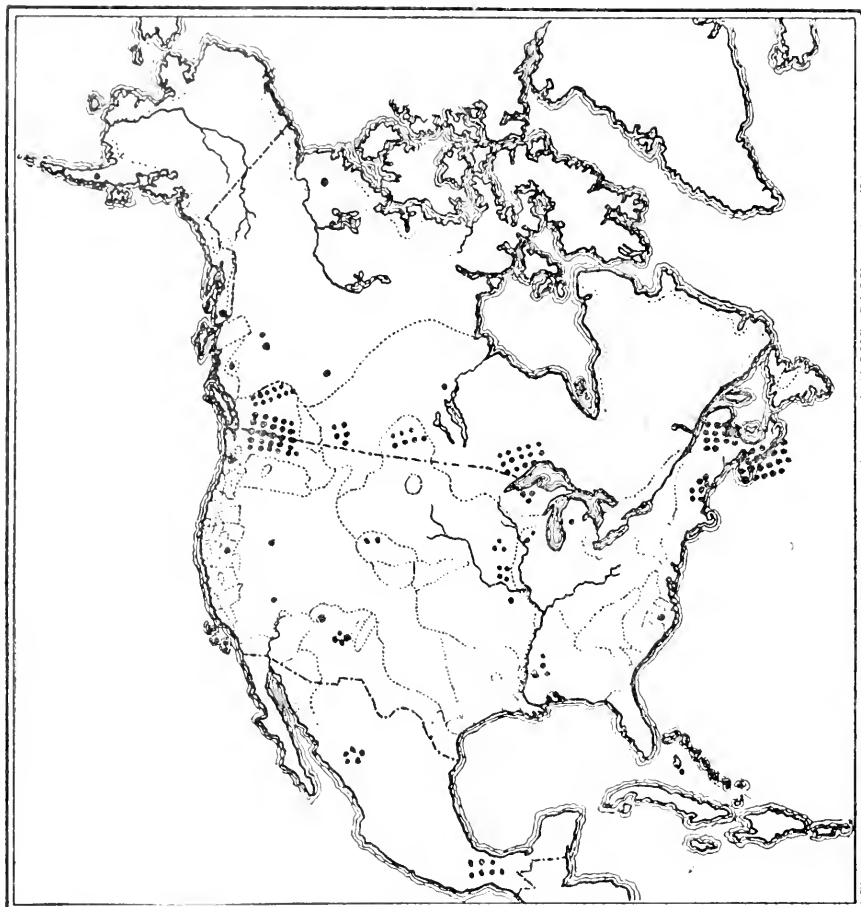
among the American Indians will appear to anyone who studies the comparisons made in this paper. By far the greatest contribution has been made by the French, in Canada, and to some extent in Louisiana. Some of the animal tales are immediately of negro origin, whether or not they come ultimately from Spanish or Portuguese influence. A number of tales in the animal cycle have been taken from the Mexican and New Mexican Spanish by the Indians of those localities. Recently tales of other cycles due to Spanish influence have been collected among the Zuñi, but the lack of adequate Spanish collections makes comparison difficult. Among the Tehuano and Tepecano of Mexico are a number of European tales which are related by the Spanish New Mexicans.

Selections has been made in this paper of tales that are obvious borrowings. Most of these are told by the Indians without serious modification. In only a few cases is anything approaching thorough amalgamation observable. The study shows that the comparative stability which has characterized the tales in their migration from people to people in the old world has been retained by them as they pass over to a people of a lower stage of culture and of an entirely alien tradition.

The exotic character of these European tales remains with them and is distinctly felt by the natives. There are many incidents in native tales that are similar to European, but these entirely foreign stories have an atmosphere of their own which an occasional incident in common with foreign stories does not give. It is possible that this strangeness might wear off if the present state of civilization among the Indians were to persist for centuries, and that the tales might become as much at home on American soil as Hindu tales now seem native to France, Germany, or Norway. At the present time,

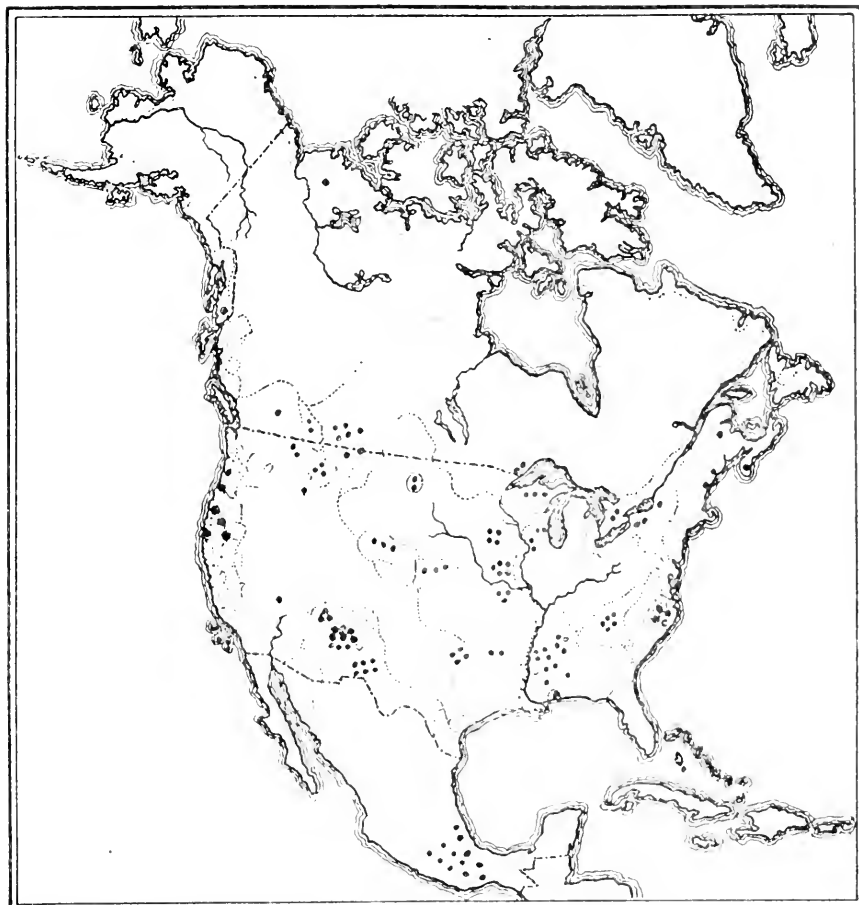
however, these European tales are felt to be distinctly strangers to Indian folk-lore, but in spite of that fact to be very welcome strangers.

The tables following will show that certain tribes, notably the Micmac, Maliseet, Ojibwa, Thompson River, and the Shuswap have borrowed many European tales, while other tribes are almost unrepresented. This may be accounted for to some extent by the fact that the collectors may have failed to record all examples of European tales found. Certainly it is true that most of the borrowings treated in this paper have been recorded lately. It is, however, likely that if the collections were complete, these tribes—so closely associated with the French—would still show the greatest number of foreign tales. The animal stories, which come for the most part from Spanish sources, will be seen to have a radically different distribution. We are justified in saying that the great source for the ordinary European folk-tale among the Indians of the United States and Canada is French, and among the Indians of Mexico, Spanish. The animal tales here treated are usually of Negro and Spanish origin—all of them ultimately belonging to European tradition.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN TALES STUDIED IN THIS PAPER—EXCLUSIVE OF ANIMAL TALES (CHAPTER XXIV) AND BIBLE STORIES (CHAPTER XXVI).

Northeastern Algonquin	Muskogean	Tlingit 1
Micmac 22	Hitchiti 1	Salishan
Maliseet 14	Alabama 1	Thompson River 26
Passamaquoddy 3	Natchez 1	Shuswap 11
Penobscot 4	Chitimacha 1	Bella Coola 1
Central and Western Algonquin	Yuchi 1	Quinault 1
Menominee 3	Siouan	Athapascan
Ojibwa 14	Biloxi 3	Loucheux 1
Plains Cree 1	Ponka 4	Chippewyan 1
Kickapoo 1	Osage 1	Chilcotin 2
Blackfeet 1	Dakota 3	Kutenai 1
Piegian 6	Assiniboine 7	Kuakiutl 1
Potawatomi 1	Shoshonean	Mewan 1
Cheyenne 2	Shoshone 1	Zuni 4
Iroquois	Unitah Ute 1	Tehuano 7
Wyandot 5	Eskimo	Tepecano 5
	Behring Strait 1	



DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMAL STORIES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN STUDIED IN THIS PAPER.

Northwestern Algonquin

Micmac 1
Maliseet 1
Passamaquoddy 1
Abenaki 1

Central and Western Algonquin

Ojibwa 2
Blackfeet 5
Menominee 3
Cheyenne 1
Peoria 2
Saulteaux 1
Arapaho 2
Piegan 2
Fox 2

Iroquois

Wyandot 2
Onondaga 2
Cherokee 5

Siusan

Ponka 3
Omaha 2
Osage 3
Dakota 4
Biloxi 1

Athapascan

Loucheux 1
Jicarilla Apache 6

Paunee

Wichita 2
Caddo 4
Pawnee 1
Skidi Pawnee 1
Arikara 2

Shoshonean

Uintah Utes 1
Hopi 3

Muskhogean

Natchez 4
Alabama 2
Creek 4
Hitchiti 1

Salishan

Thompson River 1
Quinault 1
Flathead 3
Shoalwater Bay 1
Kalispel 2

Miscellaneous

Tlingit 1
Kutenai 2
Zuni 9
Yuchi 4
Pueblo 1
Chitimacha 1
Takelma 1
Shasta 1
Yana 1
Sia 1
Chuh 1
Wishosk 1
Nez Percé 1

Mexican Tribes

Chalina 2
Astec 2
Tuxtepec 3
Pochulta 2
Tepecano 2
Zatopecan 1

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Index.

For references to the various Indian tribes see under "Indian tribes"; for books referred to see the Bibliography, pp. 460ff.

- Abandoned children, 358-366.
 Above the ground; below the ground, 441, 447.
 Abuses heaped on master, 433-434.
 Alarm, magic, 348, 359-366.
 Anger bargain, 424, 433-434, 436.
 Animal brothers, the, 409-411; stories, 437-449.
 Animals, grateful, 327-328, 333, 342, 417; magic, 323-334.
 Ant and grasshopper, 451.
 Apples, magic, 399-401.
 Attempts to kill hero, 367-379.
 Bahama tales, 438, 440, 441.
 Bankrupt gambler, 366-375.
 Bargain, anger, 433-434, 436.
 Bear's son, the, 331-344, 436-437.
 Belt, bagic, 392, 394, 412.
 Bible stories, 452.
 Binding, magic, 411-412, 454.
 Bird of truth, 388, 391; heart, magic, 401-404; with writing on wings, 402-404.
 Blinding of hero, 394-396; the guard, 440, 447.
 Blindness cured, 393-394.
 Blue hand, the, 391-395.
 Boaster, the lucky, 430-433.
 Bread-crumbs trail, 358-366.
 Bridal party, playing for, 445-448.
 Brother, the chaste, 323-334.
 Canadian, *See* French Canadian.
 Cane, giant, 334-340.
 Cape Verde Islands, tales from, 441.
 Capture of giant by trick, 359-366.
 Castle, magic, 397-399, 405-409.
 Cat and his companions, the, 439, 444.
 Cat-women, presents from, 400-401.
 Chaste brother, the, 323-334.
 Children, abandoned, 358-366.
 Choice, modest, 341.
 Cinderella, 382-391; male, 333.
 Cock and the fox, the, 450-451.
 Companions, extraordinary, 334-347; treacherous, 335-344.
 Corpse, exchanged, 420, 422.
 Coyote catches fruit, 445-448.
 Cracks filled with butter, 417-419.
 Cruel stepmother, 382-391.
 Defiler rewarded, the, 420, 426.
 Descent into lower world, 335-344.
 Devastating monster, watch for, 335-344.
 Devil with the three golden hairs, the, 388-389; sale of child to, 348-352.
 Devils driven to court, 435.
 Disenchantment, 323-334, 409-410.
 Disguise, gardener, 349-357; mean, 385; menial, 341-342, 349-357.
 Disobedience, mark of, 348-357.
 Dispute as to good and evil, 395-396.
 Diving for cattle, 420-424; for reflection, 438, 442-449.
 Dragon fight, 323-334, 399; seven-headed, 323-334.
 Duellers, the cowardly, 439, 442-443.
 Eagle carries hero, 335-344.
 Eating, sham, 365.
 Enchanted pot, the, 454-455.
 English folk-tales, 417, 440.
 Escape on magic horse, 348-357.
 Exchanged corpses, 420, 422.
 External soul, 333, 342, 409-410.
 Extraordinary companions, 334-347.
 Fables, 450-452.
 Falling on robbers, 396, 407, 420-422.
 False bride, 383-390.
 Fatal imitation, 378, 396, 419-423.
 Fattening for slaughter, 355, 358-366.
 Fearless bear's son, 334-344.
 Feast, the interrupted, 438, 442-446.
 Feathers, borrowed, 441, 449.
 Fee-fi-fo-fum, 358-376.
 Feigned sickness, 390, 393-394.
 Fiancée, forgotten, 343, 367-381.
 Fish thrown off wagon by fox, 438, 442-444.
 Fishes, king of the, 323-334.
 Flight, magic, 355, 358, 381; obstacle, 349-357.
 Fool, 417-419; impudent, 427.
 Forbidden chamber, 348-357.
 Forgotten fiancée, 343, 367-381.
 Fox and the crane, 450; and the crow, 451; and the cock, 451.
 French tales, 223, 226, 327, 330, 334, 348, 359, 367, 375, 395, 398, 400, 421, 426, 434, 438, 439, 450.
 French Canadian tales, 324, 334, 353, 359, 360, 369, 384, 386, 396, 402, 404, 421, 421, 435, 438, 440, 454.
 Gambler, the bankrupt, 366-375.
 German tales, 328, 345, 360, 385, 392, 409, 410, 411, 415, 417, 427, 431, 438, 439.
 Giant burned in own cauldron, 379; cane, 334, 340; foolish, 357-382.
 Glooscap, 346-347.
 Godfather, fox plays, 437, 442.
 Grateful animals, 327-328, 333, 342, 417.
 Hair, gold, 348-357.
 Help for mistreated heroine, 382-391; from horse, 349-357; from ogre's daughter, 366-379; from old couple, 402-404; from old woman, 366-371. *See also* Magic help.

- Helpful animals, 381, 387, 388, 105, 409-110. See also Grateful animals.
- Holding down the hat, 420, 426; up the rock, 420, 425-426, 446.
- Horse, escape on magic, 348-357.
- Horses, abused and pampered, 348-357.
- Identification by sword-point in leg, 349-357.
- Imitation, fatal, 419-423.
- Impostors, 332-334, 404-409.
- Impudent fool, 427.
- Indian tribes: Abanaki, 417; Alabama, 389, 424; Arapaho, 447, 448; Arikara, 448; Assiniboine, 330, 331, 336, 344, 358, 377, 380, 448; Astec, 424, 444; Bella Coola, 364; Biloxi, 327, 376, 447, 450, 451; Blackfeet, 328, 447, 448, 449, 455; Caddo, 442, 448, 449; Chalina, 424, 445; Cherokee, 446-449; Cheyenne, 357, 406, 447; Chilcotin, 343, 374; Chipewyan, 394; Chitimacha, 430, 434, 443; Chuh, 448; Cree, 448; Creek, 424, 446, 448; Dakota, 352, 423, 428, 446, 448, 449; Eskimo, 455; Flathead, 443, 444; Fox, 443, 449, 455; Hitchiti, 424; Hopi, 425, 447, 449, 455; Iroquois, 442; Jicarilla Apache, 424, 425, 446, 448, 449; Kalispel, 448; Kickapoo, 356, 408; Kutenai, 333, 447, 448; Kwakiutl, 344; Loucheux, 341, 443; Maliseet, 340, 350, 363, 399, 413, 422, 427, 432, 433, 434, 436, 447, 454, 455; Menominee, 356, 370, 441, 447, 448, 455; Mewan, 365; Micmac, 342, 346, 352, 378, 380, 381, 385, 396, 398, 410, 412, 417, 421, 429, 430, 444, 455; Natchez, 446-450; Nez Percé, 449; Ojibwa, 330, 343, 352, 363, 377, 390, 403, 407, 416, 422, 423, 418, 451, 454, 455; Omaha, 446; Onondaga, 442, 443; Osage, 331, 446; Passamaquoddy, 380, 405, 454; Pawnee, 447; Penobscot, 389, 401, 414, 424, 432, 434; Peoria, 442, 443; Piegan, 385, 448, 455; Pima, 425, 448; Plains Cree, 326; Pochulta, 424, 425, 448; Ponka, 329, 347, 364, 442, 443, 446, 448; Potawatomi, 455; Pueblo, 425; Quinault, 436, 448; Saulteaux, 442; Shasta, 446; Shoalwater Bay, 448; Shoshone, 337; Shuswap, 332, 337, 362, 373, 377, 379, 405, 418, 451, 455; Sia, 447; Skidi Pawnee, 447; Takelma, 446; Tehuano, 336, 453, 455; Tepecano, 343, 379, 391, 396, 425, 426, 446, 453; Thompson River, 328, 338, 339, 354, 355, 361, 362, 371, 375, 379, 387, 418, 419, 423, 425, 426, 429, 437, 441, 455; Tlingit, 327; Tuxtepec, 424, 425, 445; Uintah Mts, 365, 449; Wichita, 425, 448; Wishosk, 449; Wyandot, 412, 423, 429, 446, 448, 451, 452, 455; Yana, 446; Yuchi, 424, 444, 447, 449, 450; Zutopecan, 445; Zuñi, 381, 423, 446, 448, 449, 453, 455.
- Island, hero marooned on, 405-409.
- Jamaica tales, 441.
- Jealous sisters, 382-391.
- John the bear, 334-344, 436-437.
- Kind and unkind, 383, 386-390, 424, 432.
- King of the fishes, 322-331.
- Knight, unknown, 349-357, 407.
- Life-token, 323-334.
- Literal fool, 417-419.
- Little Poucet, 357-366.
- Loathly lady, 363.
- Long-winter, Mr., 417-418.
- Louisiana tales, 438, 440-441.
- Lower world, descent into, 335-344.
- Lucky boaster, 424, 430-433.
- Magic alarm, 348, 359-366; animals, 322-334; apples, 399-401; belt, 392, 394, 412; binding, 411, 412; birds, 367-372; fiddle, 415, 416; flight, 355, 358, 381 (See also Obstacle flight); forgetfulness, 367-381; help to upper world, 335-344; help from grateful animals, 327, 333, 312; help from other animals, 405-408, 410; help from fee, 335, 383, 384; help from man, 341, 342; help from old woman, 390; help through biting on ear, 337, 343; horse, 343, 348-357; object lost, 393, 394, 397-404, 415-414; object received, (by accident) 402, 403, (by trick exchange) 404, 406, 408, 410, (by honest exchange) 329, 330, 413, (from father) 324, (from fish) 323-327, (from generous man) 399, 415, 416, (from grateful animals) 384, 398, 411, (from grateful person) 381, 411, 413, 414, (from transformed woman) 406, 401.
- Making princess laugh, 411-414.
- Male Cinderella, 333.
- Mark of disobedience, 348-457.
- Marooned rescuer, the, 404-409, 423.
- Master thief, 423, 426-430.
- Mean disguise, 385.
- Menial disguise, 341-342, 349-357.
- Misreported order, 420, 424.
- Missing member, 367-368.
- Modest choice, 341.
- Mother, treacherous, 392, 394.
- Negro tales, 438, 440-441.
- New Mexican tales, 445, 453.
- Numskull, 332, 416-419, 423.
- Obstacle flight, 349-357.

- Ogre's daughter advises hero, 366-379;
 wife gives protection, 358-366.
 Old woman gives help, 366-371, 390;
 woman and her pig, 453-454.
 Out-riddling the princess, 414-416.
 Parricide prophecy, 414.
 Pigs and wolf, 439, 444.
 Places changed with ogre's children,
 358-366.
 Playing dead to catch game, 441, 449;
 for bridal party, 445-448; god-
 father, 437, 442.
 Pot, the enchanted, 454-455; race with,
 417-419.
 Poucet, little, 357-366.
 Practicing for strength, 435-436.
 Proof, dragon tongues used as, 323-
 334.
 Protection by ogre's wife, 358-366.
 Quest, enforced, 383, 386, 387, 390;
 for water of life, 387.
 Questions for sun to answer, 387.
 Rabbit, briar-patch punishment for,
 440, 446-447; rides for a-courting,
 440, 447.
 Race, riding on back in, 441, 449; test
 of suitor by, 345-347; with pot,
 417-419.
 Release of monster by boy, 331.
 Rescue of princesses, 335-344, 393-394.
 Rescuer, the marooned, 404-409.
 Riddle propounded to princess, 414-
 416.
 Sale of child to devil, 348-352.
 Scotch tales, 400.
 Secret of strength discovered, 393-
 394; learned from tree, 395-397.
 Seven-headed dragon, 323-334; seven-
 league boots, 358-366.
 Sham blood, 422; eating, 365.
 Sisters, jealous, 382-391.
 Slander, animal-birth, 380-390.
 Slipper test, 382-391.
 Soul, external, 342, 409-410.
 Speaking objects, 367-369.
 Spendthrift king, 409-410.
 Stealing as profession, 426-430; from
 ogre, 358-366.
 Stepmother, cruel, 382-391.
 Strong hero, 334-344, 392, 394; John,
 339-340, 434-437.
 Substitute for execution, 419-424, 443-
 448.
 Substituted heart, 406.
 Suckling of child by enchanted mother,
 383, 386, 390.
 Suitor tests, 345-347.
 Swan maiden, 366-378.
 Sympathetic fool, 417-419.
 Tables showing borrowings of tales,
 458-459.
 Tabu, 348-347, 382-391.
 Tail, fishing with, 438, 442-443.
 Tails of swine in mud, 420, 442, 424.
 Tarbaby, 410, 444-448.
 Tasks, 349, 355-356, 358-366.
 Test, slipper, 382-391; suitor, 345-347.
 Thief, the master, 326-439.
 Tokens, 335-344.
 Tongues used as proof, 323, 334.
 Trail, bread-crumbs, 358-366.
 Transformation, 323-334, 367-382, 383-
 390; combat, 333; flight, (see
 Magic flight.)
 Trap, hero caught in, 376.
 Treacherous companions, 335-344;
 mother, 392, 394.
 Trick, objects received by, 410; trade
 with giants, 404, 406, 408.
 Trickster, 419-426, 429, 430-433.
 Trip to upper world on eagle's back,
 335-344.
 True bride, the, 382-391.
 Truth and falsehood, 395-397.
 Turns at housekeeping, 335-344.
 Turtle's relay race, 441, 448-449.
 Unknown knight, 349-357, 407.
 Urns message, 420, 424, 432, 435.
 Watch for devastating monster, 335-
 344.
 Water of life, 387.
 White cat, the, 366-382.
 Wish for hair like raven and skin like
 snow, 346.
 Wishes foolishly wasted, 454.
 Wishing ring, the, 397-399.
 Witch, transformation by, 323-334.
 Wolf and little pigs, 439, 444; and
 man, 439, 445.
 Wonderful companions, 345-347.
 Worthless objects, sale of, 419, 421,
 426.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Publication of Molina's Poems	475
Life of Molina	478
The "Autobiography"	483
Allusions in Molina's Writings	488
Molina's Philosophy	492
His Literary Theory and Practice	496
Why Molina Has Not Been Recognized	503
Molina and Darío	503
Molina's Place in Literature	505
Appendix	507
<i>Autobiografía</i>	507
<i>Una Muerta</i>	510
<i>Para un Apóstol</i>	511
<i>Anhelo</i>	512
<i>Los Ojos de los Niños</i>	512
<i>En la Alta Noche</i>	513
<i>Los Cuatro Bueyes</i>	513
<i>Madre Melancolía</i>	514
<i>Después Que Muera</i>	514
<i>Metempsychosis</i>	515

PREFACE.

In the preparation of this paper, begun as part of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, I am indebted most of all to Professor Mark Skidmore of the department of Romance Languages at Colorado College. He has been to me a guide and constant source of inspiration. For material obtained direct from Tegucigalpa I desire to express my gratitude to the Rev. Irving H. Cammack, Superintendent of the Friends' Mission in Honduras. El Señor Professor F. Molina of Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio, has furnished valuable data concerning the life of our poet, with whom he enjoyed for a number of years the most intimate relationship. El Señor Angel Sevilla h., an engineer of Danlí, Honduras, has supplied interesting facts concerning the life and travels of Molina.

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J. W. C.

JUAN RAMON MOLINA.

It is necessary to introduce Molina to the American people, since he is practically unknown, and the majority of the best libraries are devoid of material in any form regarding him. Even the literary public seems unaware of his having existed or, at least, of his being worthy of study. It would be easy to compile a long bibliography of books dealing with Spanish-American literature which entirely ignore him, although in Central America he is second only to Darío in fame.

A search through indices of magazines and of the New York *Times* revealed no trace of Juan Ramón Molina. Not only the libraries of the United States, but apparently Spanish libraries, are barren of material regarding him. By request, Professor S. G. Morley made a search for material in Madrid and failed to discover anything.*

Cocster's Bibliography, in the *Romanic Review*, 1912, lists the following books under Honduras:

R. E. Durón, *Honduras Literaria*, Tegucigalpa, 1896;—*Hojas Literarias*, Tegucigalpa, 1906; J. T. Reyes, *Pastorelas*. *Restauradas por R. E. Durón, precedidas de un estudio por E. Guardiola*, Tegucigalpa, 1905.

Of these, all except *Hojas Literarias* have been examined. Reyes' *Pastorelas* contains nothing regarding Molina. *Honduras Literaria* is in two volumes: Volume I contains 835 pages of prose selections by Honduran authors, with a few brief facts concerning the life of

*"As to Juan Ramón Molina, of Honduras, I must confess that I have never heard of him. This does not necessarily imply that he is not a great writer, but, had he been a luminary of any great power, it is probable that I would have heard of him. He is not mentioned in the literary histories of Latin America which I have, so that others have failed to locate him. However, as I have said, he may be a great man, I merely state the facts as they have come to me."—Dr. W. E. Browning, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

each. There is nothing from Molina. Volume II, consisting of 743 pages, is devoted to poetry, with a short account of each of the authors. There is a biographical sketch of Molina followed by selections from his poems. (Pages 679-700). All of the Honduran books listed by Coester are out of print.

This study of Molina is based chiefly upon the collection of his works edited by Froylan Turcios, a personal friend of Molina and himself a writer of no mean ability.* The statement has been made, that for envy Turcios did not edit the book well.** However, this can hardly be true, because, according to Professor Molina of Toledo, none of the writings contained therein is mutilated in any way, and it is very nearly a complete collection. The works, compiled into one volume by Turcios, are entitled *Tierras, Mares y Cielos*.† The book was published by the Tipografía Nacional in Tegucigalpa, 1911. Like the books mentioned above, it is now out of print. As the interest in Molina is increasing, a new enlarged edition is being talked of.

In *Nosotros*, a magazine of letters, published in Tegucigalpa, November, 1920, there are four poems and two prose selections from the pen of Molina which are not found in *Tierras, Mares y Cielos*. Both the September and November, 1920, numbers of *Nosotros* are

*Turcios is now a member of the Advisory Board of *Inter-America*.

**We should remember that Turcios attempted a nearly impossible task: that of collecting a mountain of Latin-American newspapers and digging out the compositions of Molina.

†Besides the copy in possession of the writer, there is at least one other copy in the United States, that in the library of the University of Colorado at Boulder.

devoted largely to Molina. This is due to the fact that his body was brought from San Salvador to Tegucigalpa in the autumn of 1920.

The poems found in *Honduras Literaria* from the pen of Molina are all contained in *Tierras, Mares y Cielos*. However, a comparison of the texts of the poems printed by Durón and those by Turcios reveals the fact that there are slight differences between the two. The great poem *El Águila* is identical in both volumes. The changes in the other poems which we find in the later work, *Tierras, Mares y Cielos*,* may be the result of revisions made by Molina himself, or of carelessness in the preservation or copying of the poems. Though there is very little difference in the two texts, that found in Turcios' edition seems to be the better. Let us note, for example, the last line of the sonnet *El Jardín*:

Dulces naranjas de corteza de oro. (*Honduras Lit.*, vol. II, p. 694.)

Unas naranjas que parecen de oro. (*Poesías*, p. 102.)

Even to the reader who is only slightly familiar with Spanish the latter line must appear smoother and more euphonious.

There is one difference in titles: in *Honduras Literaria*,† a sonnet is entitled *La Selva*; the same sonnet appears in *Poesías*‡ under the title of *Selva Americana*. This is an improvement over the older title. Even if it were no more pleasing to the ear, it more exactly fits the poem.

*In this paper the poems are referred to as *Poesías*; the prose, as *Prosas*. *Tierras, Mares y Cielos* contains 127 pages of *Poesías* and 306 pages of *Prosas*.

†Vol. II, p. 694.

‡P. 106.

Juan Ramón Molina was born in 1875 in Comayagüela, just across the river from Tegucigalpa, where his aged parents, Don Frederico and Doña Juana de Molina, still live. His mother is perhaps sixty per cent. Indian; and from her he is said to have received his intellectual ability. His father came from Northern Spain; and from him he inherited his handsome appearance, his pride, and his lofty bearing. Thus Bernardo Salgado, a scientist, who in his youth was a schoolmate of Molina's, says: "He was born with the pensive melancholy of the Indian quetzal and the haughty pride of the condor of the Andes." "He took great pride in the fact (so at least he said) that he approached the Greek ideal of manly beauty." (Sevilla) "He was really handsome; but he was only five feet, seven inches tall, and a little too stout for his stature, and this was the torture of his life, because he was the most conceited man ever born, not only regarding his mental power and education, but also as to his appearance. He used to say that when he was born he brought a model sonnet in his hand, and that if he were two or three inches taller he would be a perfect image of Apollo." (F. Molina)

Not infrequently a writer in drawing a word picture of another will, by his criticism, reveal himself. Molina describes Ramón Vereá, the editor of *El Progreso*, New York, as he appeared at a brilliant reception given in his honor in Guatemala City. He had expected to see in Vereá a man of distinguished appearance; but upon meeting him found him to be apparently a very ordinary man, *un hombre cualquiera*, his features and personality lacking in all of those elements which tend to impress one. Everything in him was suggestive of coarseness, lack of knowledge of the world, disgust with men and things in general, foolish perplexity at being so much ad-

mired by a group of enthusiastic young people. He appears in the reception room in an ill-fitting and wrinkled dress suit, seemingly dazed while gazing stupidly about the hall, so brilliantly illuminated and decorated and filled with beautiful women. He listened with utter indifference to the scintillating periods and poems pronounced in his honor.* It is no difficult matter to conclude that Molina reveled in those things which to Vereá were almost nauseating. There is some excuse, however, for the lofty pride of Molina; he at least came by it honestly. When Latin America was settled Spain was in the heyday of her glory, her place in the sun cast a shadow round the world. The descendent of those early *conquistadores*, the Latin-American *cabellero* (gentleman) of today, is the proudest man on the face of the earth.

While yet a school-boy Molina composed his first verses, lampooning the teacher for his barbarities and making sport of his schoolmates who through fear submitted with docility to the caprices of the lord of the rod.** His education was begun in Tegucigalpa and completed in Guatemala City, where he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science and Letters. His studies in Guatemala City were begun in 1888, when he was a mere lad of thirteen. "He was a good student in literature and related subjects, in mathematics very poor." (Sevilla) During his first years in Guatemala he met Rubén Darío, who was known at that time as *El Poeta Niño*, (the boy poet). At the same time Molina was beginning to make his way in the Guatemala newspapers. After his graduation he went to Quezaltenango, Guatemala, where he was for a time editor of *El Bien Público*. Later he again returned to Guatemala City and began the study of law.

**Prosas*, p. 192.

***Nosotros*, Nov. 1920, p. 227.

About 1897, Molina returned to Honduras. In 1898, under President Bonilla, he became one of the Assistant Secretaries of State. After resigning this office he founded the periodical *El Cronista*. In 1899, he became editor of *Diario de Honduras*, a paper founded by the merging of *El Cronista* and *El Diario*.

"After Dr. Bonilla, General Sierra occupied the presidential chair, and, in 1903, Molina was accused of writing an insulting article against President Sierra, and he was put in prison with hard labor. A revolution broke out against President Sierra in those days, and Molina joined it as a private and, at the same time, as an editor of *El Boletín de la Guerra*. Molina was stated to be one of the most accomplished insulters in the whole literary history of the world. In this respect he seemed to have been inspired by Juvenal and Victor Hugo; but probably he excelled them." (F. Molina)

"In 1906, the Pan-American Congress was to be held in Río de Janeiro. In view of the fact that Brazil is a country of a most refined literary culture, the Central American governments decided to attach some of their best writers to their delegations. Accordingly Molina and Turcios were chosen from Honduras, Darío from Nicaragua, Echeverría from Costa Rica, etc. So, a considerable number of men of letters were sailing together on their way to Río, when one of them suggested that a greeting poem for the Brazilian poets should be written. They agreed that each poet at hand should write a poem on the subject, and that the poem accepted by a majority as the best would be used to greet the Brazilian poets.

Thirteen poems were written, Molina's being accepted by unanimous vote. Darío was among the contestants, and he was the first in acknowledging the superiority of Molina's work." (F. Molina)

Enroute to Río, Molina visited Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon, and, it is thought, returned *via* New York. While in Paris, he wrote the preface to a novel by Turcios: *Prefacio de la Novela ANNABEL LEE de Froglun Turcios*.

Molina married, without the consent of her parents, a beautiful and distinguished girl. Two children, a boy and a girl, were born to this union. The daughter, Señorita Bertha Molina, is now living in Tegucigalpa. The young wife, made unhappy, presumably by the irregular life of Molina, soon died broken-hearted, accepting death as a godsend. Her name, Dolores Hinestroza, seemed a prophecy of her sad career. After her death, Molina wrote a beautiful elegy in her memory, to which reference is made elsewhere in this paper. In 1908, he married a second wife, *por poder*, with whom he could have lived only a short time, if ever at all.

Regarding his death Sevilla says: "Molina died in San Salvador the first of November, 1908. His death was to some extent shrouded in mystery. It is said by some that he put an end to his life. According to others he had been drinking a good deal and decided to stop or rather to obtain a moment of lucidity by the use of morphine; as he had never used the drug he went to a friend of his, a 'dope fiend', who used on Molina the same dose he was accustomed to use on himself. thereby causing his

death. Those who hold the first theory assert that Molina asked several friends to inject him with morphine and in this way succeeded in causing his death."

He died in a bar-room at Aculhuaca, a little village one mile from San Salvador, November 2, 1908. Some three years later Hernán Rosales and the poet Alvarez Magaña visited the scene of his death. They found behind the bar a beautiful maid, who, upon mention of Molina, began weeping, saying that excepting her first lover she had never loved anyone as she loved Molina. Then escorting them into the rear room, among piles of empty bottles and abandoned furniture, she pointed out the table upon which Molina's head rested when he breathed his last.*

The above facts about the life of Juan Ramón Molina will enable us to understand his writings better. Conversely, his writings are distinctly subjective and, like a powerful reflector, throw much light on the life of the man. Among the poems which are revelations of his life are *Autobiografía*, *Después que Muera*, *Madre Melancolía* and *Los Cuatro Bueyes*. His *Autobiografía*, (Autobiography) is given in full as follows:

**Nosotros*, Sept., 1920, p. 229.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.*

Born in the blue depths of the Honduran mountains,
I detest the cities.
A group of cabins lost in the remote solitudes
Is more to my liking.

I am a savage, intractable and taciturn,
Whom the urban discipline enervates.
And I live—as the lion and the bear,
A prisoner—dreaming in the cavern.

My childhood was like a smiling garden
Where—fleeing from the joys of my youth—
I wandered sorrowful and pensive,
So early taken captive by the fever of illusion,

Deaf to the clamorous outcry
Of many forgotten companions,
Whom the cold, implacable sickle of black fate,
Was garnering without mercy.

All fell in the dark grave;
Life for them was a sad delusion,
And—my heart bulging with bitterness,—
I saw myself, ere long, in utter solitude.

What has become of that one
Whose graceful head was like the sun?
The Herculean youth who jested at my skill in the combat?
The charming youth of angelic mien?

*The Spanish text for this and other longer translations from the *Poesías* will be found in the Appendix.

Him who brought down the highest nest?
The most merry and the most deceitful? The clown?
For the sad ones oblivion wrote,
On the wandering wind, an epitaph . . . !

For them, death was a good fairy!
They did not know sorrow.
Gloomy old age cast no ashes on their heads,
Nor bent their sturdy youth!

From my infancy I pondered,
Mournfully, the thought of death.
Melancholy was my best beloved in this little world,
And continues yet to be.

I felt in my soul a natural desire to sing.
Along the side of the road,
I found a lyre—it was not that of Orpheus—
And I obey the command of destiny,

So blindly, that tomorrow—when,
Like a fugitive, life flees from me—
Perhaps I shall celebrate my sad betrothal with death
Singing madrigals.

I have not been a good man. Nor yet evil.
There is in me a strange duality.
I have much of sanity, something of madness,
Much of the abyss and something of the lofty mountain.

To some, I am an arrogant monster;
To others, very humble and most cordial:
To old Job I would have said—Brother,
Give me your sores and your dung-hill.

A life sufficiently contradictory
Of pleasure and of sorrow, of hatred and of wooing,
Has agitated my being: such is the chronicle
Of my cordiality and of my haughtiness.

Deadly joys and terrible sorrows,
All felicity and every misfortune,
Explorations through the remote heavens,
Enormous accumulation of reading;

Prodigal waste in sensuality, quaffing nepenthe,
The mind tortured in cilice,
The soul like a running sore,
The victim of premature vices;

The wretchedness of mediocrity; a yearning for glory
That arrives too late: being arrayed
For battle and ready for victory,
And being, in spite of that, a failure.

All conspires to make me horribly sad,
Him who ascends the mental heights,
And who passes—disdainful and indifferent—
Among the arrogant crowds.

Alas my early youth! The certain,
The only youth, that which is divine!
"It remains afar, the poor wolf, dead,"
Assassinated by my own javelin.

When I look at myself in the mirror, what a change!
I am not able to recognize myself,
I have in my eyes such a tired look,
Something of the fear of one who sees a yawning chasm.

I have on my brow the ineffable stamp
Of that one who with his faith lost,
Has seen his star grow pale
And fall in the secret skies of his life.

I have on my timid lips—on those
Lips that were pure as a rose—
The sorrowful trace of a thousand kisses
Given and received with madness,

In sweet appointment or in ignoble orgy,
When, at the urge of fatal impulses,
I sought always the creditable company
Of the seven capital sins;

And my youth, in its wanton carelessness,
Was like a steed of conquering stride,
That plunges forth to sweep through the air,
Neighing for joy at the rosy dawn.

I have in my being an awful weariness
Which compels me to silence, somewhat,
My sorrowful cry: the weariness
Caused by the crushing pressure of the Infinite.

The great anguish, the frightful sorrow
Of having been born for a hidden destiny,
Born to fly, without rest through every sky,
And to sail without chart or compass, the seven seas.

Born to suffer forever the evil
Of illusion; and thus, meditating,
To live with my eyes firmly
Fixed on the heart of the world;

On the mystery of love sublime,
On the secret sorrow of all things,
On all that suffers in silence or breaks forth in groans,
Be it mankind, animals, or flowers;

And to give to others my laughter or my tears
The very blood of my veins, to give all
In the marvelous cup of my song,
Fashioned of jewels, of ivory or mud;

And for my poor lips leave nothing
And live with my heart full of sorrow,
Seeing that at the close of life's journey
Oblivion will hollow out my sepulchre.

Today, as I arrive at the summit of my years,
I view the way that beckons to my feet,
My eyes wild with terror, I gaze upon it,
But a voice exclaims: go on and climb!

To what purpose, Lord? I am sick!
The demon of disgust consumes my being!
All the earth for me is a desert drear
Where from weariness and cold I perish!

I have quenched my thirst for knowledge
In every fountain poisonous or pure,
In the bitter wells of science
And in the torrent of literature.

—*Poesías*, pp. 49-53.

As a man is known by the company he keeps, so a writer may be judged somewhat by the allusions he makes, and the authors with whom he is familiar. The accompanying table shows Molina's catholicity of taste and the cosmopolitan nature of his reading. It is worthy of note that, among the moderns, the French predomi-

nate. Following the list of allusions there will be found quotations from Molina revealing more clearly the sources which served to influence the man, his manner, and his message.

PRINCIPAL ALLUSIONS IN MOLINA'S WORK:

AMERICAN: Edgar Poe (2),* Roosevelt.

BIBLICAL: Abraham (2), Abel, Adam, Bethany, Cain (2), Calvary, David, David and Goliath, David and Mary, Eve, Golden Calf, Ishmael, Job (4), Jesus Christ (3), Salome, Sheba (Queen of), St. Paul, Solomon, Song of Songs.

CLASSICAL:

1. Greek: Aegean, Aeschylus, Alexander, Anacreon, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Democritus, Demosthenes (2), Heraclitus, Homer (3), Lesbos, Pericles, Plato (2), Socrates, Sophocles, Sparta, Spartans, Thales, Thermopylae.

2. Mythological: Achilles, Agamemnon, Ajax, Alcides, Amphion, Appolo, Cyclops, Diana (3), Eleusis, Eleusinian, Ganymede, Hector, Hecuba, Helen, Hercules, Jason, Juno, Jupiter, Menelaus, Mercury, Minerva (2), Nemea (Lion of), Nemes, Neptune, Orpheus, Pan, Pandora, Pegasus, Pluto, Poseidon, Priam, Prometheus (3), Sirena, Styx (2), Triton, Venus, Venus of Cythera.

3. Roman: Antinoüs (?), Caesar, Caudine Forks, Cicero, Cytheris, Horace, Lucretius (2), Marcus Aurelius, Nero, Petronius, Pliny, Seneca, Virgil.

ENGLISH: Bacon, Boleyn (Anne), Byron (6), Carlyle, Darwin, Edward VII, Faraday, Greenwich (astronomer of), Harvey, Hobbes, Huxley, Macaulay, Milton, Newton, Ruskin, Shakespeare (9), Tennyson, Tyndall, Whewell.

EGYPTIAN: Cleopatra, Ptolemy, Nile.

*Indicates the number of allusions noted.

FRENCH: Amiel, Balzac, Baudelaire, Bossuet, Charlemagne, Chateaubriand (2), Corot, Danton, Descartes, Flaubert, Hugo (7), Lamartine (3), Lamballe (Princesse de), Maeterlinck (Belgian), Mallarmé (2), Manon Lescaut, Marat, Maupassant, Michelet, Musset (6), Moliere, Napoleon, Nerval (Girard de), Pasteur, Pere La Chaise, Ramus, Renan, Richelieu, Ronsard, Rousseau, Sévigné (Madame de), St. Pierre (Bernardin de) (2), Stael (Madame de), Taine (2), Tocqueville, Vauvenargues, Vergniaud, Verlaine, Voltaire, Zola.

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN: Altenberg (Peter) (?), Baur, Fuerbach, Goethe (2), Heine, Hegel, Kant (3), Marx, Metternich, Mozart, Nietzsche (5), Nordau, Schiller, Schopenhauer (2), Strauss, Wagner.

ITALIAN: Boccaccio, Campanella, Casanova, Capri (astronomer of), Cellini (Benvenuto), Copernico, Dante (2), Fra Angelico, Galileo, Leopardi (2), Machiavelli, Michael Angelo.

MEDIEVAL: Council of Nicea, St. Augustine (2), Roland.

ORIENTAL: Arabian Nights, Brahman, Chosroes, Confucius, Cyrus, Fakir, Firdussi (2), Mohammed, Simurgo (el ave).

SPANISH: Babieca, Cadalso, Campoamor, Castelar, Cervantes (3), Cid, Cortés (2), Daguerre, Echegaray, Espronceda (2), Fernando VII, Gama hasta Goa (?), Juan de Aragón, Juana de Segovia, La Cava (and Rey Rodrigo), León (Fray Luis de), Menéndez y Pelayo, Núñez de Arce, Pereda Pérez, Galdós, Picón (Jacinto Octavio), Quevedo, Santillana (el Marqués de), Vega (Garcilaso de la), Valera (Juan).

SPANISH-AMERICAN: Acuña (Manuel), Batres y Montúfar (José), Borja (Enrique), Carrera (Rafael), Coronel (Juan), Chocano, Darío (Rubén), Diéguez (Manuel), Estrada (Domingo), Flores (Julio), Guardiola (Esteban), Isaacs, Jáuregui (Antonia Batres), Lara (Alejo S.), Mencos, Montalvo, Rivas (Ramón Mayorga) (2), Serpas (Carlos), Silva (José Asuncion), Varela (Hector), Vereá (Ramón), Valencia (Guillermo).

A complete list of the allusions in Molina's single volume is next to impossible. It would be easy to find additions to those given: in a single sentence* we find Beatrice, Leonora, and Ophelia. However, such occasional additions would affect little, if any, the conclusion one might draw from the preceding table.

A great many allusions have been passed over intentionally. For example, it was not thought of any particular advantage to encumber the references to Spanish America with a repetition of those names found in Durón's *Honduras Literaria*, a book which Molina reviewed.** Further, some of the names listed have no especial interest other than to show Molina's familiarity with his contemporaries.

In an article on the emancipation of Central America,*** there is a staggering enumeration of Spanish explorers, generals, governors, and inquisitors, balanced with a corresponding array of Spanish-American patriots, heroes, battles, and victories. The heaping up of allusions here, as often in the *Prosas*, more rarely in the *Poesías*, almost makes one feel that Molina is parading his knowledge.

A review of *Progreso de la ciencia en los últimos cincuenta años*,† translated from the English of Huxley by J. Antonio López, furnishes an opportunity to compile a formidable list of philosophers and scientists. Here again

**Prosas*, p. 30.

***Prosas*, pp. 207-210.

****Prosas*, pp. 23-28.

†*Prosas*, pp. 81-87.

the style is allusive without richness. However, there can be no doubt of Molina's wide and appreciative reading, particularly in French and in the Classics, nor of his mastery of word and image.

The attempt of the Swedish engineer, Salomon August Andrée, on the 11th of July of 1897, to cross the north polar regions in a dirigible, called for an article by Molina,* who evokes most of the explorers, navigators, and voyagers of history in order to declare, in a splendid final paragraph, that the ill-fated Swede is inferior to none in courage and valor.**

The voicing of the emotions produced by the Acelhuate river furnishes the occasion for enumerating the principal rivers of the globe.†

His article on the mad Abdul-Hamid‡ would materially increase the number of oriental allusions. But, as this is an article suggested by a notice in a foreign journal, it perhaps indicates nothing of importance concerning Molina's intellectual background.

It is to be noted that the Egyptian allusions above are almost devoid of significance: they are names familiar to all literatures and languages.

The one reference to Tolstoy‡‡ is not to be passed over, because it furnishes evidence of Molina's aristocratic point of view and his lack of sympathy with "Romantic humanitarianism".

**Prosas*, pp. 273-278.

**Molina's imagination seems to have been greatly stirred by polar explorations. Cf. *Prosas*, pp. 119-121.

†*Prosas*, pp. 44-45.

‡*Prosas*, pp. 299-306.

‡‡*Prosas*, pp. 105-107.

Molina gives *La Siguanaba** as the Spanish equivalent of *Die Lorelei*, and accompanies his musings with a verse translation of Heine's poem of the same name.

After a year of travel in South America and Europe Molina said: "When one arrives in this city (Tegucigalpa) after having lived for some time in another country he is pitifully disgusted, almost smothered in these narrow and tortuous streets. . . . The atmosphere is lethargic and asphyxiating; . . . in spite of its light veneer of modernism, it is ancient, melancholy, and sleepy, and without movement or life."** Compelled to leave his country for a time because he was not in favor with those in authority, he seems to have contemplated forsaking it altogether.† However, he did not consider himself altogether unfortunate in being a native of Honduras; though there is never a word of praise for the city, his writings richly abound in splendid portrayal of the beauties of his native country.‡ In mind at least, he turned from the dull and deadening din of the city to the freshness and grandeur of green bowers covered with raindrops, sparkling and glorious in the brilliant sunlight after the daily torrential shower. His poems and much of his prose are redolent of the balmy air, the luxuriant vegetation, the smiling valleys, the sparkling streams, and the ferns and flowers which feasted his eyes, the vigor of the towering heights about him, and the pensive melancholy of the hermit who dwells in vast solitudes.

**Prosas*, pp. 171-175.

***Prosas*, pp. 216-217.

†*Prosas*, p. 111.

‡For illustration of this see *Poesías*, pp. 49, 89; many others might be given.

While his physical environment lent a rich local color to his work, perhaps his spiritual environment influenced more the substance of his message to men. "I smiled at Greek pantheism in spite of the fact that I admired the plastic beauty of its gods; I smiled also at Catholic paganism, disgusted with its servile imitation of Asiatic liturgies and the human deities of Athens and of Rome. Accordingly, at twenty years of age, I found myself with the sky desolate above me."*

Disgust with "Catholic paganism" is not the full explanation of his religious attitude. For at this same date, in 1895, when twenty years of age, he was imbibing freely from the fountain of French literature, which was to influence so largely the matter and manner of his writings. In his own words we have at least a partial explanation of his pessimism: "I enjoyed reading at that time all the books and periodicals which attacked Catholicism with virulence and, following more or less my companions in study, all of whom were furious and irreconcilable polemicists, I had converted myself into an omnipotent free-thinker; and if called upon to do so, I would have certified that God did not exist and never had existed: that He was, to my clear understanding, a scarecrow erected by the fear and superstition of primitive man.

"That was an epoch of torment for my spirit, saturated by a sickly pessimism and an infidelity, that knew no bounds. A powerful, philosophical wind, arriving from the tangled jungle of the French writers, had dragged in the dust the religious beliefs of my childhood and my timid superstitions, leaving my brain clouded with doubts."**

**Prosas*, p. 190.

***Prosas*, p. 189 and more of the same sort on pp. 174 and 222. We are reminded of Darío's *Abrojo* (Thistle):

I am a sage, I am an atheist:
I do not believe in the devil, nor
 in God

But if I am dying,
Oh, bring me the confessor!

In speaking of the San Francisco earthquake, he says: "Spectacles such as this—by a cold logic—make one think that the world is not controlled, nor can it be controlled, by the kindness, justice, and order of a Supreme Being, indifferent and distant as pagan Jupiter, but by the brutal forces of nature, sometimes quiet and sleeping, and then again convulsive and ferocious. Where is that God, that beneficent Father, when the Earth suffers one of these frightful catastrophes? Nowhere."

The next statement from his pen shows the influence of Nietzsche: "The law that might makes right has been, is, and always will be the rule in this world."*

This may be Molina at his worst, but he is not ever so; in *El Águila*, the eagle from a lofty perch defies all the powers of the universe, and at last in his mad boast declares that God himself cannot cast him down. Immediately a thunderbolt strikes him, and he plunges headlong over the precipice and into the abyss below.**

In *Una Muerta*, an elegy written in memory of Dolores Hinestroza, his first wife, in answer to the question, "Why did not a star expire?", he replies: "Lord, I never contend against thy will, because thou art Father and Master of all things, spirits and beings."*** The close of the poem indicates a belief in a future life and in advancement in heaven.

**Prosas*, pp. 226, 227.

***Poesías*, p. 3. The eagle here may be symbolical of the super-man like Don Juan Tenorio.

****Poesías*, p. 21.

Shall I go purified to prostrate myself before her,
Before the marvelous love that emanates from her
eyes,

And together shall we whirl as a winged pair,*
Through orbits of spirits, from rank to rank,
Until we are fused into the divine effulgence of
Of the Holy Spirit?

Eagerly my heart awaits that glorious moment
In the eternal circle of the immortal quadrant!

In *Para un Apóstol* (In this case an apostle of the press), we find him approaching a recognition in God of the One who created and sustains the universe.

* * * * *

God glanced at the deep abyss and from nothing
He caused constellations of stars and suns,
Encircled with seas of aureorean clouds,
To spring into being.

Who is God? The will that I find
Making to revolve with majestic calm:
The star forever circling a center,
One soul forever revolving about another.

God is the hidden force that transforms
Egg to bird, slender sprout to mighty tree,
And brings mysteriously as by magic key
Beautiful butterflies from trailing worms.

God is All, attraction supreme,
Life of the Cosmos, universal murmur,
Ocean of light, deep problem,
Flame and spark, tempest and lullaby!

*The whirling winged pair reminds one of Espronceda's *Estudiante de Salamanca*, Line 1310.

He has his church: the spacious immensity,
 His organ: the sea singing psalms,
 His incense: the morning mist arising,
 His gorgeous shrine: the sun a-shining.*

"*La Muerta de Cain*"** is like a homily on Numbers 32:23: "Be sure your sin will find you out."

Molina is not easy to classify; perhaps his own words regarding another best describe him: Speaking of one of his contemporaries and compatriots, the poet Domínguez, he says: "Criticism, when it passes on his literary work, must proceed tactfully, because it cannot place him, once for all, in a definite literary school. He has something of the romantic, the classic, and the *modernista*."***

His criticism of the Spanish Academy† reveals him as an innovator rather than a traditionalist. Thus he speaks: "Consequently, instead of aiding, as is their duty, in clarifying, stabilizing, and giving splendor to the Spanish language, in favoring daring and innovatory ideas, in cooperating to some degree at least with their moral support in the evolution of contemporaneous thought, the members of the academy, it seems, have declared themselves the implacable enemies of all that is modern, grouping themselves back of tradition, as behind the wall of China.

**Poesías*, pp. 83-84. This passage is suggestive of Rousseauistic deification of nature, verging on pantheism. Cf. *Prosas*, p. 68.

***Poesías*, p. 67.

****Prosas*, p. 212

†*La Academia Española da la Lengua* seemed to Molina to hesitate over long in giving Castelar's seat to Jacinto Octavio Picón.

"They do not admit, nor have they admired, the original geniuses that rebel, either in form or content, against the old literary canons, which they regard as infallible gospels; not even do they calmly tolerate the preachings of new dogmas, that revolutionize the art that has been sacred for many generations. They always give the preference to the medicore, the writers and artists of meager imagination, that investigate nothing, that are not of a restless spirit, that do not seek daring ideals, and whose writings, dry and fleshless, lacking novelty and virility, are full of the commonplace, abounding in topics without brilliancy, of mannerisms cast in an archaic mold, which is in harmony with their ridiculous dogmatism, their senile souls, and their homesickness for the ancient. . . .

"They do not reform nor will they ever reform. They continue as before, the enemies of every literary innovation and of every new ideal. The literary atmosphere, which those who are in these learned corporations breathe, is so asphyxiating that many young and vigorous writers, who by chance succeed in entering them, after having delighted the public with the novelty of their style, replete with images, with fluency, and with color, at last are infected with the malady of their companions and in the end become servile copyists of vices of style and of vulgar mannerisms, rendering themselves completely sterile."*

If the term *Modernista* is applied to that which belongs to "Modernismo" and means, "an excessive affection for that which is new and a depreciation of the old, especially in arts and literature", then the above would incline us to the belief that Molina had a strong leaning toward the *Modernista* movement.

**Prosas*, pp. 246-247.

Goldberg* tells us that the *Modernista* movement in Spanish America is largely a result of modern French poetry and that: "Contemporary Spanish-American prose and verse, at their best, are remarkable for their lucidity, their ductility, their adaptation to the multifarious hues and humors of latter-day thought." From the Parnassians the Spanish-Americans "learned to seek new beauties of line and form; from the Symbolists and Decadents a deeper susceptibility to the musical possibilities of words." While there is something of all this in Molina, yet he is not an innovator** in the same sense in which Darío is. If, as Goldberg tells us, the word "free" characterizes the movement, then Molina is certainly its champion; for his writings show clearly his hatred of fetters of any sort.

Though in his verse he is rather classic and romantic, yet, in his unfavorable criticism† of the Colombian poet, Julia Flores, he shows himself an out and out *Modernista* in theory: "Flores is not a great poet because he has not sung the consummate secrets of the heart in new and complicated rhythms; the intellectual aristocracy will not give the Colombian a place in the upper circles of art because he lacks the new verbal orchestrations, the deep and restrained feelings, the solid learning which are the quintessence of literature, if the poet is to be, at one and the same time, new and old, simple and complex, local and universal, assimilating many states of mind and heart, in order to add his own in all its novelty and completeness."

**Studies in Spanish-American Literature*, New York, Brentano's, pp. 10-11.

**No attempt has been made to consider Molina's versification. He has both variety and power. Thirty-nine sonnets fill twenty of the 127 pages of *Poesías*. The sonnet, *El Arc Simurgo*, is the most conspicuous example of the recondite.

†*Prosas*, pp. 61-63.

The modern poet must not be a kind of juggler, but a very reticent and disdainful high priest of art. His Pegasus should not appear in the circus nor the public square, but should take his course through the heavens amid the stars. The poet of today is the seer of old, mysterious and taciturn, scrutinizing the events of his time, knowing and understanding all, from Vedic poetry to Musset, Verlaine, Heine, and Poe.*

The melancholy note in Molina is indicative of romanticism. "I fool homesick for a dead world; and, like the sweet Musset, I believe that I have been born late, that this epoch is not mine, that others are my times."

"Because I, the sick son of this century, product of a civilization without ideals, fruit of a tree already old, semi-barbarian of the new world, ought to have come in the dawn of humanity, in the morning of paganism, in the smiling morning of the earth, when Jove was strong with his face of Olympic rays, and Juno let fall from her divine bosom a cascade of milk."

"Then, oh sea, oh sun, oh wind, I would have sung in the magnificent Hellenic rhythm, accompanied by the three-stringed lyre of Orpheus, a hymn, religious and serene, that perhaps would have been pleasing to the beloved, immortal gods."**

"Oh, that I had lived in those sturdy times of war,
of love, and of conquest,
When priests, bandits, and soldiers went across angry
seas in search of remote lands!

*For Molina's essentially *Modernista* theory, see also, *Prosas*, pp. 97, 157, 210, 225.

***Prosas*, p. 22.

Not in this sad age in which every great aspiration, towering aloft like a mountain, falters and falls,
And I with ambition bounded and limited am left standing on the shore gazing at the beckoning blue of the horizon."*

In *Los Ojos de Los Niños*, (The Eyes of Children) we read:

* * * * *

"But the eyes say with an eloquent silence:
—How withered and gloomy is the world we view!
Happy the men who are born blind to life!
And then, yet in their youth,
Death steals upon them unawares;
While they gaze upon her smiling,
With one blow from her icy fingers,
She seals forever their innocent eyes."**

The poem entitled, *En La Alta Noche*,† (In the Deep Night) is distinctly romantic. We find such words as *murciélagos*, (bat), a favorite with the romanticists and used many times by Molina, *ataúd*, (coffin); *capuz*, the old-fashioned hooded cloak in which the reckless, heroic villain went about in the dead of night. Thus muffled, he was completely disguised. Let us see if we can come under the spell of the poem as it is translated:

* * * * *

"In the dead of night, when the world sleeps
In complete quietude,
When the frowning evil spirits that
Abhor the light,
Slink from their shades and open their bat-wings
Under the cloak of darkness

**Poesías*, p. 124.

***Poesías*, p. 59.

†*Poesías*, p. 76.

That encloses this miserable planet
As in a coffin:
When insomnia irritates our eyes
Heavy with sleep,
When the hand of the clock seems
To move very slowly;
When suddenly out of the stillness
A voice speaks our name;
When an invisible hand touches us
Causing us terror;
When the blood at the least surprise
Leaps to our temples,
And we hold our timid breath
Not knowing why;
When a troop of black memories
Cruelly harrasses us,
And we feel our enervated being
Annihilated without sorrow:
When the orchestra of the crickets breaks forth
In shrill and endless chorus.....*

While seated in *El Parque Bolívar* in the presence of the poet, Alvarez Magaña, Molina composed *Los Cuatro Bueyes*,** one of his most suggestive compositions. The poem pictures four oxen yoked to heavily laden carts. They lie down in the mud at twilight. They are near the park that to Molina's imagination is like a cemetery long closed. Tired and weary from their irksome toil the oxen sleep and dream of the beautiful country, with green meadows, babbling brooks and singing birds.

**Prosas*, p. 40, affords an excellent example of the production of romantic atmosphere, in a little reverie, entitled *Lloviendo*, "Raining."

***Poesías*, pp. 88-91.

" I am your brother in sorrow.
 . . . But it is vain for me to dream as you. And we
 shall always pull a load: You, a cart, heavily laden and
 I, the sombre, leaden sphere of my fantastic spirit."*

In his sonnet to *Madre Melancholía*, (Mother Melancholy), he says:

"Mother Melancholy, with secret bitterness,
 I must live clinging to thy bloodless breasts,
 Because I absorbed the noxious vapors of philosophy,
 And all the venom of literature."

* * * * *

In this spiritual desert, his weary soul parched with thirst, he dreams of sweet release, mid green bowers and cooling waters. But alas—"I am thy chosen, thy favorite son, Mother Melancholy."**

In truly romantic style, he has written a description of his own funeral entitled *Después que Muera*, (After my Death).† Portions of this would seem to indicate a familiarity with Becquer, for there are many passages which are quite similar. There is also a strong resemblance to *El Estudiante de Salamanca* by Espronceda. Like the true romanticist he awaited an early death. So real is his plaint, both in this poem and in his autobiography, that there seemed to be a genuine anticipation of a speedy close to his career.

In regard to his poems Professor F. Molina says: "His poems, in general, were considered by authoritative

**Op. cit.*, p. 91. It is possible, though not probable, that this poem was suggested by the *Midi* of Leconte de Lisle. There are at least two references elsewhere (*Prosas*, p. 40, p. 235.) to oxen as a part of the landscape. Certainly the ox-drawn cart is characteristic of many parts of Central America.

***Poesías*, p. 98.

†*Poesías*, p. 53.

critics as literary gems, and some of them as *El Águila*, *Salutación a los Poetas Brasileños*, and others, were pronounced masterpieces. Castelar, one of the leading writers in Spain, said of *El Águila*, 'Es necesario ser un águila para escribir un poema como El Águila.' i. e. "It is necessary to be very bright and clever in order to be able to write such a poem."

There are several reasons why Molina is much less known than he deserves to be. First of all, is the fact that he comes from a very small country. Most of the writers and compilers of Spanish-American literature entirely omit Honduras. Second, Spanish-American writers are so prolific that to winnow the wheat from the chaff one has to wade through such a mass of material as to make the task most uninviting. Third, the irregularity and prodigality of his life prevented him from publishing a book,* so that the chief avenue of expression that remained to him was the newspaper, with its merely ephemeral interest. Fourth and finally, he was only a youth at the time of his death, dying at the early age of thirty-three.

The student of Spanish-American literature will desire to compare Molina with Darío. We have seen that Molina surpassed Darío in the contest between Central American poets, enroute to Río de Janiero. To the Brazilian poets, Darío introduced Molina as the leading poet of Central America. Whether this was due more to the magnanimity of Darío** than to the ability of Molina, we cannot say.

Among those examined, the two poems of these authors most alike in theme and matter are their poems

*Molina evidently planned but did not finish a long poem on Mayan civilization. See *Prosas*, p. 111.

**Molina's sonnet to Darío is both good verse and high praise. See *Poesías*, pp. 114-115.

on the Nativity. Molina's entitled *Treboles de Navidad** that of Darío, *La Niña Rosa*. In each case a little girl comes to bring an offering to the Holy Child. The one in Darío's poem, eager to give an offering worthy of the new-born King, aided by her fairy mother, is transformed into a rose. Molina's little lassie enumerates a list of choice gifts which she would bestow if she were able, and then gives a flower.

To many Darío's poem will doubtless seem the better. However, the introduction of magic lends to it an air of unreality, whereas there is about Molina's poem the naturalness, reality, and sweet sincerity of the little child.

Each has written a poem entitled *Metempsychosis*. Darío's poem** in its subject matter, with its licentious suggestions, is unworthy of a great poet and unfit to be put into English. Molina's† is really beautiful and elevating. He has been, during his transmigratory course, such a variety of creatures that he has fallen in love with all of nature's beauties. For example:

"In the wide sonorous sea I was a fish among the
crystals,
Reflecting the gleam of gems and shining metals:
That is why I love the foam, the rocky promontories,
The salt-sea breezes, and the livid corals."

* * * * *

Águilas y Condores by Molina‡ is somewhat similar to *Salutación al Águila*‡‡ by Darío. Darío wrote his famous ode to Roosevelt, in which he expressed the Latin American fear of the imperialistic tendencies in the

**Poesías*, p. 46.

***Obras Escogidas*, Vol. II, 228.

†*Poesías*, p. 124.

‡*Poesías*, p. 34.

‡‡*Obras Escogidas*, Vol. II.

United States. Later he wrote his *Salutación al Águila** in which he lauds the United States. More recently, in *La Gran Cosmópolis*** Darío gives his impressions of New York City. In this poem, adverse criticism is evident, with, here and there, an alleviating note of praise.

In *Águilas y Condores*, Molina seems to have in mind the entire Western hemisphere, but more particularly South America. He evidently felt that all of the new world had much in common. "Shall we not be brothers in America? There is in the new world only one race Races of the New World! Peoples of America: In this continent we ought to be brothers."

We find Molina voicing elsewhere a criticism which is akin to Darío's attitude in *La Gran Cosmópolis*. Speaking of Honduras he says, "It is . . . one of the most paradisaical corners of America, where the invasion of the blonde horde (the Anglo-Saxon race), covetous of gold and of conquest, is scarcely begun.***

Molina is ever earnest and serious. There is nothing of the lighter vein in him. One is made to feel that behind the message he brings there is the burning soul of the man. Most of his songs are in the minor key, and

*Blanco-Fombona speaks of this poem (*Lctras y Lctrados, Introducción*, p. 19). He says: "¿. . . no canta, él, Rubén, nuestro poeta, nuestra, gloria, el águila de los Yanquis? Yo le hubiera cortado la mano." This seems to be the passage which Coester has rendered as follows: "Rather than write such sentiments as these a Venezuelan critic said he would have cut off his hand." (Coester, *Literary Hist, Sp. Am.*, p. 465).

***Lira Póstuma*, p. 35.

****Prosas*, p. 6. The *Prosas* contains a few other brief references to the United States of America. He twice praises our press. (p. 75. p. 151) "Love, politics, the acquirement of wealth are incentives to live intensely, as Roosevelt advises and practices." (p. 124.) "Anglo-American Puritanism" is given a nasty thrust. (p. 147). Our material prowess is mentioned with respect, and we are rather complimented on our ability to absorb immigration. (p. 148.)

their plaintive notes are attuned to the tenderest chords of the heart.

Born in the little village of Comayagüela, nestling close by the river's brink, he learned to love the fields and flowers and the lofty mountains about him. So powerful was his love of nature that he was in the habit of deifying *La Naturaleza*. He is Rousseauistic and romantic, in that he exalts and glorifies the savage or primitive state of man as the Golden Age, like Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Montaigne's essay on *Cannibals*. In life he was like Byron, in thought like Lamartine.*

Among the brightest literary stars in the Central American firmament are José Batres y Montúfar of Guatemala, Rubén Darío of Nicaragua, and Juan Ramón Molina of Honduras. Molina's reputation will rest mainly on the *Poesías*. The *Prosas*, while very beautiful and resonant, contribute very little to his permanent place in literature. They are of prime importance for an understanding of Molina's spiritual and aesthetic background. They are, too, an invaluable mine of information on the cultural history of his country. While Molina is perhaps not a universal genius like Darío, yet he is, we believe, a greater artist and of more lasting value than Batres. No comprehensive treatment of Spanish-American literature has yet been made; and it can never be made without considering Molina.**

*One might as readily draw comparisons with Baudelaire and Verlaine.

**After this paper was completed we were able to examine a copy of Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura, Comprendidos los autores Hispano-americanos*. We are glad to note that Juan Ramón Molina is given a paragraph. (Vol. XIII, Madrid, 1920, p. 181.) He is classed as the author most famous in his day for his artistic style, as a classicist in verse, as a *Modernista* in his theory and prose.

Molina's romantic qualities and themes are neglected.—We are at a loss to know why the date of *Tierras, Cielos y Mares* should be given as 1913. The two copies which we have examined are both dated 1911.

APPENDIX

Containing, in the order in which they are cited, the Spanish text of the more important *Poesías* to which reference has been made.

AUTOBIOGRAFIA

Nací en el fondo azul de las montañas hondureñas. Destesto las ciudades, y más me gusta un grupo de cabañas perdido en las remotas soledades.

Soy un salvaje huraño y silencioso a quien la urbana disciplina enerva, y vivo—como el león y como el oso prisioneros—soñando en la caverna.

Fué mi niñez como un jardín risueño, donde—a los goces de mi edad esquivo--- presa* ya de la fiebre del ensueño, vagué dolientemente pensativo, sordo a la clamorosa gritería de muchos compañeros olvidados, que fué segando sin piedad la fría hoz implacable de los negros hados.

¡Todos cayeron en la fosa oscura!
Fué para ellos la vida un triste dolo, y—el corazón preñado de amargura— me ví de pronto inmensamente solo.

¿ Qué se hizo aquel cuya gentil cabeza era de sol? ¿ El jovencito hercúleo que burlara en la lucha mi destreza? ¿ El dulce efebo de mirar cerúleo?

¿ El que bajaba el más lejano nido? ¿ El más alegre y mentiroso? ¿ El zafío? ¡Para los tristes escribió el olvido, en el nómade viento, un epitafio . . . !

¡Hada buena la muerte fué para ellos!
No conocieron el dolor. La adusta vejez no echó ceniza en sus cabellos, ni doblegó su juventud robusta!

Desde mi infancia fuí meditabundo, triste de muerte. La melancolía, fué mi mejor querida en este mundo pequeño, y sigue siendo todavía.

*For *preso*?

Sentí en el alma un natural deseo
de cantar. A la orilla del camino,
hallé una lira—no cual la de Orfeo—
y obedezco el mandato del destino,

tan ciegamente, que mañana—cuando
tránsfuga de la vida, me deserte—
quizás celebre madrigalizando
mis tristes desposorios con la muerte.

No he sido un hombre bueno. Ni tampoco
malo. Hay en mí una dualidad extraña:
tengo mucho de cuerdo, algo de loco,
mucho de abismo y algo de montaña.

Para unos soy montruosamente vano;
para otros muy humilde y muy sincero:
al viejo Job le hubiera dicho—Hermano:
dame tus llagas y tu estercolero.

Una existencia asaz contradictoria
de placer y dolor, de odio y de arrullo,
ha agitado mi sér: tal es la historia
de mi sinceridad y de mi orgullo.

Goces mortales y terribles duelos,
toda ventura y toda desventura
exploraciones por remotos cielos,
enorme hacinamiento de lectura;

despilfarro de vida sensitiva,
abuso de nepentes; los cilicios
mentales; l'alma como carne viva,
la posesión de prematuros vicios;

las miserias del medio; ansias de gloria
que llega tarde: estar organizado
para la lucha y para la victoria,
y ser, apesar de eso, un fracasado.

¡Todo conspira a hacer horriblemente
triste al que asciende las mentales cumbres,
y a que* cruce—con rostro indiferente
o huraño—entre las vanas muchedumbres!

*For *al que*?

¡Ah, mi primera juventud! La cierta,
la única juventud, la que es divina!
“Lejos quedó, la pobre loba, muerta,”
asesinada por mi jabalina.

Al mirarme al espejo ¡cuán cambiado
estoy! No me conozco ni yo mismo;
tengo en los ojos, de mirar cansado,
algo del miedo del que ve un abismo.

Tengo en la frente la indecible huella
de aquel que ha visto, con la fe perdida,
palidecer y declinar su estrella
en los arcanos cielos de la vida.

Tengo en los labios tímidos—en esos
labios que fueron una rosa pura—
la señal dolorosa de mil besos
dados y recibidos con locura,

en dulce cita o en innoble orgía
cuando, al empuje de ímpetus fatales,
busqué siempre la honrosa compañía
de los siete pecados capitales;

y era mi juventud, en su desgaire
como un corcel de planta vencedora,
que se lanzaba a devorar el aire,
relinchando de júbilo a la aurora.

Tengo en todo mi sér, donde me obliga
algo a callar mi doloroso grito,
una inmensa fatiga: la fatiga
del peso abrumador del infinito.

La gran angustia, el espantoso duelo,
de haber nacido, por destino arcano,
para volar sin tregua en todo cielo
y recorrer sin rumbo todo oceano.

Para sufrir el mal eternamente
del ensueño; y así, meditabundo,
vivir con las pupilas fijamente
clavadas en el corazón del mundo;

en el misterio del amor sublime,
 en la oculta tristeza de las cosas,
 en todo lo que calla o lo que gime,
 en los hombres, las bestias y las rosas;

y dar a los demás mi risa o llanto
 la misma sangre de mis venas, todo,
 en la copa mirífica del canto,
 hecha de gemas, de marfil o lodo;

y no dejar para mis labios nada;
 y vivir, con el pecho dolorido,
 para ver que, al final de la jornada,
 mi sepultura cavará el olvido.

Hoy, que llegué a la cumbre de los años,
 ante la ruta que a mis pies se extiende,
 pongo los ojos, de terror, huraños;
 mas exclama una voz: sigue y ascende!

Mas ¿para qué, señor? ¡Estoy enfermo!
 ¡Me consume el demonio del hastío!
 ¡Toda la tierra para mí es un yermo
 donde me muero de cansancio y frío!

He abrevado mis ansias de sapiencia
 en toda fuente venenosa o pura,
 en los amargos pozos de la ciencia
 y en el raudal de la literatura.

—*Poesías*, pp. 49-53; see above, pp 483-487.

UNA MUERTA

* * * * *

¿Por qué no murió un astro?

Señor: nunca discuto
 tu voluntad, porque eres
 padre y dueño de cosas,
 espíritus y seres:

* * * * *

¿Iré, purificado
 a postrarme de hinojos,
 ante el amor mirífico
 que emana de sus ojos,

y juntos giraremos,
 unánimes como alas,
 en órbitas de espíritus,
 de escalas en escalas.

hasta ser absorbidos
 en la divina hoguera
 del Espíritu Santo?

Ansiosamente espera

mi corazón, que llegue
 ese glorioso instante
 en el eterno círculo
 del inmortal cuadrante!

—*Poesías*, pp. 21, 25; see above pp. 494-5.

PARA UN APOSTOL

* * * * *

Dios, lanzando al abismo su mirada.
 ceñidos entre mares de arboles,
 hizo surgir del éter, de la nada,
 regueros de planetas y de soles!

¿Y quién es Dios? La voluntad que encuentro
 girar haciendo con divina calma:
 el astro siempre alrededor de un centro
 y el alma siempre alrededor de otra alma.

Dios es poder oculto que subyuga
 a transformarse, por ignota clave,
 en mariposa espléndida, la oruga,
 el tallo en árbol, como el huevo en ave.

Dios es el Todo, la atracción suprema,
 del Cosmos vida, universal murmullo,
 océano de luz, hondo problema,
 incendio y chispa, tempestad y arrullo!

Tiene su iglesia: es el espacio inmenso;
un órgano, ese mar que le salmodia,
en la neblina matinal su incienso
y en el sol su magnífica custodia!

—*Poesías*, pp. 83, 84; see above, pp. 495-6.

ANHELO

¡Viviese yo en los tiempos esforzados
de amores, de conquistas y de guerras,
en que frailes, bandidos y soldados
a través de los mares irritados
iban en busca de remotas tierras!

No en esta triste edad en que desmaya
todo anhelo—encumbrado como un monte—
y en que poniendo mi ambición a raya
herido y solo me quedé en la playa
viendo el límite azul del horizonte!

—*Poesías*, p. 124; see above, pp. 499-500.

LOS OJOS DE LOS NIÑOS

* * * * *

Mas dicen los ojos
con un elocuente silencio:
—¡Qué opaco y marchito es el mundo
que nosotros vemos!
¡Felices los hombres que nacen
a la vida ciegos!

Entonces la Muerte,
que se halla en acecho,
se acerca de pronto a los niños,
que la ven sonriendo,
y cierra de un golpe sus cándidos ojos
con la punta glacial de sus dedos.

—*Poesías*, p. 59; see above, p. 500.

EN LA ALTA NOCHE

En la alta noche, cuando el mundo duerme
 en completa quietud,
 cuando los foscos genios de las sombras,
 que aborrecen la luz,
 sus membranosas alas de murciélago
 abren bajo el capuz,
 que encierra este planeta miserable
 como en un ataúd:
 cuando el insomnio irrita nuestros ojos
 cargados de sopor,
 cuando parece caminar muy lenta
 la aguja del reloj;
 cuando en el aire de repente dice
 nuestro nombre una voz;
 cuando nos tienta una invisible mano
 causándonos terror:
 cuando la sangre a la menor sorpresa
 golpea nuestra sien,
 y contenemos nuestro aliento tímido
 ignorando porqué;
 cuando una negra turba de recuerdos
 nos hostiga cruel,
 y anonadarse sin dolor sentimos
 nuestro embotado sér:
 cuando la orquesta de los grillos lanza
 su chirrido sin fin,

* * * * *

—*Poesías*, p. 76; see above, pp. 500-501

* * * * *

LOS CUATRO BUEYES

* * * * *

Hermano soy en la pena,
 míseros bueyes, hermano;
 mas es en balde que sueñe
 como vosotros. Tirando
 siempre estaremos. Vosotros,
 de una carreta con fardos,
 y yo del orbe sombrío
 de mi espíritu fantástico.

—*Poesías*, p. 91; see above, p. 502.

MADRE MELANCOLIA

A tus exangües pechos, Madre Melancolía,
he de vivir pegado, con secreta amargura,
porque absorví los éteres de la filosofía
y todos los venenos de la literatura.

En vano—fatigada de sed el alma mía—
sueña con una Arcadia de sombra y de verdura,
y con el don sencillo de un odre de agua fría
y un racimo de dátiles y un pan sin levadura.

Todo el dolor antiguo y todo el dolor nuevo
mezclado sutilmente en mi espíritu llevo
con el extracto de una fatal sabiduría.

Conozco ya las almas, las cosas y los seres.
he recorrido mucho las playas de Citeres
¡Soy tu hijo predilecto, Madre Melancolía!

—*Poesías*, p. 98; see above, p. 502.

DESPUES QUE MUERA

Tal vez moriré joven Los amigos
me vestirán de negro,
y entre dolientes y llorosos cirios
de pálidos reflejos,
colocarán con cuidadosas manos
mi ya rígido cuerpo,
poniendo mi cabeza en la almohada,
mis manos sobre el pecho.

* * * * *

Los días correrán, y lentamente
se han de podrir mis miembros,
y he de ser, por la ley de la materia,
un puñado de cieno.
Mas, entre esos despojos miserables,
entre ese lodo infecto,
germinará, oh vida de mi muerte,
mi amor almo y eterno!

* * * * *

Y si vaga tu espíritu en los limbos
del éxtasis supremo,
oirás entre las sombras de tu estancia
armonioso aleteo.

Seráfico rumor Será mi alma
 que, desde el alto cielo,
 llega al triste planeta de los hombres
 para velar tu sueño.

Después, cuando tú mueras, una noche
 de calma y de silencio,
 arrojaré con las huesosas manos
 la tierra de mi féretro;
 y a la luz de un doliente plenilunio
 contemplantos los muertos,
 con los brazos en cruz y de rodillas,
 orando un esqueleto!

—*Poesías*, pp. 53-55; see above, p. 502.

METEMPSICOSIS

Del ancho mar sonoro fuí un pez en los cristales,
 que tuve los reflejos de gemas y metales.
 Por eso amo la espuma, los agrios peñaseales
 las brisas salitrosas, los vívidos corales.

* * * * *

—*Poesías*, p. 121; see above, p. 504.

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The Roman Provincial Governor
as He Appears in the Digest
and Code of Justinian

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	- - - - -	1
II.	Titles	- - - - -	2
III.	Insignia	- - - - -	2
IV.	The Dignity of the Office	- - - - -	2
V.	Approach to the Province and Departure from it		3
VI.	The Governor as an Executive	- - - - -	7
	A. General Powers, Duties and Limitations	-	7
	B. The Governor and Public Works	- - -	10
	C. The Governor and Financial Affairs	- -	11
	D. The Governor and Other Officials	- - -	17
	E. The Governor and the Christian Church	-	23
VII.	The Governor in his Judicial Capacity	- - - - -	30
	A. General Powers, Duties and Limitations	-	30
	B. The Governor and Criminal Law	- - - -	33
	C. Delegations of Authority	- - - - -	40
VIII.	Conclusion	- - - - -	43
IX.	Notes	- - - - -	45
X.	Appendix: A Detailed Analysis of the Whole Work		49
XI.	Bibliography	- - - - -	52

I.

INTRODUCTION

The object of this sketch is to present a picture of the Roman provincial governor as he appears in the Digest and Code of Justinian. It is, in other words, an account of the governor's functions as they are depicted in the juristic writings and constitutions accepted by Justinian as the law for his own time. Accordingly, no reference is made, except incidentally, to the period at which a particular legal work or constitution originated.

It is a discussion of the governor and his sphere of authority at the end of the period inaugurated by Diocletian, for it was in his time that the separation of civil and military authority occurred. So it is that we have to consider primarily the executive and judicial powers of the governor. His military and financial duties—so far as they exist—belong more properly under the head of executive.

We may speak of this as a presentation of the provincial governor at the end of a period because we have directly following it, as we see from the Novels of Justinian, the beginning of a new era which is marked by the reunion of civil and military powers in the hands of a single man, and by the enlargement of provinces. This new development, inspired largely by military necessity, is a precursor of the later system of Themes. But it is not our purpose to attack this complicated question. With these facts in mind let us begin our study.

II. TITLES

D I 18, 1 The title of praeses was a general term including proconsuls, imperial legates and provincial governors in general. The term proconsul was of special application. There were only three proconsuls, two in the orient, in Asia and Achaea respectively, and one in the occident, in Africa. The *Notitia Dignitatum*¹ also indicates that in the orient there were forty praesides, in the narrower sense of the term, fifteen consulares, and two correctores, while in the occident there were twenty-two praesides, thirty-one consulares, and three correctores.² The superior rank of the proconsul was indicated by his title, *spectabilis*, whereas the praeses was usually *clarissimus*.³

III. INSIGNIA

D I 16, 14 The insignia of the governor consisted of six fasces.⁴ And these might be displayed anywhere
D I 16, 1 as soon as he had left the capital city, bound for his province.

IV. THE DIGNITY OF THE OFFICE

D I 16, 7 The governor had definite instructions regarding his official bearing in his province. It was incumbent upon him, when visiting important provincial towns, to exhibit no impatience in listening to a complimentary address, because the provincial populace considered this an honor to themselves.
(pr.)

D I 16, 9 In his judicial character he was expected to be patient with pleaders, but dignified. He had to be ready to hear cases, but was not to allow disrespect. Accordingly, he was instructed not to be on terms of too great familiarity with the provincials, lest this familiarity breed contempt. In hearing a case he had to guard against flaring
(2)

up against those whom he thought evil, or being moved to tears by the prayers of men in trouble, for it was not considered characteristic of a good judge to betray his feelings by his exterior. In every way his bearing was supposed to enhance the authority of his rank.

V. APPROACH TO THE PROVINCE AND DEPARTURE FROM IT

The governor assumed the imperium when he left the capital city to set out for his province, and did not relinquish it until he once more entered the city gate.⁵ As soon as he had left the city he was at liberty to exercise voluntary but not contentious jurisdiction: for example, manumissions⁶ and adoptions could be executed in his presence. The contentious element in such cases was not real but purely formal. In the same way, if the governor manumitted or appointed a guardian in his province before hearing of the arrival of his successor, either act was considered valid. Such jurisdiction as this was after all merely of minor importance. Even the legate possessed it.⁷ And so there is obviously no contradiction in the statement that the governor's power was confined to his province, and that he became a private citizen if he left it. That admonition was intended to keep him from wandering beyond the proper sphere of his influence when once he had assumed his official duties in his province, and to prevent him from intruding into other provinces and interfering in the affairs of others.⁸ The slight voluntary jurisdiction which he exercised prior to his arrival at the province was doubtless also allowed him on his return from the province to the capital, though this is not expressly mentioned in either the Digest or the Code. Its importance was so inconsiderable that this is perhaps not a very bold supposition to make.

Once the governor had left the capital, even though he had not yet reached his province, he was considered absent on state service, and in similar fashion he was held not to have returned from service until he had entered the city itself. It was considered wise that the governor should not be involved in any litigation over business matters at home while in the service of the state. These could be taken up upon his return.⁹

One day before he entered the province, the governor was expected to issue a proclamation concerning his arrival, for if the time of his coming were uncertain it was very apt to disturb the provincials and upset their business affairs. This proclamation usually contained some sort of recommendation of the governor by reference to provincials of his acquaintance, or by mention of relatives who chanced to live in the province. In particular it ordinarily excused the inhabitants from coming to meet him on the ground that it was most fitting for them to receive him within the limits of their own country.

Again, when he entered the province, he was expected to follow the custom as to the place of entry and to observe which city he should first enter, because the provincials made much of prerogatives of this sort. Some provinces, for example, had to be approached by sea. Asia was such a one; and the emperor Caracalla, in accordance with the desire of the people of Asia, declared by rescript that the proconsul was bound to approach Asia by sea and visit Ephesus first of the metropolitan cities.

The retiring governor had to administer his office until his successor arrived at the boundary¹⁰ of the province, because the office was continuous in character, and because the interests of the prov-

C I 49, 1

ince required it. Even after the arrival of his successor, he was compelled to remain for the set period of fifty days to answer accusations for misrule. His legate also had to remain until the governor himself left the province.

Throughout these fifty days the governor was bound to appear in public in the metropolis of the province so that all provincials might easily bring charges against him for extortion or other misdeeds. He was expressly forbidden to conceal himself in sacred precincts or in the homes of influential friends. On the other hand, it was the duty of his successor in office as well as of the *curiales* and the *defensor* of the city to protect him against all injury.

There was no valid excuse for the governor to leave the province before the prescribed time—not even an imperial recall; or the written assignment to another administrative position; or the command of the praetorian prefect¹¹ to assume the governorship of another province; or the command of any civil or military power that he take up public office elsewhere. In particular, deceit or trickery of any kind, trumped up for the occasion, was carefully guarded against so that the safety of the provincials might be cared for. Avoidance or violation of this wholesome law was punishable with a fine of fifty pounds of gold which was paid to the public treasury. Members of the governor's staff were liable to the same penalty as the governor himself if they did not attempt to restrain him or report his error.

Any governor who fled from his province was to be haled back at the order of the praetorian prefect and with the help of the governor of the province to which he had fled. There he was forced to remain for a period of six months, which was thought to be a sufficient time for the un-

veiling of his guilt. His staff in this case was fined thirty pounds of gold for not having prevented his escape.

If the governor were accused within the prescribed fifty days and after the lapse of this period the case were not yet decided, then, provided he were involved in a civil law case, he might appoint a procurator to guard his interests and himself depart. But if the charge were criminal he had to await the termination of the case. All cases had to be ended within twenty days after their beginning.

Thus we see that provision was carefully made to insure the continuity of the office of provincial governor. The personal element here sinks to the background and the emphasis falls on the impersonal office which is designed to care for the provincials. But because of human fallibility and corruption great attention had to be given to safeguard the people of the provinces from the rapacity of the person who wielded the office, too often alas, for his own advantage and to the detriment of the people under his sway.

VI. THE GOVERNOR AS AN EXECUTIVE

VI A. GENERAL POWERS, DUTIES AND LIMITATIONS

Having now passed by our introductory matter, let us approach the discussion of the two fundamentally significant aspects of the governor's power, the executive and the judicial. First the executive. There is material in the Digest and the Code for several most attractive studies: the governor and public works; the governor's relation to financial affairs; the governor and other officials; the governor and the Christian church. Some matters which do not belong properly under any of these special heads, but which are by nature general in character, may well precede the rest by way of introduction. And to these general powers, duties and limitations we will now turn.

The governor possessed the highest authority in the province after that of the emperor himself. It may be well to remember that the Romans made no clear distinction between executive and judicial powers, and that accordingly the preceding statement applies equally well to the governor's judicial powers which are to be taken up in the next section.

It was usual for the governor of a province to decide what were to be the days of harvest and of vintage according to the custom of the particular locality. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was a part of the provincial edict which was not fixed, but rather left to the discretion of the governor. It is equally obvious that uniformity in this respect would have been neither possible nor desirable.

No provincial governor, nor in fact any other magistrate having the imperium, could be cited to appear in court, because he himself exercised the power of putting persons into prison.

Regarding the governor's staff¹² our information from the Code and the Digest is practically nothing. One rather obscure constitution seems to indicate that the proconsul of Asia and his legate might have four hundred persons attached to their staff. But none of these might be one whose loss the towns could complain of.

There were a few duties, also, of general character. The governor was bound to remember that on holidays only judicial business ceased. Military discipline had to be carried on; and prisons had to be inspected as usual. The governor was supposed to encourage athletic contests and to allow anyone who wished, to give them to the people, but was not to exercise any compulsion in such matters. It was also his duty to repress illegal collegia, and not to permit soldiers to have societies in camp. He had to see that the bodies and bones of the dead were buried properly and without delay and interference.

The general limitations on the governor's power were more numerous. In the first place no one could become a governor in his native province without special permission from the emperor. Presumably this was because he could not be expected to maintain an impartial attitude toward his friends or enemies in the province. Another factor may have been a fear on the part of the emperor that the governor might become too popular and gain power which might threaten the central government. Further, he was not permitted to resign his office.¹³

The provincials themselves acted as a check on their governor. For the emperor gave them

the right to applaud the upright and conscientious governor, and to accuse the unjust evil-doer. He, on his part, promised to exalt to greater honors the just governor, and to remove the unjust from office, after careful examination of the charges. The pronouncements of the provincials were brought to the emperor's attention by the praetorian prefects and the comites of the various provinces.

The governor's imperium was restricted to his own province. If he left it he became a private citizen. He was instructed not to leave his province save to discharge a vow, and even then he was not to spend a night beyond the border. Nor might he visit the capital city without special permission from the emperor himself. These restrictions were obviously framed to prevent the undue growth of the governor's individual power and to keep him properly subordinate. Within the province he had to live in the imperial palace or official dwelling and keep it in repair. If there happened to be two such dwellings in a given place, he had to live in the palace and to use the other as a store-house for public grain or for any other necessary purpose. In case he broke the law, he and his staff suffered a penalty of fifty pounds of gold for the repair of the neglected palace.

The governor might not have on his staff any curial. The proconsul of Asia seems to have been under a special restriction that he should not have on his staff anyone whom the appropriate bureaux, or *scrinia* at Constantinople had not passed upon. The governor might not take to his province with him a *domesticus*¹⁴ (guard) or a *cancellarius* (secretary). If he did he suffered the penalty of loss of office and confiscation of property.

It was wise for him not to take his wife with him. He was, however, at liberty to take her, provided that he bore in mind the fact that he was to be held responsible for any wrong which she committed. He was not allowed to contract a marriage in his province, or to consent to his son's marrying. These provisions were of course intended to prevent the governor from forcing marriage upon the provincials under his power, and possibly to keep him from increasing his individual power through advantageous alliances.

VI B. THE GOVERNOR AND PUBLIC WORKS

The governor had full charge of the conduct of local public works, and settled any differences which arose between the contractors, the curators of works,¹⁵ and the municipality itself. Persons who had liberally contributed to public works were entitled to have their names inscribed upon them. And the governor had to interpose his authority to prevent such names from being erased and those of other donors inscribed. His own name could not in any case be so inscribed.

It was his duty to inspect not only public works, but private buildings as well, and see that they were kept in repair, enforcing his judgment by law if need be. His supervision extended even to legacies or trusts left for public works. It was he who decided questions relative to these. It was for him to see that public land was not held by private citizens, to keep the public distinct from the private, and provide that the public returns rather than private interests should increase. In case public places or buildings had fallen into private use, he had to use his discretion in the matter, reclaiming them if this seemed advisable, or else imposing a vectigal if he thought that this would be of greater advantage to the town. When

- D L 10, 6 work had to be done on walls or gates or other public property, or if walls had to be built, the governor was normally expected to consult the emperor. We have, however, a constitution of the year 396 A. D. which contained a general order that provincial governors should instruct the senates and the inhabitants of the various municipalities to build new walls or strengthen the old ones. No doubt this measure was intended to protect the empire as well as the municipalities from the barbarian onslaughts.¹⁶ The expenses were to be distributed equitably by tax among the people so that none was to be overburdened. Yet no one was to be exempt.
- C VIII 11 (12), 12

- In one respect, however, the municipalities were to be undisturbed by the governor. He was not permitted, under threat of heavy penalties, to pry into the finances involved in public works or to extort money on any pretext.
- C VIII 12 (13), 1
(pr., 2)

That the governor's interference in regard to public works in the municipalities was of a benevolent character seems evident. His power was far reaching in every direction, except in the matter of finances. And the reason for this last is only too apparent.

VI C. THE GOVERNOR AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

- The responsibility for the collection of taxes rested upon the governor¹⁷ of the province. A penalty of fifty pounds of gold and the necessity of repayment of any loss to the treasury threatened him in case he did not see to it that the tribute was collected according to law, in the proper amount and at the proper time. A tax-list was annually sent to the various provinces by the praetorian prefect. But even if this were faulty and did not contain all the tax imposts or
- C X 16, 13

- methods of collection, in spite of this the governor was responsible for the raising of the appropriate sum which ancient custom provided. If less than this were exacted or sent to the sacred largess the governor had to pay a fine of twenty pounds of gold. He might not exact more than he was delegated to collect, nor on the other hand might he remit any portion of the tax for anyone. The tax was upon property¹⁵ rather than on persons and the governor had to see that persons were not taxed beyond the measure of their possessions. It was part of the governor's duty to see that coloni did not leave their homes. Even if they had attained freedom by thirty years of service, they still were bound to the soil, though protected by the governor from violence at the hands of the owners of the estates on which they lived. They and their children could not escape from their abode and from the oppressive burden of the taxes. One of the constitutions relating to this sounds like the knell of the prosperity of the Roman empire, and rises at the end to a bitter climax: "All fugitive coloni without reference to sex, business, or rank, shall be compelled by the provincial governors to return to their ancient penates where they were born, raised and enrolled by the census."

- We have mention of various kinds of taxes.
- D L 8, 2 The governor had to see that debtors of corn
(3) money paid the due amount; and that the tribute
C XII 39 for clothes for the soldiers was remitted to the
(40), 1 largess without cessation. Emphyteutic tenants¹⁶
were relieved of extraordinary burdens, though
C XI 65 we see that the governor was not to exempt them
(64), 1 from help in repairing the public roads. Their
tenancy was usually on imperial domains and this
no doubt was the reason for their exemption from
extraordinary burdens, for estates of the crown
were generally not oppressed with these burdens

- C XI 65 nor with the *bina* and *terna*.²⁰ It was the gover-
 (64), 2 nor's function to see that crown lands and emphy-
 teutic tenants were protected. We learn from one
 C XI 49 constitution that the governor is to exempt the
 (48), 1 city plebs of Lycia and Pamphylia from the poll-
 C XI 59 tax, just as the people are exempted in the orien-
 (58), 16, tal provinces; from another that he must not hold
 17 any curial for the taxes due on an adjoining farm.

- At this point a few words regarding the method of tax collection may be of interest. The constitutions dealing with this subject are not easy to interpret, but some simple facts emerge from the confusion. In the full assembly of the local senates the *exactores* and *susceptores* were selected: the *exactores* to make known the governor's ordinances regarding the taxation, and the *susceptores* to receive the taxes. The governor, it must be remembered, had full responsibility for the taxes of his province. Three times a year he had to send the tax lists to the capital through the hands of a *tractator* or *reviser*. The *susceptores* or the *arcarii* (treasurers of the *arca*, the chest of the praetorian prefect) received the gold or silver from the freeholders, and the governor was bound to see that the citizens were not cheated by illegal weights. On account of the excessive number of tax collectors a single *canonicarius* was appointed for each province, who exercised supervision of the entire amount collected. The *compulsor*, an imperial official, checked up the total sum. If there were any negligence or mismanagement, it was his duty to fine both the *canonicarius* and the governor, if need be, and to collect the outstanding taxes. In case of great necessity a second *compulsor* might be sent to review the actions of all those who preceded him. We see then that, while the governor was in charge of the tax collection in his province, there were innumerable checks in every direction to prevent extor-
- C X 72
 (70), 8
- C I 42, 1
 C IV 23, 3
 C X 72
 (70), 15
- C X 19, 9

tion and to further justice in this difficult task. It should be observed that the governor was supposed never to receive directly any of the taxes, but only to supervise their collection.

Before turning to the subject of extortion, let us mention one or two other financial duties of the governor. He customarily declared the law concerning the pay of teachers of liberal studies, rhetoricians, for example, and grammarians and geometers. He took charge of money left by will for the alimenta of boys, and put it out at interest in proper fashion. We see from this that his financial duties were slight, except in connection with the taxes. And here the picture is most depressing.

D L 13, 1
D XXXV
2, 89
(pr.)

It was necessary for the governor to do all in his power to check the rapacity of tax officials. And on the other hand the checks upon his own power show that he himself was only too often open to criticism.

He had to supervise the officials engaged in tax collections and see that they did not exceed at any time the amount fixed by law. It was his duty to prevent the ducenarii²¹ and the centenarii or the sexagenarii from approaching any of the debtors before they had received the accounts of the debtors from the local record offices; to see that the collection was made without intimidation; and to be ready to hear charges against these officials. He might punish a compulsor convicted of extortion without consulting the emperor. Whatever was extorted by any tax collector was to be returned double to the provincials. And the governor was expected to threaten rapacious exactores with capital punishment to deter them from continuance in their crime. Exemption from payment of taxes, when once it was granted, could

C I 27, 1
(6)
C X 19, 1
C XII 61
(62), 1
and 3
C X 20, 1
C X 22, 2

not be rescinded; and so the governor was bound to protect persons who were exempt from being called to trial.

- Not only did the governor protect the provincials in tax collecting but from other oppression as well. He provided that the curiales and provincials generally were not imposed upon beyond measure by the duty of furnishing fodder and money for post horses and extra horses for the post. He enforced the law that the announcer of imperial constitutions might not accept more than six solidi²² from the province on the occasion of the declaration.
- C XII 50
(51), 19
- C XII 63
(64), 2

- The governor also prevented exactions made on pretended grounds, such as the pretense of levying taxes. He took care that men of small means were not deprived of their sole slave²³ or scanty furniture on the ground of the arrival of soldiers or official attendants.
- D I 18, 6
(3, 5)

- The attitude of the emperor Justinian toward tax collecting and extortion is summed up in a constitution that sounds a rather eloquent note in the arid waste of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*: "We desire that all our governors should rule uprightly in the fear of God and according to our ordinaces, and that they neither themselves do violence to the people nor yet permit their officials or the tax collectors to do so. For violence and avarice must cease, and justice and truth be observed toward our tributaries."
- C I 27, 1
(5)

- The checks on the governor himself were many. He was instructed by the emperor not to cause the tax-payer loss in any fashion, under fear of imperial displeasure and of the penalty of repairing the harm he had done. He was forbidden to burden the province in the matter of providing quarters, and bidden to use soldiers to
- C I 40, 16
- D I 16, 4
(pr., 1)

C XII 40 perform the service of grooms. If he extorted
(11), 12 gold under pretext of quartering he might expect
the heavy penalty of confiscation of goods and
perpetual exile.

C I 54, 6 There are some interesting limitations on the
governor's power of imposing fines. At first
glance they are hard to understand. When we
remember that he had the power of inflicting cap-
ital punishment, it seems a trifle peculiar to learn
that the largest fine a proconsular governor might
inflict was the sum of six unciae. Nor could one
person be fined for the same offense more than
three times in a year. The intention apparently
is to prevent extortion under the pretext of fining.
His power to preserve public order was almost
unlimited, but his uprightness in money matters
was evidently not to be trusted.

D I 16, 6 And so it was that he was also expected to
(3) use moderation in accepting gifts. Obviously
D I 18, 18 there was nothing wrong in accepting trifling
C I 53, 1 gifts, but he was not supposed to accept dona-
(2, 4) tions, or to buy things moveable or immoveable,
or to build houses, lest in this way he impose upon
the defenseless provincial. The limits are very
aptly set in a rescript of Septimius Severus and
Caracalla: "Hear our opinion regarding gifts—
there is an old proverb: 'Not all, nor at all times,
nor from all persons.' For it is most uncultured
to accept gifts from no one, boorish to accept al-
ways and most grasping to accept everything."

D XII 1. For the same reason he was forbidden to en-
33 and 34 ter into business in his own province or to lend
D XVIII 1, money, or to buy estates. The governor well knew
62 (pr) that for his crimes of extortion punishment would
D IV 2, 3 be exacted from himself or from his heirs.
C IX 27, 2

VI D. THE GOVERNOR'S RELATION TO OTHER OFFICIALS

Many interesting facts are available in the Digest and the Code regarding the relation of the provincial governor to various other officials, imperial and municipal. A study of these relations will cast much light upon the governor himself.

- C I 40, 5 Respect was always due to a governor of higher rank, yet a good governor no matter what his rank was not to be exposed to indignities at the hands of the higher official.

- C V 7, 1 The emperor protected the governor against any disadvantages he might suffer at the hands of the subordinates of his immediate superior, the vicar. Both the governor and the vicar exercised certain checks on each other. If for example a governor committed the crime of forcing marriage upon a provincial, the vicar might take charge of all his business, civil and criminal, for the remainder of his period of office. On the other hand, if the vicar broke this law the governor might act to help the oppressed.

- C X 13, 1 Even on the praetorian prefect and his subordinates the governor exerted some control. He was empowered to see that no provincial was compelled to pay anything in the name of a superindiction by command of the prefect alone, for this had first to be confirmed by the emperor. He had to prevent the praefectiani (subordinates of the prefect) from having any part in the collection of the taxes or from being put in charge of the granaries. He could not allow them to act as executors in any public or private business. If the prefect's underlings hindered the operation of the public post or contrived trouble against the public utility, he had the right to punish them. The only condition attached to this power was
- C XII 60
(61), 1
C XII 52
(53), 2
C I 40, 8
C I 40, 4

that he notify the prefect of his subordinates' crimes.

- C IX 39, 2 The prefect of course had considerable power over the subordinate governor. In case the governor misused the armed forces which might chance to come under his control, the prefect had the right to decide the penalty for this infringement of law and order. He also had control of the water supply. If any person through imperial favor gained the right of using for his own purposes some of the superfluous water, the governor was strictly forbidden to receive the rescript regarding it, because the prefect was the one who had to decide how much water belonged to the public baths, how much to the *nymphaea*,²⁴ according to the number of citizens, and how much to the favored person. Again, if both the vicar and the governor were suspected of wrongdoing as in the case of forcing marriage upon a provincial woman, the praetorian prefect assumed control of the situation.
- C V 7, 1

- Sometimes the prefect and the governor collaborated. The governor was responsible for the collection of various fiscal debts which came under the prefect's jurisdiction. When angary (compulsory service) was needed for the transportation of arms, the order issued from the master of offices, and the praetorian prefect in turn informed the governor as to the details of amount and destination. Any negligence might involve a fine for either the prefect or the governor. In cases of extortion the governor might send the criminal to the praetorian prefect for trial.
- C X 19, 6
- C XI 10 (9), 7 (1, 2)
- C XII 60 (61), 5

- The subordinates²⁵ of the master of soldiers were under the discipline of the governor, "so that public affairs," as the constitution puts it, "might proceed in orderly fashion, that the insolence of
- C I 40, 12

- officials might be restrained, and due importance be rendered to the dignity of the governor." If a soldier were apprehended in a public crime it was the duty of the governor to put him into custody and refer his case to the master of soldiers. And this held true in cases of soldiers accused of being *decuriones* or of belonging to the *cohortalini*.
- C IX 3, 1
- C III 23, 2

- Generally speaking, it was advisable for the governor not to meddle in pecuniary affairs in which the imperial procurator was concerned. Upon request of this official he was expected to assist in making the *coloni* on estates meet their fiscal obligations. Nevertheless, in case any provincial were attacked by the procurator, it was the governor's duty to punish such a shameful act.
- D I 16, 9 (pr.)
- D L 1, 38 (1)
- C III 26, 9

- The governor also exercised a restraining influence on the *conductores*. He prevented them from gaining municipal office, even if they voluntarily presented themselves, for this would have given them undue influence which might have been misused. He could even bring action against them for extortion, provided that by way of reciprocity he always did his best to aid the *rationales* of the *res privata* in bringing in fiscal debts.
- D L 6, 6 (5, 10)
- C XI 74 (73), 1

- It was the governor's duty to superintend the tax collecting and to prevent palatine officials of the *res privata* or the *largess* from presuming to approach the provincials directly, either in case of the residue of past debts or in a new levy. The *palatini* had to have their dealings only with the governor and his assistants. In general there were to be no relations between the governor and the officials of the palace. Each was to pay the other due respect, and each was to attend rigidly to his own duties. The governor, in fact, was en-
- C I 40, 10
- C X 23, 2
- C XII 23 (24), 4 and 6

joined not to put any burdens upon these officials or to molest them in any way. He had no real jurisdiction over them, for he could not impose a criminal sentence on them without consent of the count under whom they served.

C XII 23
(24), 12

In case of men who had served in the imperial bed-chamber the governor was bound to see that they were never deprived of the exemptions granted them. They were to be free from compulsory service and the duty of furnishing post horses and from the quartering of any official.

C XII 5, 2

In every province there were two *numerarii*, one in charge of the private treasury and the other in charge of the state income. These two men acted as a check on the governor to prevent him from transferring money from one treasury to the other. The governor always had to provide that the patrimony suffered no loss. And the count of the patrimony had the right to fine him for mismanagement. The governor had no right to settle cases which pertained to the jurisdiction of the count of the *res privata*, or to protect anyone against his decrees.

C XII 49
(50), 4

C I 34, 2

C I 33, 3

Sometimes the governor and the *palatini* worked together. In case of a lapsed legacy, for example, the governor at the instance of selected *palatini* and in the presence of the patron of the *fiscus* had to make formal inquiry into the matter so that, if it were not claimed by anyone, the treasury might take it.

C X 10, 5

The *defensor*, to turn now to local officials, apparently had the right of imprisoning persons on his own initiative. Some cases might come up before him in the absence of the governor: cases of *emphyteutic* land; and cases of persons seeking exemption from local duties on the ground of joining the society of armorers. In common with

C IX 4, 6

C I 4, 32

C XI 10
(9), 4

- C I 5, 8 the governor the *defensor* had to enforce the law against Eutychianists and Apollinarists.²⁶ But
 C I 55, 10 his position was evidently not lofty or enviable or full of power, for we see a constitution which instructs the governor not to permit resignation from this office without imperial approval.

- The governor had a real oversight of affairs of the municipalities within his province. He had, to be sure, to observe certain duties toward them, but even these indicated his power rather than that of the towns. In the first place, he upheld the honor attaching to local office by preventing slaves from participating in it lest the dignity of the curia be visited with a servile stain. He exempted from curial duty men above seventy years of age, and fathers of thirteen children. In case of primary teachers, he might use his discretion. Ordinarily they were not immune from civil office, but he might use his authority to see that they were not overburdened. He had to see that armorers of the imperial armory were not afflicted with civil duty from which they were exempt. According to law anyone was permitted to approach the governor and declare his excuses for exemption from local office. If he refused to hear the case, he was liable to the fine of thirty pounds of gold. He was enjoined not to permit the same person to be loaded with curial duty more than once when there were others who had escaped their obligation in this matter. Nor could he force a man to serve more than one curial body. When we remember the hopeless condition of the *curiales*, we cannot refrain from smiling at the irony of a rescript addressed to a certain Anicetus: "If you are elected to civil duties through enmity, the equity of the governor will not allow the nomination to injure you, because it concerns the public utility that elections be made not from hatred but from true thought and the advantage
- C X 33
 (32), 1
 and 2
 C X 32
 (31), 10
 and 24
 D L 5, 2
 (8)
 C XI 10
 (9), 6
 C I 45, 2
 C X 32
 (31), 52
 C X 41
 (40), 3
 C X 43
 (42), 4
 C X 43
 (42), 1

of the town." Was it not just this paternal interference, in its beginnings benevolent and at the last hard and unbending, that ruined the healthy municipal life of the provinces and was a contributing cause of Rome's downfall?

There were some checks on the governor's power over the decuriones. He could not order curiales to be present at any place outside the limits of their own city, unless the public need demanded it. Probably this was intended to preserve the integrity of the town. It would prevent the governor from calling a number of local senates out of their towns to confer with him, for this would have given him undue power over them. Further, decuriones and their sons had a certain dignity which even the governor could not infringe. They were free from punishment or torture at his hands.

C X 32
(31), 25

C X 32
(31), 4
and 33

In contradistinction to the governor's duties to the curiales, which we should note concerned mainly exemption from service, he had to exercise control over them and put compulsion on them when necessary. We may perhaps infer from a passage in the Digest that his was the duty of seeing that the names of decuriones were posted in the album according to municipal law. If the law did not make sufficient provision for this they were to be inscribed according to the rank of the office which they had held. In speaking in the senate they followed the order of precedence indicated in the album. He compelled elected magistrates to accept office. Nor would he allow any decurion to leave his duties on any excuse. And excuses were many, ranging from the necessity of joining the imperial retinue to gout. If decuriones left their homes and went elsewhere, the governor was expected to call them back and force them to perform their civil duties. At the other

D L 3, 1

D L 4, 9

C X 48
(47), 9

C X 32
(31), 16

C X 51
(50), 3

D L 2, 1

- C X 32 extreme, he had to punish any duumvir who tried
(31), 53 to extend his power beyond the limits of his own city, but probably this was not a frequent source of trouble.

- In a few things the local senate had a little initiative. The selection of physicians was entrusted not to the governor but to the senate, for the rather obvious reason that the decuriones might have the privilege of selecting men to whom they would be willing to entrust the health and lives of the townspeople. Again, they might appoint tutors in the absence of the governor. Occasionally the governor and the senate used their power together. One constitution declares that suitable irenarchs shall be appointed by the senate with the consent of the governor.
- D L 9, 1
- D XXVI 5, 19
- C X 77 (75), 1

Thus it is clear that the governor's power over the decuriones was complete. That it was oppressive was perhaps not so much the fault of the governor as of a declining system of imperial administration.

VI E. THE GOVERNOR AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

- The Roman provincial governor in his relation to the Christian church had certain responsibilities in which his power was not checked by church officials, but was absolute in character. All monks and bishops were under obligation strictly to obey him. On the other hand it was his duty and responsibility to protect the church and to exercise a general supervision over morality, both to see that the church was protected against sacrilege, and that a healthy religious life prevailed within the church itself. The former duty brought him into contact with the laity whenever private persons exerted violence against the church or those connected with it; the latter in-
- C I 3, 36 (37)

volved a benevolent interference in the affairs of the church and its officials when bad internal conditions seemed to warrant such an intrusion. It might even mean a recommendation sent by the governor to the emperor that a bishop stood in need of chastisement for some error or misdemeanor.

- C I 3, 43
(44) The governor was held responsible for the cultivation of a wholesome life between the sexes in the monasteries. Evidently those consecrated to holy orders were not always above reproach. For not only did the governor have to deal with the sex question but with dice-playing as well.
- C I 4, 34 This seems to have been prevalent in Africa. The governor was instructed to see that the clergy ceased to play the game or to watch it and listen to the language attendant thereon.

- C I 3, 10 It was incumbent upon the governor, in case of injury inflicted upon the church, to act alone and not to ask the opinion of the bishop, in order that this dignitary might preserve his character of gracious forgiveness and not be compelled to demand revenge. And so, if anyone were so daring and so sacrilegious as to break into a catholic church and harm the sacred implements or the priests, it was the function of the governor to visit him with capital punishment. It is apparent that such acts were sometimes accompanied by rioting, and that even civil officials, local senators, and freeholders took part in such sacrilegious attacks on the church. In cases of this sort the governor was empowered to calm the seditious tumult by military force if necessary, so that order might reign. For to preserve order in his province was one of the governor's foremost duties.

If virgins consecrated to the church were attacked the governor had to enforce the penalty of death and confiscation of property. He was

- C I 3, 53 (54) thought to punish not only the injury to man but the irreverence to God. It was necessary for him to lend all assistance in the apprehension and punishment of the guilty offenders. Accomplices were punished as strictly as those they assisted. Whatever goods were confiscated were given to the cloister or to the church which the girl served.

The governor was required not only to protect the church from vandal hands that disturbed its peace, but from pagan superstition and heresy as well. He had to enforce all the old laws against paganism, and to guard the orthodox faith. The severe penalties which threatened not only the pagans but the governor himself for negligence in prosecuting them indicate that paganism did not yield readily before the encroachments of the Christian religion. It is a curious thing to find in a constitution directed against the ancient beliefs a description that calls to mind the outward beauty of the old religions. It seems to contain a strange half-note of regret for vanished glories: "The pagan temples shall not be opened. The ancient honor, in our time, must not be given to the accursed images—the posts of the temples are not to be adorned with garlands; fires must not shine on the profane altars, nor shall incense arise, or victims be slain, nor wine poured from libation bowls; nor shall sacrilege be held religion."

- C I 11, 7 all temples in all places were closed. And in pursuance of his work against paganism he was expected to inquire into all impieties and to try by

- C I 11, 1 law to prevent their practice and to punish them if they were committed. If it were beyond his power to restrain them he was obliged to inform the emperor. Otherwise the cause and incitement of the crime might be imputed to him. Money was sometimes given or left by will for the sup-
- C I 11, 9

port of pagan customs. If the magistrate discovered that money was so donated, even though the wish was not openly expressed in the terms of the gift or will, he confiscated it for the use of the city of the offender's domicile, where it was used for public purposes.

- C I 5, 20 That the provincial governor did not always feel inspired to exalt the Christian religion above all other religions and all heresies is abundantly shown by various constitutions which threaten to fine him for lack of zeal. He was expected to prevent heretics from holding meetings or performing the rite of baptism and to mete out punishment even to those who loaned their houses for meetings. He had to drive out Montanists lest they corrupt the people. The law bade him to
- C I 5, 8 prohibit the preaching of the Eutychianists and the Apollinarists. And in particular it was impressed upon him that he must enforce the law against the pernicious sect of Manichaeans.

- C I 5, 17 It was his duty to see that the Samaritans did not leave their possessions by will or otherwise alienate them to any but the orthodox and, in case they did, to confiscate the goods for the fiscus. He was directed to keep Jews, pagans and
- C I 3, 54 heretics from having Christians as slaves. So far
(56) was Christianity favored that a slave of any of these might gain his freedom by accepting Christianity.

- C I 5, 12 Evidently there was a political aspect of the situation, for it was within the sphere of the governor's obligation to prevent heretics, Jews, pagans, and Samaritans from holding local office, in order that they might not have power over Christians or sufficient influence to combat bishops. The political side of the situation is emphasized by another constitution which threatened the provincial governor with the loss of half his pos-

C II 6, 8 sessions and exile for a period of five years, unless he rigidly enforced the restriction that no one who was not initiated in the holy mysteries of the Catholic religion might act as an advocate and plead in the Roman courts.

C I 11, 6 Yet with all this there is a note of toleration. The governor was supposed to protect Jews and pagans who were living quietly from the attacks of Christians, real or so called, and fine those who robbed them of their goods, double the amount. The Jews received further protection from the governor in their business life, for no one outside the Jewish faith was permitted by him to set the price for commodities which they offered for sale.

C I 9, 9 On the public side there was a certain amount of toleration likewise. Although the old heathen rites were forbidden, nevertheless the old festivals were retained for the pleasure of the people. Even festal banquets might be retained, if the public so desired. But sacrifice and accursed superstition were banned.

C I 11, 4 On the public side there was a certain amount of toleration likewise. Although the old heathen rites were forbidden, nevertheless the old festivals were retained for the pleasure of the people. Even festal banquets might be retained, if the public so desired. But sacrifice and accursed superstition were banned.

C I 9, 11 The Jews were similarly favored in that they were allowed to retain their own ritual. But the provincial governor had to see that they did not insult the Christian law. In particular he had to prevent them from burning a cross at their festivals.

C I 4, 25 Some responsibility the provincial governor shared with the bishop. In some cases either might act. And each official, under various circumstances, might act as a check on the other. Thus the governor and the bishop cooperated in an attempt to put a stop to dice-playing in the provinces—apparently with no great measure of success. The bishop had to report cases of heresy to the governor. Together they had to enforce

C I 5, 18

- the imperial constitution which forbade bringing
 C I 4, 33 a girl on the stage against her will or keeping her
 there. Both used their power to see that exposed
 C I 4, 24 children, if adopted and brought up, should have
 C I 4, 27 the status of ingenui. Curators for mad persons
 were selected before the governor and the bishop
 sitting together. Both worked against extortion
 C I 4, 26 and financial mismanagement in the towns. In
 some cases either might act. Such were cases of
 C I 4, 28 dowry of the children of a demented person; cases
 C I 4, 31 regarding the recovery of loaned property; actions
 C I 4, 32 about emphyteutic land.

- The bishop was empowered to use his influ-
 C I 4, 22 ence against the governor's evil or negligent ac-
 C IX 4, 6 tion in cases of detention of prisoners in jail for
 undue length of time; and could restrain him from
 meddling in local financial affairs. The governor,
 on the other hand, always had the right of refer-
 ring the bishop to the emperor for punishment in
 case he failed or was negligent in his duties.

Thus we see the Roman provincial governor in his relation to the church, a representative of the emperor to uphold the state religion unsullied, protecting it from internal vice as well as from sacrilege, heresy and paganism. We see him collaborating with the bishop in sacred and in civil matters; we see him assisted and sometimes checked by the growing power of the bishop. Outwardly the picture is fair. But how misleading! Repeated threats of heavy penalties to fall upon the governor if he do not steadfastly enforce the laws reveal all too clearly the inherent rottenness of the system in the self-interest and venality of this imperial official.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE GOVERNOR AS AN EXECUTIVE

Under the head of the governor as an executive we have discussed the governor's relation to the towns of his province, to financial affairs, to local and imperial officials, and to the church. We have seen him vested with great authority within the limits of his province. The tendency of the law was to keep him within these limits and to prevent him from interfering with other imperial officials, or from being oppressed by them. As the emperor's representative he was expected to uphold the state religion and protect the church. But one fact seems to stand out above all others from the preceding study. The governor was responsible primarily for the proper collection of the taxes. Always we are brought face to face with this. It is as if a swarm of locusts had descended upon the provinces to devour them—so many are the constitutions regarding extortion, directed against almost every imperial official. And in the center of this stands the governor as the responsible agent.

VII. THE GOVERNOR IN HIS JUDICIAL CAPACITY

VII A. GENERAL POWERS, DUTIES AND LIMITATIONS

Let us now turn to our discussion of the governor as the person in whom resided the chief judicial authority of the province. We shall first consider his general powers, duties and limitations, passing from this to an account of his relation to criminal law, and ending with some consideration of his right to delegate authority. Private law will not be treated in this book.

The first section falls naturally into three parts which we shall take up in the following order: first, the sphere of the governor's absolute authority; second, the governor's duty to his province; and lastly, limitations on his authority.

We may quite properly begin with a word about the power resident in the person of the governor. He was at liberty to display anywhere the insignia of his office as soon as he was outside the capital city, but his authority was confined to his assigned province.²⁷ He did not lay aside his imperium until on his return he entered the gate of the capital. In his person was vested the highest authority in the province after that of the emperor himself. It was a full judicial authority which united in his single person the ordinary and extraordinary powers of Roman magistrates. There was no legal matter which might arise in his province which he was not competent to decide. On the other hand, by virtue of his imperium, he was safe against accusation.²⁸ He could not be cited to appear in court because he himself exercised the power of putting persons into prison. Whatever judge might be used at

D I 16, 1
D I 16, 16
D I 16, 8
D I 18, 4
D I 16, 7
(2)
D I 16, 9
(pr.)
D II 4, 2
D XLVIII
2, 12
(pr.)

- D I 18, 10 the capital, the proper tribunal in the province
 D L 1, 37 was that of the governor, for all of the provincial
 (pr.) inhabitants came under the sway of his jurisdiction. All applications came to him, although at
 D I 18, 11 the capital they were made to various judges. In
 cases where iudices had been assigned to settle a
 controversy and were in doubt about the law, the
 D V 1, 79 governor had to lay it down. But he was not
 (1) bound to give an opinion. It was his duty to impress upon them the necessity of judging in accordance with their own convictions, because other procedure might have given rise to scandal.

- The governor was quite free to use his discretion as to whether he should hear a case in person or appoint a iudex. The common remark
 D I 18. 8 in a rescript: "You may apply to the officer at
 and 9 the head of the province," did not necessarily mean that the officer was obliged to hear the case. Whatever the rescript said, the governor might do as he chose. An appeal from a iudex appointed
 D XLIX 1, by the governor had to be made to the governor
 21 and not to the emperor. This was the decision of Marcus Aurelius and Verus.

- D XLIX 1, It was within the sphere of the governor's
 4 (pr., 1) authority to interpret the law. If he had been so
 D XLII 1, instructed, he might follow to the end in his province an opinion voiced at Rome. But normally it
 15 (1) was proper for him to consider not so much what was done at Rome as the needs of the case in
 D I 18, 12 point. In the absence of written law it was usual to observe custom of long standing, but where anyone confidently asserted the custom of a city or of a province it was part of the governor's duty to discover whether the custom had ever been confirmed by a judicial sentence delivered after objections had been heard. The natural equity of the governor in his judicial character is attested in various²⁹ ways.

- In giving the provincial governor almost unlimited authority, the emperor at the same time expected him to perform certain duties for the benefit of his province. It was of primary importance for him to uphold the standard of justice. Accordingly it was incumbent upon him to allow everyone a hearing irrespective of his rank.
- D I 16, 9 (4) He had to be guided by facts alone and not give ear to rumors or gossip. Informers were not to be tolerated and it was his duty to enforce the law against them, at the risk of incurring a fine of thirty pounds of gold. And, above all things, he had to prevent men of rank and power from exerting undue influence in legal matters. Thus it is that the governor was enjoined to protect the ordinance which decreed that anyone who called in the aid of powerful patronage should lose his case. Honorati³⁰ engaged in a suit were not permitted to sit³¹ with the magistrate at the time when their case was discussed or decided. In case of extreme insolence on part of personages of influence, the governor finding himself unable to cope with the situation was expected to call upon the emperor for help, or at least to turn to the praetorian prefect, so that measures might be taken for enforcing public discipline and aiding the humble who were oppressed.
- D I 18, 6 (2, 9) C X 11, 8 and 2 C II 13 (14), 1 (pr., 1) C I 45, 1 C I 40, 2

- In addition to enforcing strict justice, he was supposed to observe an attitude of beneficent kindness toward those under his jurisdiction, and by his equity to lighten the sternness of the Roman rule. He had to protect the humble and weak against the influential, giving them assistance and counsel.
- D I 18, 6 (2, 9) D I 16, 9 (5) D XXIII 2, 19

- Lastly, he had to see to it that lawful business might be carried on in the province and the unlawful repressed; that illegal exactions were not made; and that the public peace was not disturbed
- D I 18, 6 (4, pr. and 3)

—for to maintain orderly government was the test of the governor's ability.

These three things then were the duties of the provincial governor: the upholding of justice; the use of equity; and the maintenance of order.

There were a few limitations on his power.

- D L 17, 71 Where a judicial decree was required he was not
 D I 16, 9 allowed to dispose of the case by a libellus;³² on
 (1) the last day of December he did not administer
 D II 12, 5 justice or hear applications; he was not permitted
 and 6 to hold trial on holidays except by consent of both
 parties, for otherwise the judgment was not binding;
 D XLIX 1, ing; he was forbidden to obstruct the right of appeal
 25 to the emperor.³³

VII B. THE GOVERNOR AND CRIMINAL LAW

Turning from our discussion of the governor's general judicial powers, we shall in somewhat similar fashion undertake to describe his relation to criminal law, beginning with a consideration of the punitive powers with which he was endowed; continuing with his duties which caused him to ferret out crime, to apprehend criminals and to inflict various kinds of punishment in certain specific crimes, together with some mention of the protection he had to offer the accused or convicted under certain circumstances; and ending with an account of the limitations that were fixed for his power.

- The provincial governor had the power of
 D I 18, 6 life and death and the right to send offenders to
 (8) the mines. The legate was not allowed to inflict
 D I 16, 11 severe punishment and so cases would sometimes
 C I 35, 1 be referred by him to the governor. Trivial crimes
 were supposed to be heard and decided out of
 D XLVIII court by the governor, and the accused was then
 2, 6 either freed or chastised with clubs, while slaves,

- if guilty, were lashed with whips. In case of persons condemned to the mines who had served not less than ten years of their punishment, the governor had the right to release them if they were in bad health, provided that they had relatives to care for them so that they would not become a public burden. In common with the emperor, the senate and the prefect, the governor had the right to relegate.³⁴ He might even relegate to an island, provided that the island designated formed a part of his province; if it did not the emperor had to designate a fitting place. While the governor might not relegate to a province which was not under his jurisdiction, he nevertheless possessed the right of relegation to the outside of his own province or to a particular place in it. It was quite the customary thing for a governor to relegate persons even to the more deserted parts of the province. But he did not have the power to banish a person from a province other than the one he ruled.³⁵ Certain governors, for example those of the Syrias and the Dacias, had the right to interdict from many provinces. The governor fixed the day of departure for those he had relegated, using a set form: "Illum provincia illa insulisque eis relego excedereque debebit intra illum diem." If an exile left the province to which he had been relegated, the governor of the province to which he had gone was bound to inflict the death penalty on him. On the other hand if he remained in his proper place but stirred up disturbances, the governor of that province would inflict capital punishment. The governors of the Thebais and of Alexandria could relegate to Gypsus³⁶ or to an oasis; and the period of banishment to these places was only six months, or at most a year. If the exile were to be perpetual, the governor, therefore, could not relegate to these places, nor could he send persons to any province
- D XLVIII
19, 22
- D XLVIII
22, 14 (2)
and 7
- C IX 47, 26

other than his own. The object of this provision was that if they committed a crime or disobeyed orders the governor who relegated them might be the one to execute them.

D XLVII 3, 1 It was also part of the governor's power to use discretion in certain cases. He could decide whether a defendant should be put in prison, or handed over to soldiers or to guarantors; and he had to judge, if called upon to do so, whether a case were of such a character that a woman might make an accusation. Ordinarily women were not allowed to make accusations, and they were never permitted to do so in writing.

C IX 1, 12

D I 18, 13 It was the governor's duty to ferret out all crime in his province, restraining not only villains but those who gave them shelter. He had to rouse all the civil forces for the apprehension of robbers, if they were concealed by landlords or procurators or primates³⁷ possessionis, and if the civil forces were not enough, on account of the multitude, he might call upon the soldiery for assistance. Landlords who concealed robbers were liable to the penalty of confiscation of property, while procurators or primates were liable to the punishment of perpetual exile.

C IX 39, 2

D XI 4, 1 and 3 There was a general rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus which instructed the provincial governor to assist in the apprehension of runaway slaves. It was his duty also to give his permission and help to any person who desired to make a search for a runaway slave. And such a search might even be permitted on the lands of a senator or of the emperor himself.

C XII 35 (36), 13 (2) If the governor observed that soldiers had left their proper divisions and were wandering everywhere through the province, he had to keep them in custody until he had notified the emperor and learned what was to be done with them.

He had instructions from the emperor to rid his province of evil-doers no matter what the place from which they came. This point is most interesting because it is one of the causes which led in later times to the grouping of several provinces under one head, a governor who was vested with military as well as civil authority. Bury³⁸ describes the situation as follows: "We are told that the Pontic provinces were infested by robbers and assassins, who formed armed bands and escaped the justice which threatened them in one province by moving into another. No governor ventured to transgress the limits by pursuing them." The only recourse was for the governor to write to his colleague in the province to which the evil-doers had gone and to ask that they be sent back.

So much for the ferreting out of the criminal. We may now naturally proceed to a discussion of the various crimes and the penalties which they entailed. In cases of murder the intention of the accused was held to be the paramount factor. Physicians were not accountable for the death of their patients unless lack of skill were the cause. Insane persons who committed murder were not to be punished, but if they had done so in a lucid interval, they were responsible. The governor had to punish with temporary exile women who had attempted to prevent child-birth. Septimius Severus and Caracalla gave as grounds for this punishment the fact that it was not right for a woman to deprive her husband of children.

Against robbery and brigandage the governor was expected to take drastic action, visiting brigands and like offenders with the appropriate punishment. If the criminals happened to be soldiers, their commanders had to hand them over. Veterans who did not earn an honest livelihood

- C XII 46 but turned to brigandage were divested by the
(47), 3 governor of all their privileges and punished for their misdemeanors. If by pretended command of the governor, things were carried off, the governor was expected to order what had been carried off through intimidation (*concussio*) restored, and to restrain the offender. If land theft were attempted through the digging up of boundary stones, extraordinary punishment was meted out for this offense. It was the governor's function to take severe measures against grave-robbers. If they were armed the governor executed them; if not, he might go so far as to condemn them to the mines. Sepulchres of the enemy, however, were not sacred and no action could be brought for despoiling these.
- D XLVII 13, 1
- C IX 2, 1
- D XLVII 12, 3 (7) and 4

- Castration³⁹ was a capital offense for those who performed the operation as well as for those who allowed themselves to be operated upon. It was a matter to which the governor was supposed to give his serious attention. Frequently boys were castrated for the service of the church and the imperial palace. This was an evil which was always present. Rape was also a capital crime. The governor had to assist in the apprehension of offenders and after due trial to inflict upon them the death penalty, from which there was no appeal. In some cases he might add confiscation of property as an additional punishment.
- D XLVIII 8, 4 (2)
- C IX 13, 1
- C IX 9, 7

- He usually decided the punishment for sacrilege in accordance with the quality, age, and sex of the condemned. The worst punishment was that of casting the offender to the beasts, sending him to the mines, or deporting him to an island. The governor was not supposed ordinarily to send condemned prisoners to the beasts to please the populace, but if they were of great strength or artifice he was expected to inform the emperor,
- D XLVIII 13, 7 (6)

D XLVIII 19, 31 who might choose to present men of such skill in the arena at Rome.

The governor had to prevent slaves from being insufferably treated and, if need be, to cause them to be sold out of their owner's hands. The emperor Hadrian even went so far as to relegate a Roman matron, Umbricia, for a period of five years on account of her cruelty to slaves. Plagium, or man-stealing was a crime.

D I 6, 2

C IX 20, 8 and 12

There were some crimes which threatened the state. The governor had to prevent all persons from having bucellarii¹⁰ or Isaurians or armed slaves as retainers, for such private armed bodies were an obvious menace to the public safety. He inflicted the most drastic punishment together with a fine of one hundred pounds of gold upon transgressors. Neglect on his part entailed a similar fine accompanied by the possibility of capital punishment. His chief subordinates were similarly threatened for failure on part of their chief to enforce the law. These extreme penalties seem to indicate that the governor did not always do his utmost to prevent the rise of powerful landlords; and that affairs were often far from serene in the provinces. Apparently these great landlords even went to the extreme of having private prisons on their estates, for the governor is strictly enjoined to prevent this, neglect on his part being held misprision of treason.

C IX 5, 1

There were some unusual crimes which the governor had to repress. It may be of interest to describe these in detail. The most unusual was a crime of Arabia which was called skopelismos. This consisted in placing stones (skopelidsein) on the farm of an enemy as an indication that whoever cultivated that field should perish by an evil doom at the hands of those who placed the stones. Such fear resulted from this that no one dared

D XLVII 11, 9

approach a field so threatened, fearing the cruelty of assassins. The governor was instructed to punish this crime with death, because the crime itself bore a threat of death.

The accusation for *stellionatus* also came within the governor's jurisdiction. This criminal accusation corresponded to the *actio de dolo*⁴¹ in private law. There was no regular punishment because it was not a regular crime, but it was the governor's duty to severely repress treachery of this sort. Common people he sent to the mines; men of rank he degraded or temporarily relegated.

Beside his duty of inflicting punishment, the governor had certain obligations to the criminal himself. He had to see that exiles were not detained in prison or in a certain place beyond the limit of their sentences. It was incumbent upon him, also, to prevent the same man from being accused of a crime from which he had once been acquitted.

Our picture of the governor in his judicial capacity would not be complete without some mention of the limitations imposed upon his power. He was forbidden to condemn anyone to chains forever. He had not the right to deport anyone to an island. Exile of this sort was decided by the emperor. Further, he had not the right of giving condemned persons free choice of the manner of death they were to suffer. The governor did have the right of condemning a person not to go out of his house but, on the other hand, he could not prevent him from performing necessary tasks. Once he had imposed punishment, he could not himself revoke the execution of the penalty. While the governor could not rescind his own decision, if a mistake had been made so that the innocent were punished, justice might be established by an imperial rescript. In

D XLVII
20, 3

C IX 47, 24

D XLVIII
2, 7 (2.5)

D XLVIII
19, 35

D XLVIII
22, 6

D XLVIII
19, 8

D XLVIII
22, 9 and
10

C IX 47, 15

- case of decuriones and important local personages
 D XLVIII 19, 27 it was the governor's duty to send his opinion to the emperor.

- Sometimes the governor was even threatened with punishment. If he did not enforce the severity of the law against deserters, he lost his patri-
 C XII 45 (46), 1 mony and suffered existimationis minutio,⁴² while his chief subordinates were executed. Again, ac-
 D XLVIII 6, 7 cording to the *lex Julia* on public violence anyone who possessed the *imperium* or *potestas* was to be tortured if he killed or beat a Roman citizen against the right of appeal.

VII C. DELEGATIONS OF AUTHORITY

- The Roman provincial governor had the right to delegate certain of his powers, but on the other hand he was subject to many restrictions. It was customary for him to delegate judicial powers to
 D I 16, 4 his legate after he himself had entered his prov-
 (6) ince, for it would obviously have been foolish for him under ordinary circumstances to delegate powers before he had himself properly assumed them. Under the stress of special events, how-
 D I 16, 5 ever, he might do otherwise. If he were delayed and found that his legate could reach the province before him he was permitted to delegate to him his judicial powers in advance of the ordinary
 D I 16, 13 time. The legate had no authority except that
 D I 21, 3 which was delegated to him by the governor, and
 D I 21, 5 such delegated jurisdiction could not be passed on. Since the governor might delegate powers, it was also within his discretion to recall the assigned
 D I 16, 6 powers, but it was proper for him to consult the
 (1) emperor regarding this. He had the privilege of
 D I 21, 4 delegating the right to hold inquiries into cases of suspected guardians, and the right to grant *possessio bonorum*.

- On the other hand, the governor was not expected to delegate to his legate the office of first examining prisoners. He could not transfer to another the *ius gladii* or of other coercion. In other words, he could transfer jurisdiction but not the right of pure command (*merum imperium*). Thus while the person receiving the delegation, as having a jurisdiction including the *imperium*, had the right to inflict some slight punishment, his power in this respect was not great because he did not possess the pure *imperium*. In cases where guardians or curators wished to sell land the governor could give permission upon sufficient cause, but he could not delegate the right of holding necessary inquiry into the cases. Nor could he delegate his authority in matters of compromising and compounding. He could not order anyone to act as a *iudex* on a day by which he himself would have again become a private citizen.
- D I 16, 6
D L 17, 70
D I 21, 1 and 5
D I 21, 2 (1)
D II 15, 8 (17)
D II 1, 13

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE GOVERNOR IN HIS JUDICIAL CAPACITY

In the light of the foregoing we draw some general conclusions regarding the governor and his judicial powers. His power in his province was almost absolute being inferior only to that of the emperor. He was expected to use his discretion in all cases and to adapt himself where necessary to the custom of the province whenever Roman law was lacking. And above all he was to be an equitable and kindly judge, striving constantly for the welfare of his subjects and for peace and order in his province. His punitive powers were large but not without their limits. He could not deport to an island without the emperor's decision in the matter. Presumably this was a check on his power to keep him from becoming autocratic and using his strength for extortion of money from the helpless provincials. Perhaps the injunction that the governor must prevent landlords from having armed retainers was to prevent not only the growth of sedition but was also to keep the governor from allying himself with some strong faction. His power of delegation was limited no doubt that the governor might be the more directly responsible to the emperor for the proper performance of his duties.

VIII.

CONCLUSION

The words of Gibbon are memorable: "The vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument."⁴³ The mighty tomes of codified law bear witness. But let us interpret the thought of the legislator. One thing stands out, that Justinian desired to enshrine the law above all things, even above the emperor himself. So it is that we find constitutions⁴⁴ declaring that the possession of an imperial rescript does not grant its recipient license over the law which it contradicts. The codified law is unerring and the emperor is its sometimes erring representative.

In like manner the emphasis falls on the continuity⁴⁵ of the governor's office, not on the person of the governor. It is an ideal personification of justice standing at the head of the province. The ruler of a province was supposed to be a man exalted to the insignia of office by the nobility of his character. His recommendation for the post came from the praetorian prefect, but had to be sanctioned by the emperor.⁴⁶ He had to swear that he had not used bribery to gain his appointment, and that he would accept nothing except his salary either during or after his administration. He was the emperor's representative, and his functions were principally executive and judicial. His two great duties were the proper collection of the taxes and the maintenance of law and order in his province. Beyond its limits he was forbidden to step.

This is a picture of the governor as he should have been. But the multiplicity of constitutions threatening the governor with dire penalties for negligence, mismanagement, or extortion reveal clearly the fact that the governor was not always the embodiment of justice. Far too often he was the corrupt official of a declining age, interested not in uprightness, but in his own bad ambition. The efforts to restrain him were ineffectual. Threatened penalties for crime can rarely have been inflicted.

The picture is gloomy. But the last word shall not be hopeless. Let us say: the corruption of the Roman provincial governor has crumbled into dust; but the fair semblance of an ideal provincial governor still lives and shines for us in the dusty pages of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

IX.

NOTES

1. See Seeck's edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.
2. Moderator and rector often occur in the Code as general titles; iudex and iudex ordinarius are less frequent.
3. See Bury, *The Later Roman Empire* (1889), volume one, pages 39 f.
4. W. T. Arnold, says that the governors of senatorial provinces, who were called proconsuls, had ten or twelve fasces at the period of the early empire, while the imperial legates had only five. *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, page 120.
5. See pages 52, 53.
6. Compare D XL 2, 17 where it is said that manumissions with the staff can be performed in the presence of a proconsul, after he has left the city. This *manumissio vindicta* is the oldest form of manumission. A friend of the master who wishes to free a slave acts as plaintiff and, touching the slave with a rod (*vindicta*), asserts his freedom. The master makes no defense, and the magistrate declares the slave free. See Leage, *Roman Private law*, pages 52 f. . By the time of Justinian very little of the old formality remained.
7. See D XL 2, 17.
8. But see page 62.
9. Or, as it is more specifically put in the Digest, a decree of the senate advised that a governor should very seldom be allowed to bring suit on any question which involved contracts made before he came to his province. Such right or action was to be restored after his return. If, however, anything happened without his wish—if, for instance, he suffered some injury or theft—he might proceed to a *litis contestatio*, and then the stolen property had to be produced and deposited or else security given that the defendant would appear or that the object would be produced.
10. The prefect of Egypt did not resign his office until his successor had actually entered, not merely the province, but Alexandria. D I 17, 1.

11. Compare Bethmann Hollweg, *Gerichtsverfassung des sinkenden Römischen Reichs*, page 75 f. . The praetorian prefect regularly recommended men to the emperor for the post of governor. C IX 27, 6. In some cases he might even himself appoint a temporary governor.

12. For restrictions of his staff see page 17.

13. This is the meaning of the passage which states that the legate of Caesar, that is the praeses or corrector of a province, does not by resigning his office lose his imperium.

14. "The Domestici were a very select corps of Life-Guardsmen; probably only a very small number of them would accompany a provincial Governor to his charge." Hodgkin. *The Letters of Cassiodorus*: IX 13. The letter indicates that these domestici oppressed the provincials by their exactions. With regard to the cancellarii, the passage in the Code seems to show that these imperial officials were to act as a check on the governor.

15. The curatores for special purposes were usually chosen in the local assembly. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, page 260.

16. There is an interesting case of a governor who used money set apart for the games for repairing the walls. Upon complaint of someone, the emperor declared that the money was not to be recalled, but that the games should be celebrated after the repair of the walls. The safety of the citizens, he said, was of primary importance, their pleasure secondary. C XI 42 (41), 1.

17. In Egypt all the tribute was collected by the governors—but under the supervision of the praefectus augustalis, who had also the right to report the governors to the emperor for extortion. C I 37, 1 and 2.

18. See also C X 42 (41), 4. The governor here decided that the circus horses were to be supported by a tax on property, not on persons.

19. See Bury, *The Later Roman Empire* (1923), volume 1, pages 57, 58. The passage is most interesting.

20. The Bina and Terna are, as Hodgkin says, a mystery. See The Letters of Cassiodorus, pages 202 and 333. They were apparently a kind of land-tax.

21. The ducenarii, the centenarii, and the sexagenarii were collectors of the imperial revenue. The names probably originated in the number of sesterces they received by way of salary.

22. The solidus (or aureus, or nomisma) was the standard gold coin. Its value, Bury says, was twelve shillings and sixpence. See Bury, The Later Roman Empire (1923), page 54.

23. *Homine* appears to be the better reading.

24. Brisson says that the *nymphaeum* was not, as some have supposed, a public bath for women, but rather a public place which served for marriage festivities, nuptial banquets and dances. Brisson, *De Verborum Quae ad Ius Civile Pertinent Significatione*.

25. Hodgkin says that the *apparitores* appear to be almost exclusively attached to the service of the great ministers of war. The Letters of Cassiodorus, page 114.

26. See page 46.

27. But see page 7.

28. But see page 10.

29. See D XXXVIII 8, 2; D XLIX 3, 2; and C I 54, 6 (6).

30. All men endowed with any administrative power, civil or military, were called *honorati*.

31. Interesting light is thrown on this point by Lydus, *De Magistratibus* III 36, 37. Since no one was allowed to approach the judgment seat, two *cancellarii* acted as messengers.

32. That is to say, the case had to be settled in the presence of the governor and not by a written notification emanating from him.

33. The governor might hear a case sent to the emperor, however, upon consent of both parties. D XLIX 1, 26.

34. Relegatio was a form of exile which did not imply loss of citizenship; deportatio implied this loss.

35. Some complicated questions are connected with this. See the passage.

36. Pauly—Wissowa—Kroll under Gypsus has the following: Bergwerke in Agypten, wohin in den späteren Zeiten der Römerherrschaft schwere Verbrecher verbannt wurden, Cod. Iust. IX 49, 26. Novell. 22, 8. 142, 1. (Pieper.) The reference here is obviously wrong. It should be Cod. Iust. IX 47, 26.

37. Primates possessionis were village magistrates.

38. Bury, *The Later Roman Empire*.

39. Bussel, *The Roman Empire*, volume II, page 59.

40. The word bucellarius was derived from bucella, the military biscuit. The bucellarii were private retainers largely drawn from the Goths, Isaurians and Galatians. Powerful generals and sometimes even civilians used them as an armed retinue. Bury, *The Later Roman Empire* (1923), index.

41. An action brought on the basis of fraud that has been practiced. See Sohm, *Institutes of Roman Law*, index.

42. See Sohm, as above.

43. The beginning of the famous 44th chapter.

44. C XII 33 (34), 8. Compare also C I 40, 14 (13).

45. See page 12.

46. C IX 27, 6. A number of questions come to mind which cannot be answered by reference to either the Code or the Digest. What was the governor's term of office? From whom did he receive his orders? Who answered the questions he addressed to the emperor? See Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, pages 41 (footnote 1), 314, 315, 319. The formulae for the praeses, rector, and consular are full of interesting material. For a governor's salary see Bury, *The Later Roman Empire* (1923), page 33 note 1.

X. APPENDIX: A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE WHOLE WORK

- I. Introduction.
- II. Titles.
- III. Insignia.
- IV. The Dignity of the Office.
- V. Approach to the Province and Departure from it.
 - A. Powers prior to arrival at the province.
 - B. Method of entrance.
 - C. Requirements concerning departure.
- VI. The Governor as an Executive.
 - A. General.
 - 1. Powers.
 - 2. Duties.
 - 3. Limitations.
 - a. On his power.
 - b. On his residence.
 - c. On his staff.
 - d. In private affairs.
 - B. The governor and public works.
 - C. The governor and financial affairs.
 - 1. Taxes.
 - a. Responsibility for collection.
 - b. Types of taxes and exemptions.
 - c. Method of collection.
 - 2. Other financial duties.
 - 3. Extortion.
 - a. Governor's duty to protect the provincials.
 - b. Checks on the governor.
 - D. The governor and other officials.
 - 1. Governors of different ranks.
 - 2. The governor and imperial officials.

- a. The vicar.
 - b. The praetorian prefect.
 - c. The master of soldiers.
 - d. The procurator.
 - e. The conductor.
 - f. The palatini.
 - 3. The governor and local officials.
 - a. The defensor.
 - b. Local magistrates and decuriones.
 - (1) Governor's duty to protect.
 - (a) The honor of the senate.
 - (b) The decuriones.
 - 1. Grants of immunity.
 - 2. Privileges due them.
 - 3. Checks on the governor's power over them.
 - (2) Governor's duty to control the decuriones.
 - (3) Individual and joint actions of the senate and the governor.
 - E. The governor and the Christian church.
 - 1. Sphere of governor's absolute authority.
 - a. The Christian church.
 - b. Other religions.
 - 2. Interrelation of governor and bishop.
 - a. Cooperation.
 - b. Checks on each.
- VII. The Governor in his Judicial Capacity.
- A. General.
 - 1. Powers.
 - a. Which reside in his person.
 - b. To interpret law.
 - 2. Duties.
 - a. Upholding of justice.
 - b. Attitude of kindliness.
 - c. Maintenance of order.

3. Limitations.

B. The governor and criminal law.

1. Powers.

2. Duties.

a. To ferret out crime.

b. To punish crimes.

(1) Murder.

(2) Robbery.

(3) Castration and rape.

(4) Sacrilege.

(5) Cruelty to slaves and plagium.

(6) Crimes which threatened the
state.

(7) Unusual crimes.

c. To protect the criminal.

3. Limitations.

C. Delegations.

1. Power to delegate.

2. Restrictions on power.

VIII. Conclusion.

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THE ROME OF HORACE

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THE ROME OF HORACE

I

Physical Features of the City

To what extent do the works of Horace reconstruct for their reader the life of the Augustan Age, making him see as Horace saw it that Rome which he knew as the chief of cities,¹ than which the sun could view none greater?² The question opens a field of so wide a reach that it will be necessary to delimit the answer somewhat, dwelling rather more on the outward manifestations of that life than on its inward significance. First, then, as to the physical features of the city. It is a familiar *scaena* against which his characters move, and there are strokes that carry us back to the infancy of Rome. Horace walks on the sunny Mound of Servius Tullius,³ and recalling the days when his friend's estate on the Esquiline⁴ had been a burial ground⁵ visited by wolves and vultures,⁶ rejoices with him that it is now made bright and wholesome,⁷ fit setting for that palace that neighbors the clouds.⁸ About him lie the Seven Hills, those sacred citadels⁹ in which the very gods find pleasure,¹⁰ as their shrines bear witness. From her temple on the Aventine Diana lends a willing ear to the boys and girls who chant her praises in the *Carmen Saeculare*;¹¹ on the Palatine dwells Apollo in the splendor of that temple-library bestowed upon him by Augustus;¹² while across the Forum gleams the dome of Jupiter's great house¹³ that is the symbol of Rome's eternity.¹⁴

Or the poet strolls down Rome's Fifth Avenue, the *Via Sacra*,¹⁵ casting an observant eye upon the fashionable loungers¹⁶ or awaiting it may be the passing of some general's procession¹⁷ before he makes his way into the Forum, where on ordinary days the din of business suggests his two hundred carts and three huge funeral processions meeting, with someone shouting in so big a voice as to drown out the blare of horns and trumpets.¹⁸ Here is the eager jostling crowd¹⁹ which seeks the Forum early and leaves it late,²⁰ with bankers much in evidence by the statue of Marsyas²¹ and about the three arches consecrated to Janus,²² especially the central one, the heart of Rome's stock exchange, whence they listen for

any adverse word of Rome's foreign interests that a speech from the Rostra might let fall.²³ Odd sights may greet the eye in this busy throng—a vain hunter directs his train of slaves through the press, loaded with nets and spears for the kill, which after all may be but a single boar and that purchased from some hunter in the country, slung across a mule's back to meet the eyes of the gazing crowd.²⁴ In the midst of the Forum stand sundry aspirants to literary fame, reading their works to all who will turn aside to listen.²⁵ Others of this brotherhood may be found in the public baths, whither one may resort for a farthing²⁶ and where the construction of the vaulted hall makes the voice resound delightfully.²⁷ But we must not leave Horace's Forum without a glance at the law courts near the Temple of Vesta;²⁸ at the Puteal Libonis, the favorite haunt of money-lenders, designated often as a meeting-place;²⁹ at the grave of Romulus,³⁰ and at the temple of Janus, where in the days of Augustus that guardian of peace was thrice happily shut within his shrine.³¹

Just at the corner of the Forum, between the Palatine and the Capitoline, stands a statue of Vertumnus³² and near it an arch spanning the Vicus Tuscus as it leads out from the Forum, and hither one may be sure Horace's steps often turn, for the Vicus Tuscus, ill-famed in its farther stretches,³³ displays at this point the booksellers' shops where the Sosii and others conduct their important business.³⁴ Not far beyond this corner rises the Tarpeian Rock, whence in the old days traitorous citizens had been dashed to death.³⁵ On through the Vicus Tuscus one enters the district known as the Velabrum, where provisions are spread out for sale.³⁶ Across the Forum opens another district even more unsavory of reputation than the Vicus Tuscus, the Subura, from whose slums dogs bark at the passers-by.³⁷ Everywhere is the thronging crowd,³⁸ some perhaps on their way to pleasure after business,³⁹ to swim the Tiber,⁴⁰ it may be, or to reach the Campus Martius, where one may ride or carry off the prize in a sham battle⁴¹ amid the shouts of the spectators,⁴² or perhaps enjoy a game of ball with Maecenas, if one be a Horace.⁴³ This is the site of the theatre of Pompey, where the shouts of the crowd greeting that "dear knight Maecenas" after his illness

echo from the Vatican across the Tiber.⁴⁴ For here flows the *flumen paternum*, *flavus Tiberis* to Horace's eyes as to ours, sometimes so wild and unruly a stream as to force its way to the very Regia and the Temple of Vesta in the Forum.⁴⁵ In the Tiber lies the little island sacred to Aesculapius,⁴⁶ reached by the Fabrician Bridge,⁴⁷ and beyond the river are Caesar's Gardens, the public park of Rome.⁴⁸

So much for historic landmarks. But we are still far from seeing the city as Horace saw it. We must measure with him its distances as he calls, perforce afoot, on a friend lying ill in his house on the Quirinal and next upon one dwelling on the Aventine,⁴⁹ a four mile walk enlivened by such encounters as may be furnished by a contractor driving his mules and carriers in hot haste through the narrow streets, the creaking carts of a funeral procession, a donkey loaded with vegetables, the dash of a mad dog or a muddy sow across his path, or the threat of a huge derrick swinging stones and timbers through the air above his head—for building operations are a familiar sight in this Rome of Augustus.⁵⁰ It is a city of wealth and smoke and din,⁵¹ of streets dusty with the carts that roll through them by night and break the sleep even of those who rise with the dawn.⁵² Narrow as are the streets, there are still narrower alleys.⁵³ The hilly nature of the site makes Rome's distances seem even greater than they are to one who, none too young, must climb from the Forum to his house on the Carinae.⁵⁴ At the street corners or in the frequent colonnades gather crowds to talk and jest,⁵⁵ as also in the apothecaries' shops and the barbers' open booths, each a haven for loungers.⁵⁶ Along the walls are scrawled advertisements, in which a gladiatorial combat done in black and red may give the passer-by a thrill that the combat itself could hardly better—a great comfort if one chances to be a slave who must take such pleasures stealthily and on the wing.⁵⁷ Here one sees a public bake-oven, and there a pool from which children and old women toil with their burden of water jars.⁵⁸ And among the throng moves perhaps a parvenu,⁵⁹ as splendid as new wealth can make him, or perhaps, a happier sight, the poet himself, pointed out as a figure of importance by a recognizing passer-by.⁶⁰

The weather Horace knew has its full share of attention: at times the leaden south wind oppresses one and the autumn brings unwholesome days from which one escapes if possible to country retreats;⁶¹ the north wind sweeps the land, days grow brief and bitter, and Maecenas must remind his friend to dress for the season.⁶² Snow and hail, though rare, are by no means unknown, sent by the god of storms in vengeance.⁶³ The country streams are frozen,⁶⁴ the forests labor with their weighted branches, and to the northward Soracte lifts a shining crown.⁶⁵ Navigation closes or grows dangerous as winter approaches and a mother whose son is held from home by adverse winds will offer prayers and vows for his safe return over stormy seas.⁶⁶ But spring loosens the frozen meadows and sends the beached ships down to sea once more;⁶⁷ and again it is summer and the heat the red dog-star brings would split the very statues.⁶⁸ The fields are parched, the shepherd drives his flocks to seek the shadows,⁶⁹ and in the city even one who is '*solibus aptum*' will take shelter from its warmth till the afternoon is far advanced.⁷⁰

Of the environs of Rome Horace gives us clear and delicate vignettes. On the high land about lie those country resorts within easy reach of the city—the hill city of Pedum,⁷¹ cool Praeneste,⁷² and Tibur with its orchards, home of the echoing fountain Albunea and the headlong Anio,⁷³ home too of that sweet retreat that restores the poet to himself.⁷⁴ To the south is charming Baiae, its shining bay rivaled by no other of Horace's world.⁷⁵ Everywhere grows the olive,⁷⁶ and the countryside is dotted with elms and tall poplars twined about by the vines for which they form so perfect a support.⁷⁷ On the tombs grow wild fig trees or the mournful cypress,⁷⁸ seen perhaps from the Minucian or the Appian way⁷⁹ as some rich man on the way to his huge Falernian estate urges his ponies over the paved road.⁸⁰

II

Occupations

But to return to the life of the city proper. Against the physical setting we have described moves the rich and varied throng of men and women that make up Horace's dramatis

personae: merchants whose voyages lead them three and four times a year from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, dreaming in the midst of peril of turning to the safe and peaceful life of farmers, yet lured by hope of gain to rebuild their shattered boats and put to sea once more;⁸¹ the weary farmer leaving awhile his endless struggle with furrow and vine, with sheep and goat and ox, to cast an admiring and envious eye on the life of town folk;⁸² an occasional soldier whose body bears the marks of that toil with the spade that won Rome perhaps as much conquest as the sword;⁸³ men of the literary professions, orators, consulting lawyers and poets;⁸⁴ tricky inn-keepers,⁸⁵ sailors⁸⁶, teachers,⁸⁷ gladiators⁸⁸ honorably discharged, with the wooden sword as a symbol,⁸⁹ drug vendors,⁹⁰ flute girls,⁹¹ begging priests,⁹² actors and actresses,⁹³ physicians,⁹⁴ parasites who must live by their wits, the umbrae of great men, beggars displaying their well-feigned handi-caps,⁹⁶ litter-bearers with some grande dame in their keeping⁹⁷ and the hair dressers who have made her presentable to public view;⁹⁸ tax collectors⁹⁹ and auctioneers¹⁰⁰ beside men of big business,¹⁰¹ money lenders and bankers¹⁰² jostling sausage-makers¹⁰³ and fortune tellers,¹⁰⁴ detectives scribbling in their little notebooks,¹⁰⁵ and lictors making way for some personage,¹⁰⁶ small shopkeepers,¹⁰⁷ fishermen¹⁰⁸ and poultry dealers,¹⁰⁹ procurers,¹¹⁰ courtesans,¹¹¹ barbers,¹¹² marble-workers whose trade has furnished their world a proverb,¹¹³ potters,¹¹⁴ brass founders clever to imitate nature in small details,¹¹⁵ bookkeepers,¹¹⁶ athletes,¹¹⁷ men in political life on their way along the *cursus honorum*,¹¹⁸ farmers of public revenues,¹¹⁹ managers of estates, whether Horace's *agellus* or the Sicilian acres of Agrippa,¹²⁰ and the engineers who are directing such great public works as the union of the Lucrine Lake near Baiae with the sea, the reclaiming of the Pomptine Marshes for cultivation or the changing of the Tiber's course that it may learn to flow in a better channel;¹²¹ while everywhere, a recurring note in the motley stream, walks the philosopher, conspicuous by his beard amid the beardless throng.¹²²

III

Dress

The dress of these folk is not as varied as their occupations,

for they are as always the *gens togata*—but the toga and the tunic beneath show great variety of arrangement, the tunic now falling to the very feet, now girded well up to the middle,¹²³ the toga carefully pressed and hung if one is of city breeding,¹²⁴ falling loose and disorderly for the visiting rustic;¹²⁵ here is one with garments drawn high up out of his way, ready to start on a brisk walk;¹²⁶ one pulls his toga close about his breast, while his companion scatters all that the pocket contains;¹²⁷ another has drawn a mantle over his head in order to be less easily recognized.¹²⁸ Here one marks by his unusually white ceremonial toga one who is on the way to some festive occasion.¹²⁹ The more fastidious may have garments of finer weave than the usual variety,¹³⁰ and the wealthy are beginning to widen the scant toga of republican days, so that the three-yard wrapping of a parvenu recalls Cicero's dissolute youth 'clad in sails, not togas.'¹³¹ By the common people the toga may be discarded even for street wear, but to be merely *tunicatus* stamps one as of no social standing.¹³² A man exercising in the Campus Martius may lay aside all his outer garments and wear but the kilt or wrestling-apron, while one facing stormy weather may add to his tunic and toga the paenula as a sort of overcoat.¹³³ The Greek chlamys is coming into use under the Empire and such a personage as Lucullus, called upon by the aedile to assist in staging a spectacle, though doubtful whether he can furnish a hundred of these mantles, finds that he has at home five thousand.¹³⁴

A married woman in the crowd may be known by the border sewed on her white stola, bringing it down to the ankles,¹³⁵ and a courtesan by her toga,¹³⁶ or within doors by the gauziness of her costume, often of Coan silk.¹³⁷ The effeminate youth of the period display decorative garters and neckcloths and perhaps carry about with them elbow cushions ready for use anywhere.¹³⁸ The loose-girdled appearance of some of them is a mark of dissolute life.¹³⁹ Here moves a knight distinguished by his ring and the narrow purple stripe on the tunic,¹⁴⁰ and there a senator in his high black leather boots and broad-striped tunic,¹⁴¹ proud of his place in the community but perhaps longing secretly for the hour of country holiday when all this magnificence may for awhile be laid aside.¹⁴² The free use of purple dye, as we have noted, gives

a regal touch to many a costume.¹⁴³ This matter of general appearance must not be left without a glance at the care of these Romans for the condition of the skin and the hair, the recurring use of the adjective *nitidus* to describe a well-groomed look indicating the popularity of oils and ointments, often perfumed.¹⁴⁴ The hair of women is knotted back, perhaps in Spartan fashion, sometimes twined with ivy for a festal occasion.¹⁴⁵ The men wear their hair carefully trimmed but not cut close to the head as in the old republican days,¹⁴⁶ while the young lads have locks that fall to their shoulders till the assumption of the *toga virilis* calls for their shearing.¹⁴⁷

IV

Childhood

For everywhere in this crowd are children. Horace introduces us to the very hour of their entrance into the world of Rome, when the baby is laid at its father's feet for his acceptance or rejection,¹⁴⁸ and we note with pleasure that even a sickly child finds favor in many a father's eyes and that physical deformity, though keenly noted, is softened to a tender jest on his lips.¹⁴⁹ The nurse plays her part in Horace's pages, loving and beloved by her nursling even though he may sometimes wander away from her watchful care;¹⁵⁰ we catch a glimpse too of orphans, chafing under restraint that makes the days seem endless.¹⁵¹ There is much of children's play: they build houses, they yoke mice to a cart, play odd and even, gallop about on hobby horse canes;¹⁵² they play with pet lambs, dressing them up, calling them Rufa or Pusilla,¹⁵³ and with dolls constructed puppet fashion.¹⁵⁴ Certain games have a singsong or catch phrase that echoes in the pages—"Rex eris, si recte facies"—this smacks oddly of our "log cabin to White House"—or, "*occupet extremum scabies*,"¹⁵⁵ which may perhaps be rendered with rhythm and sense preserved by "last man home is a nigger baby!" Boys have their games of nuts and knucklebones, and may tease a crazy man in the streets or make sport of one another with the sheep's tail.¹⁵⁶ Well-born lads would be taught to ride and hunt, though as the training of earlier days gives way to the laxness of life that luxury brings, the boy may be found to prefer hoop rolling

and gambling to the more active and manly sports.¹⁵⁷ A devoted father such as Horace's would watch with jealous care for the good name and fame of his lad, keeping him clean not only from ill deed but from scandalous whisper as well.¹⁵⁸

V

School Life

When the day for schooling arrives, the father himself or more commonly a *paedagogus* accompanies the boy to his round of teachers.¹⁵⁹ In what would correspond to our primary stage, the child may have extremely tangible inducements to learn the rudiments,¹⁶⁰ but later there is dark mention of *ferula*¹⁶¹ and Orbilius is forever stigmatized as *plagossus*.¹⁶² A vivid school picture is painted in Satires 1, 6, where the boys go with satchel and slate on the left arm, carrying their eightpence on the monthly payday.¹⁶³ In such a school Greek literature must have formed a large part of the program, as the frequency of reference to it would indicate,¹⁶⁴ and the dictation of Greek and Roman poetry gives Horace humorous presage of his own fate.¹⁶⁵ Arithmetic too was taught assiduously,¹⁶⁶ though one gathers that money affairs need no additional emphasis in the Rome of Horace.¹⁶⁷ There is the glee of holiday time, when the boy snatches his brief and grateful respite.¹⁶⁸ And at the end of school life comes the day when the *bullae* and *praetexta*, those marks of boyhood, are laid aside, and the boy, wearing the *toga virilis*, begins to take his place among the citizens of Rome,¹⁶⁹ though he will still receive from his father or some statesman or military man instruction in the business of citizenship and politics.¹⁷⁰ It may be too that he will be fortunate enough to find himself sent to Athens for the final touch of *bona ars* which that city alone could give.

VI

Daily Life

About the routine of Roman daily life the works of Horace are a source book par excellence. With them one rises betimes (to sleep till dawn or later is a luxury¹⁷²) summoned perhaps from bed toward cockcrow by an earlier caller¹⁷³ or by a bus-

iness engagement of the day before¹⁷⁴ (we have in the passage here referred to, as elsewhere, the indication of Roman time as reckoned by hours from sunrise¹⁷⁵), or by the need to escort some patron on his way.¹⁷⁶ So early a beginning of the day's work is accounted for by the lack of adequate lighting facilities as evidenced in the numerous references to eye trouble and the black salve smeared on ailing lids.¹⁷⁷ In spite of this trouble, however, we find Horace adjuring a friend to call for a book and a light before daybreak,¹⁷⁸ and himself demanding books, paper and pen ere the sun is fairly up.¹⁷⁹ The forepart of the day may be spent in retirement, in reading or writing,¹⁸⁰ but the ordinary citizen is more likely to walk abroad and once in the streets he finds himself, as we have seen, one of an eager pushing throng on its way to business in the Forum, perhaps to plead cases,¹⁸¹ perhaps to serve as security for a friend¹⁸² where one must speak out loudly and clearly in the courtroom,¹⁸³ or to listen helplessly to another friend who inflicts a reading of his own works on anyone he can impound for the purpose;¹⁸⁴ perhaps to look up a defaulting defendant and hale him into court, asking a bystander to act as witness;¹⁸⁵ perhaps to make a friendly call¹⁸⁶ or as a social climber to assail the approaches of great men.¹⁸⁷ In any case, however, the earlier part of the day is usually given unbroken to business.¹⁸⁸ At its end comes exercise in some form, often ball-playing,¹⁸⁹ preceded by a rubbing-down with olive oil¹⁹⁰ and followed by the bath,¹⁹¹ the lunch,¹⁹² the siesta,¹⁹³ perhaps a walk,¹⁹⁴ and finally the main meal of the day, served with modest ceremony or with such elaborate detail as will appear under the next topic.¹⁹⁵ And as evening draws on, from the Campus Martius and the squares around the public buildings rises the murmur of lovers at their trysting places, a serenade is fluted under the window, the laughter of a girl betrays her hiding place, Roman youth has its joyous fling.¹⁹⁶

VII

Meals

On the subject of Roman meals Horace conducts us in his own phrase from eggs to apples.¹⁹⁷ In the simple life one may dine upon bread and salt,¹⁹⁸ but there is care to have the

bread—that typical four-sector Roman loaf¹⁹⁹—of good quality, even if one must carry it from one town to another to avoid purchasing gritty bread;²⁰⁰ one may eat nuts and roasted peas²⁰¹ or cheap eggs and black olives,²⁰² perhaps a meal made up almost or altogether of vegetables,²⁰³ chick peas and pancakes;²⁰⁴ even in a *cena deum* one may find beans and greens well dressed with bacon fat.²⁰⁵ This dressing, whether of bacon or of oil, is so essential that ‘banquet’ and ‘more toothsome’ appear in Horace as ‘unctum’ and ‘unctius’.²⁰⁶ Of meals arranged in more formal fashion but still of old fashioned country simplicity we read that the guests dined well, not on fish from the city but on chicken and kid, with dried grapes, nuts and figs for second course.²⁰⁷ There is little meat in the countryman’s diet, perhaps not much more than is provided by an occasional sacrifice.²⁰⁸ But in the formal dinners of city life there is a staggering list of delicacies, and here chicken gives way to the stork,²⁰⁹ the crane,²¹⁰ the liver of a white goose fed on ripe figs,²¹¹ nightingales bought at a fabulous price,²¹² and even a peacock, purchased with gold, a rare bird, spreading the painted marvel of its tail.²¹³ In like manner the kid or the lamb has given place to the boar, heavy enough to bend the silver platter under his weight, an Umbrian, fed on acorns, not a Laurentian, fattened on river sedge;²¹⁴ or more often a Lucanian, snared in a gentle south wind.²¹⁵ The forelegs of the female hare, too, are esteemed a great delicacy,²¹⁶ as well as a sow’s matrix and the thrush, the woodcock, and the guinea fowl.²¹⁷ And everywhere is ‘fish from the city’: a pike caught in the Tiber rather than the sea;²¹⁸ the turbot, highly thought of,²¹⁹ as was also the murena taken before spawning;²²⁰ the mullet, a rare three-pounder being praised inordinately by the epicure, as though it could be eaten whole;²²¹ the shellfish and sea food in general: oysters and the scarus, slimy shellfish taken under a waxing moon, Lucrine mussels, oysters from Circeii, sea urchins from Misenum, and Tarentine scallops.²²²

With all these delicacies to be served, cookery has developed into a fine art where epicures are concerned. One who has an unexpected guest is advised to kill the hen for the occasion by smothering it in Falernian wine to render it less

tough.²²³ The cook must know how to spare his hand in using garlic²²⁴ and to make a sauce or broil a dish that will cause even the jaded diner to lift himself on his elbow and show some interest in food.²²⁵ There is a fine distinction between simple and duplex sauces, the former made of olive oil, wine and brine from a jar of Byzantine pickled fish, the latter using this as a foundation and adding chopped herbs, after which it is boiled and finally seasoned with saffron and Venafran oil.²²⁶ But sometimes a mistaken zeal will so disguise the dish with sauce as to make it unrecognizable, as when the diner complains of eating birds, shellfish and fish all concealing a juice far different from that which is familiar to him.²²⁷ The cook must be able to accomplish wonderful effects in serving²²⁸—a peacock with spread tail, as before mentioned, or a murena apparently swimming among shrimps.²²⁹ He must have skill in setting forth the proper relishes: rape, lettuce, radishes, skirret, fish-pickle (this particularly welcome in a climate inclined to foster biliousness), and burnt tartar made from Coan wine.²³⁰ And to tempt the hard drinker to fresh zest for food there must be fried shrimps, snails, ham, sausages, and hot foods in general.²³¹ For wine that loosens the tongue, heart and mind is everywhere in evidence²³²—a mild mulsum at the beginning of the meal,²³³ later perhaps Sabine wine of four years' standing if the feast be of no special significance or the host in very modest circumstances,²³⁴ in which latter case there is also wine from Veii for those who can or will afford no better even for holidays.²³⁵ For more pretentious revels there is Chian mixed with Falernian,²³⁶ Massic,²³⁷ or the Caecuban which would grace the most important occasions.²³⁸ We learn much of the sealing of wine in jars with the names of the consuls for the year stamped in the seals to date the vintage, the oldest being naturally the most prized;²³⁹ thus sealed it is set away in the *apotheca* to mellow in smoke,²⁴⁰ or stored in such vaults as the Sulpician at the foot of the Aventine.²⁴¹ The cook must have skill in refining wine, by setting it out of doors under a clear night sky,²⁴² or by adding a yolk of egg to absorb the impurities.²⁴³ There is some hard drinking and it has the natural outcome, leading, it may be, even to a disgraceful exhibition in the streets.²⁴⁵ It is not considered seemly to have a drinking revel in that part of the day

given over to business, though there is occasional indulgence in this direction, particularly on festival days.²⁴⁶ The early dinner hour, however, permits one to become '*irriguus*' or '*avidus*' by bedtime.²⁴⁷ A master of ceremonies chosen by a throw of the dice may direct the drinking,²⁴⁸ but it is also possible to let one's own discretion be one's guide.²⁴⁹ If the arbiter bibendi is chosen, the drinking must follow his direction²⁵⁰ both as to the amount of wine consumed and the number of ladles of water that shall temper the cup.²⁵¹

The dining-room and its furniture naturally receive some attention at Horace's hands. His own table is a slab of white marble and his dishes are chiefly of earthenware: an olive oil bottle and its saucer, a quaintly shaped *echinus*, cups and a ladle for wine, a bowl for salad.²⁵² We find plates as well as forks conspicuous by their absence²⁵³ and this explains why a host is sometimes called '*is qui praebebat aquam*'—a necessary commodity under such conditions.²⁵⁴ If friends join him for dinner he takes care that though the couch may be cheap its valance shall be clean, the napkins fresh, the metal platter and jug bright enough to reflect the faces of the diners.²⁵⁵ The philosopher asks but a three-legged table and a salt-cellar,²⁵⁶ not even demanding that the latter be more than a cheap *concha*, though the poorest man felt that he could hold his head high if only the silver salt-cellar descended from his fathers gleamed upon his board.²⁵⁷ We are introduced, however to the dining-hall of ceremony, with its traditional arrangement of tables, couches and guests,²⁵⁸ three diners only on each of the three couches if one did not wish an over-crowded table;²⁵⁹ over the unsandaled diners hangs a canopy;²⁶⁰ the tables are rubbed perhaps with a purple cloth²⁶¹ between courses and spread with shining silverware,²⁶² the ivory couches are covered with gorgeous draperies,²⁶³ and the pavements beneath them are of mosaic to be treated with care.²⁶⁴ It is, in a word, a scene of Persian luxury.²⁶⁵ So formal a feast may have begun soon after midday²⁶⁶ and among its guests are perhaps some humble folk who, lacking slaves, must carry their own outdoor costume,²⁶⁷ and certainly some who seek a living by their wits.²⁶⁸ The meal proper is of course followed by the symposium, where with the wine slaves bear ointment for the hair, and those gar-

lands that breathe their fragrance through the Odes:²⁶⁹ crowns of roses and lilies, of parsley, of myrtle, of poplar, the fastidious host seeking flowers out of season till Rome knows not only 'a summer of roses and wine' but a winter as well,²⁷⁰ while the niggardly entertainer may use ready-made garlands sewed on linden bark.²⁷¹ The ointments carry the perfume which in these pre-alcoholic days must be held in oil or in pastille form, and they are at times costly and preserved in boxes worthy of their value.²⁷² Women of the courtesan class may have a place at the revel and hold their own with the men in the drinking bout.²⁷³ There will be music of sorts, the lyre mingling with the flute²⁷⁴ or a young slave lifting his voice in a strain that will please the uncritical ear of a reveler.²⁷⁵ Of table conversation we get more than one suggestion—sometimes cheap banter and buffoonery or ill-timed display of learning,²⁷⁶ sometimes slanderous gossip about the very folk gathered around the table,²⁷⁷ sometimes gay toasts to the new moon, to a midnight revel, to a newly elected augur²⁷⁸—and again high philosophical discourse mixed with homely humor, with property and dancing and other more frivolous topics trying it may be not unsuccessfully to gain an entrance.²⁷⁹ Such a revel may be an impromptu affair held in the pleasant Italian out-of-doors, under a lofty plane tree or a pine or beneath the trellised vine of one's own garden.²⁸⁰ Or it may be part of a 'contributing feast', to which the guests bring their share while the entertainer furnishes water and the use of his house.²⁸¹

VIII

Houses

Of the characteristic features of a Roman house apart from its dining-room we find in Horace some glimpses. For the simpler folk, particularly of the country districts, the fireplace in the atrium is the center of family life.²⁸² Here stands the symbolic marriage couch,²⁸³ here are the *Lares familiares*,²⁸⁴ here gather the home-bred slaves to eat their evening meal,²⁸⁵ made up perhaps of the remnants left by guests; and here on winter nights there is lighthearted talk about the roaring fire.²⁸⁶ From the atrium, which is the reception room of the house, one may escape by way of the rear apartments from the

duties of a host, if occasion demands.²⁸⁷ The poor man of the city may live in lodgings, frequently changed if he is one who apes the rich.²⁸⁸ But for the rich man himself there is the splendor of Persia and Araby the blest:²⁸⁹ his villas crowd the fish from their haunts, built as they are far out into the sea, with quarried stone for their foundation.²⁹⁰ His palaces and the fishponds that accompany them are leaving the farmer small space for ploughing, while the plane trees and flower beds drive out the useful elms and olives.²⁹¹ The marble once dedicated to temple use is finding its way into private houses even in the form of cut slabs for paneling, though this is generally regarded as an excessive luxury.²⁹² The ceilings may be paneled in gold and ivory and the pavements of mosaic;²⁹³ there may even be a private aviary where the song of birds will blend with the music of the lyre to entice slumber.²⁹⁴ And such a palace will contain treasures—silver, works of art, both paintings and statues, ivory, gems, robes of glowing purple;²⁹⁵ yet in the peristyle the rich owner will try to preserve something of the fresh and natural atmosphere of the country by a vista of trees amid the pillars.²⁹⁶

IX

Amusements

To Roman amusements we have already made some reference in describing the dinner and its attendant symposium and in mentioning the exercise and the bath that formed a part of the Roman day. The Romans realize as did the Greeks that grace and beauty come from the exercise of the palaestra.²⁹⁷ Neither sun nor dust can deter the enthusiast from the sports of the Campus Martius—military exercises, the hurling of the javelin and the discus, manly sports that set bruises as a badge of honor on the body,²⁹⁹ games of ball, even the effeminate Greek game of hoop-trundling,³⁰⁰ all have their places on this great playing field, where strenuous exercise may be followed by a welcome plunge into the waters of the Tiber close at hand.³⁰¹ The more formal bathing in the *balnea* proper is also looked forward to as one of the events of the day,³⁰² and the city people exiled in country places mourn their deprivation in this respect.³⁰³ Then there are the

revels of the Saturnalia, when the slaves enjoy the *libertas Decembris*;³⁰⁴ there is the New Year's celebration, with its bestowing of gifts;³⁰⁵ an honored birthday is the occasion for much polishing of silver and preparing of choice food;³⁰⁶ dancing and music play a not unimportant part among amusements, whether as a cabaret accompaniment to the symposium,³⁰⁷ as part of a pantomime,³⁰⁸ or as an expression of joy at a festival,³⁰⁹ where a respectable matron will dance with decorum but where the '*motus Ionici*' of the Roman flapper will cause grave head-shakings on the part of some bystanders.³¹¹ Hunting as a manly sport has its full share of attention, whether one pursue the timid hare or the boar, the stag or the crane³¹² — and dogs may be trained in the courtyard to play their part in the wood.³¹³ Racing too exerts its fascinations even to the extent of furnishing Horace with more than one useful simile and metaphor ('as if one should teach a donkey to race in the Campus Martius'; 'death is the final goal', etc.);³¹⁴ one hears the whinny of the mare that is broken to the four-horse chariot³¹⁵ — sees the barriers that confine the racers till the start³¹⁶ — watches the grouping of the horses as they spread out along the course³¹⁷ — catches his breath as the driver barely rounds the half-way goal post³¹⁸ — applauds the palm of victory that lifts the winner to the very gods³¹⁹ — and sees at last the aging steed turned out from the racing chariot ere it become a laughing stock.³²⁰

Of less active and wholesome amusement there is mention: the vice of gambling with its lucky Venus-throw;³²¹ the low life of the brothel;³²² the drinking bouts of the tavern.³²³ And often come references to the gladiatorial combat: Bithus is well matched with Bacchius, or Maecenas and his friend wonder if the Chicken armed in Thracian fashion is an equal for Syrus;³²⁴ the labored exchange of compliments reminds Horace of a hard-fought gladiatorial battle, and a truce in argument of the intervals between their contests;³²⁵ a contestant of proved valor appeals to the people from the arena for the privilege of retirement from his arduous life;³²⁶ and the people with up or down-turned thumbs reject or grant the favor asked.³²⁷

To Horace, however, the fascination of the stage is far

more apparent than that of the arena—the stage where, if an actor sleep through his cue, twelve hundred throats will furnish it to him, so familiar is it,³²⁸ showing that plays do return '*iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris*',³²⁹ as the many references to stock characters in Terence and Plautus prove.³³⁰ We meet the Roman dependence on Greek models in Horace's admonition to dramatists to study these by day and by night.³³¹ The Greek play has had its influence in determining the five act division of the Roman,³³² as well as the number of actors;³³³ from it also come the *deus ex machina*³³⁴ and the elimination of too painful or impossible action, such as Medea's murder of her sons or the metamorphosis of a Procne or a Cadmus.³³⁵ We meet too the chorus of tradition³³⁶ and the familiar mask, sock and buskin,³³⁷ as well as the curtain that drops instead of rising for the play.³³⁸ Music is taking a more important place than it did in the earlier days of the Roman stage, and the piper in his long tunic is much of a personage.³³⁹ The popular mimes make their appearance,³⁴⁰ once with a well-known actress hissed by the groundlings but supported by men of decent taste;³⁴¹ we meet the recollection of famous actors of the generation just preceding, handed down as a tradition to the stage of Horace's day;³⁴² the existence of a censor of plays is suggested by the reference to Tarpa, before whom plays resound in rivalry;³⁴³ the scheme of seating in the theatre is hinted at in the mention of Novius the freedman who sits one rank behind the free-born, typifying the distinction between knights and senators,³⁴⁴ while vivid touches bring the atmosphere of the playhouse before us: the close-packed audience,³⁴⁵ the stage perfumed with saffron water and perhaps strewn with flowers,³⁴⁶ the vocalist who calls the sonorous '*vos plaudite*' as the final curtain rises.³⁴⁷ But degeneracy is attacking the drama. The rabble may call for a bear-baiting or a boxing exhibition to relieve the monotony of the play proper, while even the higher classes do not show themselves averse to a spectacle which drags out its length to four or five hours and presents with the utmost of realism a battle followed by a triumph: squads of cavalry and infantry, war chariots, ships, spoils, camelopards and white elephants pouring past the restless eyes of the spectators, while amid the babel of noises the actor is quite unheard and

is noted only for the gorgeousness of his purple robe.³⁴⁸

X.

Books and Writing

To books and writing Horace of course makes frequent reference. He works much upon papyrus with pen and ink,³⁴⁹ and so slowly that he does not demand a parchment for fair copy four times in a year.³⁵⁰ The slate-like wax tabulae appear upon which erasure could be made with reversed stylus.³⁵¹ The shape and form of the Roman book becomes familiar, rolled and unrolled upon its cylinder, the ends of which are polished with pumice stone to make the volume as attractive as possible ³⁵² before it is exposed for sale on the pillar of a book stall to be thumbed by the passer-by.³⁵³ The bookseller may display the bust of some popular poet along with his works.³⁵⁴ Upon treasured volumes the owner may bestow the honor of a bookcase of polished cypress wood, with oil of cedar to ward off the devouring moth³⁵⁵— but the unwanted book may be shipped off to the provinces or yield its pages for wrapping paper.³⁵⁶ There is frequent reference to the recently created library connected with the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, that gift worthy of the god which Horace assumes Augustus wishes to fill with works that will do it honor.³⁵⁷ The toil of producing books is but hinted at in a single reference to the book scribe who must be reasonably accurate or suffer the consequences of a repeated slip of the pen.³⁵⁸ Memory-helps are evidently one of the uses to which writing is put, as we find a man hastening home to put down the mnemonic signs that would assist him to recall the talk he had heard.³⁵⁹ Of the seal too, which played so important a part even in literate days, there is some mention.³⁶⁰

But the use of books and writing is naturally of more interest to Horace than the mechanical processes by which they are produced. With public interests ever receding into the background as the empire becomes more firmly established, men of active mind are turning in increasing numbers to literature as an outlet for their creative energy. The writing of poems becomes a fashionable amusement, which may be pursued by young and old, taught and untaught alike, the gar-

landed diner even improvising verses to be jotted down by a slave at his dictation.³⁶¹ Occasionally a poet is responsible for such an output that his manuscripts and their cases are said to be sufficient to form his funeral pyre.³⁶² At the same time the Romans of Horace's day make great affectation of preferring old writers to new, though the poet deplors that lack of polish in the early writers which even their study of Greek models could not correct.³⁶³

XI

Travel

Of modes and customs of travel, too, Horace has somewhat to say. We see the attendant train, friends, servants and nags, that a man of any importance must have about him on the journey.³⁶⁴ Various modes of travel are indicated: the canal boat with its billingsgate,³⁶⁵ the traveling carriage drawn by ponies,³⁶⁶ the mule,³⁶⁷ the horse which may know its own way too well,³⁶⁸ or perhaps one's own feet, with garments high-girded.³⁶⁹ On the mule are traveling bags as well as the rider, stuffed it may be with volumes of Plato and Menander.³⁷⁰ The drawbacks of jaunting about the country are not minimized—the water procured may be of such inferior quality as to make one ill,³⁷¹ and the roads, though paved, are so uneven as to make one weary of the incessant jolting.³⁷² Inns are notoriously poor,³⁷³ some even going so far as to sell water (though this may be excused in a desert country),³⁷⁴ and inn-keepers all rogues,³⁷⁵ and one shares Horace's glee at lodging with friends in a house of generous hospitality overlooking the Caudine Inn.³⁷⁶ For officials there are inns where necessary supplies are furnished by the provincial purveyors of the government.³⁷⁷

XII

Slave Life

As to the slave life of the period the works of Horace, particularly the Satires, furnish material for a long chapter. A slave household ranges in number from Horace's three³⁷⁸ to the two hundred of Sardus Tigellius,³⁷⁹ and the lower limit of their cost is suggested by the five hundred drachmae of

Satires 2, 7, 43, while a superior slave might be sold at three hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars.³⁸⁰ Such a slave might be home-born and disposed of at a private sale as a piece of valuable merchandise—good-looking, unblemished, with a smattering of Greek education, quick to learn, young, docile, of pleasing voice, etc.³⁸¹ For choice foreign slaves Cappadocia seems to have been a favorite source.³⁸² Chains must have gone along with weapons to the battle field, and many a bond-maiden or youthful cup-bearer chosen for his statuesque beauty recalls a life of happiness and freedom in a faraway land.³⁸³ Slaves are known usually by foreign names, being '*sine gente*', and on manumission repurchase in the gift of a Roman praenomen.³⁸⁴ We know that it is possible for them to have money of their own from the fact that one may buy or hire another to perform his duties for him.³⁸⁵ One meets occasional references to food allowance, especially in the frank talk Horace delivers to his steward, who foolishly wishes to give up his perquisite of unlimited food supply on the farm to subsist on measured rations amid the pleasures of the city.³⁸⁶ One's guests, indeed, may leave enough from their feasting to feed one's slaves.³⁸⁷ Dress would vary with the duties to be performed, but slaves are regularly girded high for active service.³⁸⁸ For formal table service great care is taken to have one's slaves properly girded and combed,³⁸⁹ and they are taught to serve with ceremony,³⁹⁰ and sometimes no doubt are sorely worried by an over-particular master³⁹¹ or ill-trained by a lax one.³⁹² A slave may consider it his privilege to listen at the door³⁹³ and to taste surreptitiously the dishes on their way to or from the table.³⁹⁴ Slaves are open to bribery,³⁹⁵ and in spite of their servile attitude on occasion³⁹⁶ are one source of dread to their owners because of the ease with which stealing may be carried on.³⁹⁷ Their duties are various: besides those mentioned above, we read of the doorkeeper, of the *pedisequus*,³⁹⁸ of the secretary,⁴⁰⁰ the *nomenclator* who jogs his master's memory with a sly poke in the ribs when political friends are to be recognized,⁴⁰¹ the schoolboy's attendants,⁴⁰² the pack-slave of the journey,⁴⁰³ and of the hateful condition of the farm slave, whose station in life is held as a type of punishment before city servants.⁴⁰⁴ Of other modes of punishment there are dark hints: the strap or scourge, with metal

fastened to its lashes, may be used to administer private or public flogging;⁴⁰⁵ the wrists may be bound to a forked beam resting on the neck;⁴⁰⁶ for treachery, a slave's legs may be broken on an anvil;⁴⁰⁷ the erring member of the body may be branded,⁴⁰⁸ while for extreme offenses the penalty is crucifixion.⁴⁰⁹ On the other hand, there is possibility of escape,⁴¹⁰ or of manumission, with the praetor's rod laid thrice on the back,⁴¹¹ while the Saturnalia gives temporary freedom⁴¹² and other holidays or situations mingle the life of bond and free.⁴¹³ It is hard to pity the '*vernas procacis*' of a gentle master like Horace,⁴¹⁴ but the dreary side of their life comes to the surface when we read of the dead slave, his body flung out from its narrow cell, with the fellow servant arranging for its burial in a cheap box.⁴¹⁵ It is a far cry from this picture to that of the typical parvenu, who, having obtained his freedom, vaunts himself on the fashionable Sacred Way, or to visit his huge Apulian estate drives madly over the Via Appia, or in contempt of law sits in the seats of the mighty, though his body bears yet the marks of the floggings and fetters of slavery.⁴¹⁶

XIII

Sickness

For the ailing among Rome's population there is evidently no lack of medical care and knowledge,⁴¹⁷ and there are certain men at the head of the profession whose pronouncements are final,⁴¹⁸ notably Antonius Musa, who by his successful cold-water treatments has become the physician of the hour, making Clusium and Gabii wax in popularity as health resorts, while Baiae and Cumae of the hot baths wane.⁴¹⁹ The use of first aid remedies and the calling of a physician are commonplace in Horace's day as in ours.⁴²⁰ Hellebore, procured frequently at Anticyra, is often mentioned as a specific for insanity,⁴²¹ and hemlock is also used as a remedy in disease,⁴²² but in addition to drugs, diet⁴²³ and magic formulae⁴²⁴ seem to play some part in relieving pain. The approach of spring gives warning that the body should be cleansed, and Horace undergoes an anti-bilious treatment.⁴²⁵ Surgery plays a part, as the scar on Messius' forehead testifies.⁴²⁶ Dropsy, the mange, and jaundice, the 'king's disease' are known and

dreaded, as is the quartan ague;⁴²⁷ for seasickness the dry Caecuban wine may give relief,⁴²⁸ but no specific is mentioned to allay the suffering of hay fever.⁴²⁹

XIV

Legacy Hunting

The rich man without or sometimes with natural heirs will find himself as time advances an object of much solicitude to the legacy hunter, who will accompany him on the left side as a body guard⁴³⁰ and send him the choicest tidbits, preferring to honor him before the protecting deity of his own hearth,⁴³¹ even with the faint hope that he may be named as second heir.⁴³² The legacy hunter will get at his victim by flattery; warn him to shield his head from a draught; elbow a way for him through the crowd; bend an attentive ear to his utterances; praise to the utmost, even in spite of modest protests, anything that he says; and form alliance with any others who may be closer to his prey than he himself.⁴³³ In spite of all this assiduity, however, he may find himself bequeathed naught but his tears for his pains.⁴³⁴ The sick man with a natural heir, meanwhile, is suffering from the thought that the hard-hearted fellow is circling exultantly about his keys and treasure-boxes;⁴³⁵ that he prepares to take possession of the gorgeous villa built out over the sea;⁴³⁶ and that he will spill with lavish hand the hoarded Caecuban, though it were guarded with a hundred locks.⁴³⁷ The man dying under such conditions can but hug to his heart the reflection that his heir may find less than he expects,⁴³⁸ for even his greedy hands cannot lay hold upon what the sick man has already used to invite his soul.⁴³⁹

XV

Death and Burial

But at last comes death, and a burial arranged for at the temple of Venus Libitina,⁴⁴⁰ and conducted by the undertaker,⁴⁴¹ if one were fortunate, without sparing of expense as to funeral or tombstone, to the outspoken satisfaction of the observing neighborhood.⁴⁴² There will be a dirge, wailed by hired mourners who will outdo in vehement display of grief the

very friends themselves, though they gash their cheeks and beat their breasts in loud lamentation.⁴⁴³ In the procession, marshaled perhaps by lictors clothed in black,⁴⁴⁴ will appear, if one is of curule rank to possess them, the masks and inscriptions of one's ancestors, to be gaped at by the simple crowd,⁴⁴⁵ and in the Forum will be delivered the funeral oration, with sounding of trumpets though not perhaps without rivalry, as previously indicated.⁴⁴⁶ On the tombstone may be carved, at one's dying request, the amount of one's property;⁴⁴⁷ or there may be given a marvelous gladiatorial combat or a public feast or a distribution of grain.⁴⁴⁸ The body is probably cremated,⁴⁴⁹ and burial may take place in a plot of ground specially dedicated to that purpose in perpetuity and so marked by a stone pillar.⁴⁵⁰ This ceremony of burial over, the unsealing of the will becomes the center of interest,⁴⁵¹ though the heir has perhaps had opportunity before the sick man's death to snatch a glance at the precious tablets, and, while feigning indifference, to see whether his name appeared in the customary place, on the line directly below that of the testator.⁴⁵²

XVI

Family Life

Before we turn to the more general aspects of Roman life and thought a few characteristic features of the household ought to be noted, as well as some scattering points of interest not included under other headings. Horace refers briefly but occasionally to the life and work of women apart from the free and easy Lydes and Phyllises who grace the symposia. Spinning is the characteristic task of the homekeeping women-folk,⁴⁵³ and the youthful among their number sigh at the narrowness of a lot that affords meagre chance of diversion as compared with the various pursuits of men,⁴⁵⁴ though as has already appeared evening brought a respite from toil and a blitheness that was city wide. To marriage customs Horace makes practically no reference beyond noting the dowry and the power it gives, as well as the fact that it may consist of land.⁴⁵⁵ The ambitious evidently have their eyes upon well-dowered brides as a fruitful source of wealth.⁴⁵⁶ Of married life, however, there is the one idyllic picture of Epode 2, so

appealing in its charm that one likes to fancy that this rustic household may have its counterpart in Rome—the chaste wife with her children about her, carrying her part of the family tasks, setting forth the meal and stirring the fire against her weary husband's return till its glow lights the Lares and the little flock of slaves gathered familiarly about the hearth.⁴⁵⁷ Of the life of children we have previously spoken, but the power of the father over his son should be noted here as the word *emancipatus* mirrors it—that far-reaching *patria potestas* only to be loosened by a thrice-repeated act of selling and emancipation.⁴⁵⁸ In like manner the word '*adrogavit*' brings the picture of the childless Roman house exercising its right of legal adoption to provide the heir that shall carry on a distinguished name.⁴⁵⁹

XVII

Clients

The relation of patron and client too is not slighted by Horace. We see the throng of clients that filled the streets in the early morning, some rich in their own right, trailing robes of Laconian purple,⁴⁶⁰ but all hastening to attend the *salutatio* of more powerful citizens and to swell the company that will attend them in the street and thus give them prestige.⁴⁶¹ The patron in his turn will give his clients advice, stand security for them at need, and rescue them from vexatious legal difficulties.⁴⁶²

XVIII

Calendar

Of the Roman calendar we have made brief mention under the topic of daily life. We find the calendar known as '*fasti*', i. e., court days primarily, on which it was proper to pronounce judgment, but secondarily a list of all the days of the year, with festivals, magistrates, etc., duly noted.⁴⁶³ At a little later time even family records will be inserted in the *fasti*.⁴⁶⁴ The Kalends, the Nones and the Ides make their familiar appearance,⁴⁶⁵ while the influence of the censor and his work of purification is recalled in the frequent use of the word *lustrum* to designate a five year period.⁴⁶⁶

XIX

Money, etc.

Roman money too has some part in Horace's pages, from the pulse used by children in play or as stage money⁴⁶⁷ to the seven sestertia that will purchase half a little field.⁴⁶⁸ The familiarity of new coinage is indicated when Horace seeks a parallel for the introduction of fresh words into the language.⁴⁶⁹ Loans are matters of importance, to be made with care and with assurance of good security;⁴⁷⁰ and in reading of the conventional form of purchase one goes back to the dim days when money was measured by weight, as the buyer lays claim before witnesses to the property he intends to buy and pretends to weigh the money he is to pay for it, thus performing a *mancipatio*.⁴⁷¹ When the belt must serve as a wallet, as the Roman dress demanded, the man '*qui zonam perdidit*' is unfortunate indeed.⁴⁷² Wealth brings its privileges and not least among these is the possibility of pasturing huge herds of cattle on the public lands of Italy on payment of a small tax to the state.⁴⁷³ A private yacht, too, possibly a trireme, may be among the rich man's possessions,⁴⁷⁴ and with this he will need the life boats⁴⁷⁵ and life preservers⁴⁷⁶ that along with mosquito canopies⁴⁷⁷ give the text of Horace so modern a sound. Letters of recommendation, too, have a familiar appearance,⁴⁷⁸ but not so the epistolary tense which we meet in Epistles 1, 10, 49, and which recalls an age of livelier imagination than our own. The Roman marks of youth and beauty remind us that tastes change but little—a low forehead, within limits, is still a coveted grace,⁴⁷⁹ and then as now did gentlemen prefer blondes.⁴⁸⁰ But to conclude this section of odds and ends with more serious matters, we have the reverse of the rich man's condition pictured in the scene of eviction drawn by Horace with powerful strokes—the sacred landmarks up-torn by ruthless grasping hands and the homeless tenant driven with wife and children from the fields his fathers knew, bearing in his bosom the household gods that have now no habitation.⁴⁸¹

XX.

Religion

Through all the works of Horace move the gods of Rome, now as deities commanding awe and veneration, again as familiar household names attached to customs that have their roots in a far antiquity. In the Odes especially, where Horace is carrying with Augustus the burden of restoring at least the outward semblance of the state religion, they are clothed in all the majesty of that Olympus from which so many of them have been adopted. Jupiter is he who rules the affairs of gods and men, the god of whom is none begotten greater than himself, like whom there is no other;⁴⁸² Apollo, who in the Satires is blessed with light and humorous touch as patron saint of poets,⁴⁸³ here appears as augur, healer, leader of the Muses, a cloud enfolding his gleaming shoulders from which hang the quiver and the lyre, his locks bathed in the pure dew of the Castalian spring and crowned with that laurel whose immortal leaves Horace bids Melpomene bind about his own brow;⁴⁸⁴ triple-formed Diana comes as the dread goddess of might and mystery, with madness for those who offend her, as well as the guardian of hills and groves to whom a favorite pine may well be dedicated;⁴⁸⁵ Pallas wears the aegis against which the weapons of her enemies ring in vain;⁴⁸⁶ Ceres is begged to bless her corn and make it rise with high stalk;⁴⁸⁷ Juno Lucina is called upon in childbirth,⁴⁸⁸ and Cybele bears in Rome the Corybantian cymbals of her orgiastic worship;⁴⁸⁹ Aeolus rules the winds for Virgil's voyage, Castor and Pollux the mariner's stars shine on his going, and that blithe Venus who rose from the Cyprian sea will be at hand to guard him;⁴⁹⁰ great Pan has come to Italy from Arcady,⁴⁹¹ and stern Pluto may receive here a bootless sacrifice; Bacchus⁴⁹² has brought his orgies and his symbols hidden in leaves, and the gifts of *Liber pater* are too often abused.⁴⁹³ Mercury, who in the satires figures but as god of trade and gain,⁴⁹⁴ is here that winged guide of souls, dear alike to the gods of Hades and of Olympus, shepherding the bodiless throng with his dread wand;⁴⁹⁵ while Mars, father of the Roman race, has drunk his fill of the savage sport of war as his children waged it at home and abroad.⁴⁹⁶ Here too are the three sisters who spin the

thread of Destiny and whose voices cannot speak falsehood.⁴⁹⁷ Thus far the Graeco-Roman pantheon. But there are also deities indigenous to the Italian soil: Father Janus,⁴⁹⁸ Vacuna, goddess of leisure,⁴⁹⁹ and Laverna goddess of thieves,⁵⁰⁰ to whom the man who leads a double life may mutter a secret prayer when he has called aloud upon more reputable powers; Faunus, now half Pan, now wholly himself, lover of fleeing nymphs, swift to save the life of his poet, blessing crops and herds when the smoke of offering is sweet in his nostrils;⁵⁰¹ Robigo, that blight which the Romans propitiated as a deity;⁵⁰² Silvanus of the woods,⁵⁰³ and Priapus the god of vineyards and gardens, whose figure the workman finally shapes of his fig tree trunk, after hesitating between the uses of god and bench.⁵⁰⁴ Even more characteristically Italian than these are the Lares and Penates, tutelary deities and guardians of the hearth, the little friendly gods who may be crowned with rosemary and myrtle, whose very names have come to spell 'home' and 'family' to the Roman ear.⁵⁰⁵ Italian too are the abstractions personified: stern Necessity,⁵⁰⁶ Modesty and naked Truth,⁵⁰⁷ and that sister of Justice, pure Faith whose priest wears his right hand bound with a white cloth in her service.⁵⁰⁸ The goddess Fortuna, though she has become identified with the Greek Tyche, is peculiarly Roman in her appeal, and poor farmer and rich merchant alike besiege her shrine with fervent prayers;⁵⁰⁹ while those holy maidens who weary the ear of Vesta with their prayers for the state belong entirely to Roman soil.⁵¹⁰

To the official representatives of the state religion Horace makes little direct reference: the Pontifex Maximus ascends the Capitoline with the priestess of Vesta to pray for the welfare of the state,⁵¹¹ the priestly college in charge of the Sibylline Books conducts the ceremonial of the *Ludi Saeculares*,⁵¹² augural customs are frequently noted,⁵¹³ and the occasional mention of the gorgeous pontifical feasts and the hymns of the Salii recalls that quaint company the 'dancing dervishes of Mars', making solemn processional about the city with their *ancilia* sacred to Mars, dancing at stated places and chanting as they capered in a tongue so ancient that only the occasional *laudator temporis acti* made pretense of understanding it,⁵¹⁴

But the particular observance of ritual as well as the mention of priestly books leaves no doubt that all religious practices were directed with anxious care by those who were charged with the responsibility of such guidance. Horace brings us into touch with several of the great festivals of the year: the Fontanalia, when wells and springs are showered with garlands and when the prattling waters of Bandusia shall be stained with a victim's blood;⁵¹⁶ the Neptunalia, bringing welcome mid-summer holiday;⁵¹⁷ the Terminalia, sacred to Terminus and celebrated with the sacrifice of a lamb or a kid that will give the country-dweller a taste of meat;⁵¹⁸ the Matronalia, which the bachelor Horace will celebrate along with the ladies whose day of feast and gifts it is, because on this day, the Kalends of March, he was saved from the falling tree;⁵¹⁹ the Faunalia, sacred to that god whose intervention preserved him and celebrated with joyous leisure and country mirth;⁵²⁰ the great Latin Festival, when folk of importance deserted the city and its business for awhile;⁵²¹ and most important of all because unique among festivals, the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B. C., that ceremonial 'which no living man had seen or would ever see again', as according to priestly reckoning 110 years constituted the cycle at the end of which it would again be celebrated.⁵²² For three days and three nights with song and prayer and sacrifice the sacred rite is solemnized,⁵²³ and on the third day, a crowning glory, appears the chorus of chosen youths and maidens to chant before the temple of Apollo the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace, the laureate of the Empire.⁵²⁴ They have had rigorous training in song and processional, and the years to come will find them telling with pride of the day when they chanted those measures of Horace that pleased the gods.⁵²⁵

The ritual of sacrifice naturally receives much attention at the hands of one who is upholding the policy of Augustus as he restores the temples of the gods and endeavors to draw the Roman world back to the religious fervor and piety of an earlier day.⁵²⁶ Everywhere the smoke of incense rises,⁵²⁷ everywhere victims approach the altar, until one cannot wonder that whole herds must be pastured to supply the constant needs of the temples.⁵²⁸ One may offer sacrifice in prayer for

a favor, in gratitude at its accomplishment, in propitiation of offended powers; one begs Faunus to deal tenderly with his flock in return for the kid and the wine that shall enrich his altar;⁶²⁹ another is directed to slay a pig to his friendly Lares in acknowledgment of their protection;⁵³⁰ and Horace brings incense and music along with his heifer to bless the gods who kept Numida safe on his travels.⁵³¹ Neglect of the gods brings anger and many sorrows in its train,⁵³² but they may be appeased by an offering as humble as holy meal and salt provided only the hands that offer it are pure;⁵³³ for the common people indeed, the favorite offering is cakes, of which a slave in the priest's house would have his fill.⁵³⁴ The sacrifices are carefully graded to the wealth of the giver: Horace's rich friend must pay his vow of gratitude at Caesar's safe return with ten bulls and cows, while one calf suffices for the poet;⁵³⁵ again Maecenas is reminded to bless his friendly powers with the victim and the temple he has vowed, but Horace himself need offer only a lamb.⁵³⁶ The gods vary in their tastes:⁵³⁷ Ceres and the Lares have a penchant for pigs,⁵³⁸ Silvanus for milk,⁵³⁹ Venus for a sacrifice so offered that the blood shall not stain her altar,⁵⁴⁰ Liber for the goat that preys upon his vines.⁵⁴¹ White victims are offered to the gods of the upper world, black to those of Hades;⁵⁴² a man about to commit suicide covers his head, as devoting himself to the powers below.⁵⁴³ Of sacrificial customs there is much detail: the altar, often of simple turf, as always in the early days of the state,⁵⁴⁴ with a fresh coal to light the fire, green boughs or herbs sacred to the rite, incense, wine, flowers, fillets,⁵⁴⁵ holy meal sprinkled on the victim's head,⁵⁴⁶ the knife at the victim's throat,⁵⁴⁷ the hands of the suppliant lifted with palms upturned to receive the blessing.⁵⁴⁸ Other offerings besides sacrifices are made to the gods: a fugitive slave makes gift of his chain to the Lares, according to his vow;⁵⁴⁹ captured arms are hung up in the temples of the victors, a custom that rankles when Rome's enemies turn the tables upon her;⁵⁵⁰ to patron god or goddess one dedicates the instruments of the profession from which he is retiring—a gladiator to Hercules, a lover to Venus, etc.;⁵⁵¹ upon Diana Horace bestows the enjoyment of holding as her own the pine tree that overhangs his house;⁵⁵² again, he urges upon the Romans a dedication to Jupiter of 'vanities'

—jewels, gold, whatever riches hold them from the steep path of virtuous living;⁵⁵³ and votive pictures or tablets are commonly referred to, wherein may be set forth in vivid and realistic fashion the tale of one's thrilling escape from shipwreck or other imminent peril.⁵⁵⁴

We have spoken of the anxious care for ritual as one of the distinguishing features of the Roman religion. This appears in the invocations which are made elastic enough to permit the deity addressed to choose the one of several appellations that suits him best;⁵⁵⁵ in the anxiety that onlookers shall preserve a discreet silence during a religious rite, lest ill-omened words mar all the ceremonial;⁵⁵⁶ in the care to observe the proper time for a given religious ceremony;⁵⁵⁷ and in the mention of cleansing rites of expiation, in connection with which appears as so often elsewhere the magic number 'thrice'.⁵⁵⁸ The promise made to a god is binding indeed,⁵⁵⁹ but the sacrifice once duly performed, the god is equally under obligation to fulfil his part of the bargain,⁵⁶⁰ and at times the worshipper insists that the heavenly part of the agreement be carried out before the earthly.⁵⁶¹ Roman prayers are occasionally lifted for the blessing of rain,⁵⁶² and occasionally too and with startling frankness for the visitation upon one's enemies of all the plagues distressing one's own civic household.⁵⁶³ Of temple ceremonial apart from that already mentioned we have various glimpses, as for instance in the description of a slave walking as one who carried the sacred vessels of Juno,⁵⁶⁴ and in the occasional reference to the custom of chanting prophecies.⁵⁶⁵ Music indeed is dear to the gods, whether they be of Hades or of Olympus, and the flute, the pipe and the lyre mingle their strains in religious ceremonies,⁵⁶⁶ while chosen youths and maids, as in the *Carmina Saecularia*, perform the choral dance and song that temple ritual demands.⁵⁶⁷ Some gods, Ceres for instance, are worshipped with mysterious rites that may not be revealed save at pain of dire punishment.⁵⁶⁸ The temples possess guardians who display the treasures to visitors, even as a great poet reveals virtue to his audience as an object worthy of worship and honor.⁵⁶⁹

A god may reveal his will by an omen (*facere aus-*

picium) which then becomes a divine command⁵⁷⁰—Jupiter has thundered in a clear sky, for example, and Horace, careless and infrequent worshipper though he is, realizes for the moment at least that there is a god in heaven who is powerful to exalt and to humble men upon earth.⁵⁷¹ A doomed city the gods will leave, as they withdrew from Troy on its fatal night.⁵⁷²

In concluding this section two characteristic aspects of the Roman religion should be noted: the rise of emperor-worship,⁵⁷³ of which more will be said in a later section, and the belief in man's Genius, that tutelary spirit which survives the body and to which offerings are made as to a god, during life by the man himself and after his death by his kinsfolk, to whom the Genius has now become a household Lar. One's Genius is called upon to witness an oath or a prayer;⁵⁷⁴ it is the spirit that regulated at birth the influence of the planets on one's life;⁵⁷⁵ and as its attitude is wholly friendly it rejoices in man's happiness, receives with delight gifts of flowers and wine on festal days, and may be 'invited' even as a soul of to-day to keep holiday with the person it inhabits.⁵⁷⁶

XXI

Beliefs and Superstitions

Mention has been made above of the science of augury, which in a study of Roman life at an earlier period would have played an important part under the topic just treated, but which by Horace's day had ceased to function with any degree of importance and may be therefore classed rather under the head of beliefs and superstitions. Though the power of the augural college has passed, the influence of their practices is however everywhere discernible, and certain beliefs instilled by them into Roman thought have been absorbed so completely that the words 'bird' and 'omen', for instance, are almost interchangeable, and superstitions run rife.⁵⁷⁷ A journey may be ruined at its outset by any one of so many untoward appearances that one marvels at the courage of the one who planned it: the hoot of an owl, the sight of a breeding dog or fox, a snake slipping across one's path, a woodpecker appearing on the left or a crow on the wing to the pools.⁵⁷⁸ The notes of

certain birds such as the raven, the crow and the owl are especially observed, and care may be exercised that they shall come from the lucky quarter, which in true Roman augury is the left, but which in the poets of the Empire is influenced by Greek usage to appear as the right.⁵⁷⁹ A comet is a sign of deep portent,⁵⁸⁰ as is a lightning flash in an apparently clear sky,⁵⁸¹ while the hurling of the thunderbolt is clear proof of the guilt of its victim.⁵⁸² A mother longing for her son's safe return invokes him by vows, by prayers, and by taking of omens;⁵⁸³ a battle is won under '*auspiciis secundis*';⁵⁸⁴ but the final mention of the augur as one who may speak words of folly through fear of offending perhaps indicates the status of the profession in the days of the Empire.⁵⁸⁵

As augury wanes, however, astrology waxes, and the *Chaldaei* or *mathematici* who teach Babylonian numbers and cast horoscopes are more than once mentioned.⁵⁸⁶ Fortune telling is not without its share of attention, especially among the country folk, as the tale of that Sabellian crone of Horace's boyhood would indicate.⁵⁸⁷ Jewish customs are making much impression on the observing: we see the old freedman who runs fasting about the various shrines of the city after early ceremonial washing of the hands;⁵⁸⁸ the Jewish fast days of Monday and Thursday are noted,⁵⁸⁹ as well as a real or feigned 'thirtieth Sabbath';⁵⁹⁰ the activity of the Jews in making converts is matter of common talk,⁵⁹¹ and Horace contemptuously dismisses a tale of wonder-working as one to be believed by a Jew.⁵⁹²

Of beliefs and superstitions connected with death Horace affords a number of instances. The necessity for at least the form of burial appears—three handfuls of dust will suffice to win a blessing from the dead and the omission thereof a curse⁵⁹³ (and Roman curses are extremely comprehensive).⁵⁹⁴ There is occasional mention of offerings made to the shades,⁵⁹⁵ with a suggestion of the special offering on the ninth day after death.⁵⁹⁶ The belief in the power of the Manes to haunt and torture the guilty is vividly portrayed,⁵⁹⁷ and with this may be classed the feeling that the blood of an innocent victim cried from the ground for vengeance.⁵⁹⁸ The entrance to the lower world is well marked,⁵⁹⁹ and that ivory gate whence issue

false dreams is familiar to Horace as to Virgil⁶⁰⁰—but of that world below we learn only that it is the place where, become but dust and a shade, we shall join the worthies of old, Tullus and Numa, Ancus and father Aeneas.⁶⁰¹

There come frequent glimpses, too, of sundry other beliefs and superstitions: that the liver is the seat of passion;⁶⁰² that the sight of a nymph causes madness⁶⁰³ and that dishonor to the ashes of one's fathers may be punished by the same affliction;⁶⁰⁴ that the heavens revolve;⁶⁰⁵ that perjury should bring bodily disfigurement;⁶⁰⁶ that life and death are ruled by the capacious urn that holds all our lots;⁶⁰⁷ that chalk may fitly mark a lucky day and charcoal an unlucky;⁶⁰⁸ that success or failure in love may be portended by an apple seed snapped ceiling-ward;⁶⁰⁹ that to die comely is an easier fate than to leave a body marred and wasted;⁶¹⁰ that there are ghosts—*'lemures'*—that walk by night;⁶¹¹ and last but not least, that Rome's ruling house is the creation and care of the gods themselves.⁶¹²

XXII

Witchcraft

Of witches also there is much discourse, particularly of that Canidia whose breath was more poisonous than snakes.⁶¹³ We look through Horace's eyes at their black practices as he sees them prowling about the old graveyard with bare feet and streaming hair, girt in black mantles and pale with dread of their own magic,⁶¹⁴ hiding in the earth a wolf's head with a snake's tooth,⁶¹⁵ or giving one person power over another by fashioning and manipulating puppets of wax and wool,⁶¹⁶ scratching up the earth with their uncut nails,⁶¹⁷ tearing a lamb to pieces with their teeth and pouring the blood into the ditch in order to call forth the shades and elicit responses from them,⁶¹⁸ and at last fleeing in terror and disarray, shedding lofty head-dress here and false teeth there,⁶¹⁹ to the glee of such disinterested observers as the poet.⁶²⁰ Spells, potions and fortune-telling are the commonplaces of their craft,⁶²¹ taught in Thessaly and in the country districts of Italy such as the land of the Sabines, the Marsi, the Paeligni,⁶²² etc., as well as by the books of incantations that evidently exist⁶²³ and bestow

the power to call down the very stars from heaven.⁶²⁴ The witch boasts of power to raise the dead though their bodies have suffered cremation, and to summon Luna by her cries.⁶²⁵ She calls upon the goddesses of the lower world⁶²⁶ and sprinkles her house in preparation for unholy rites with water from Avernus.⁶²⁷ Her spells are woven by chantings accompanied perhaps by the whirling of a *rhombus* on a cord.⁶²⁸ Poisons are part of her stock in trade though she is in her dangerous self a very laboratory of such drugs.⁶²⁹ The full horror of witchcraft, however, comes to us unsparingly in the Fifth Epode, where Canidia and her ghoulish mates torture a child to death in preparation for the concoction of a love philter. We see the evil house, perhaps in the Subura, its hearth flames leaping to devour the hideous charms cast into them — the eggs and feathers of an owl smeared with toad's blood, poisonous herbs, bones snatched from the jaws of a hungry cur⁶³⁰ — while the child looks helplessly on at the preparation of that grave in which his body is to be buried alive up to the chin, with his dying eyes fixed on food shifted twice or thrice in a day to sharpen his longing.⁶³¹ His death accomplished, the marrow of the body and the liver, dried by this craving for food, would form the chief ingredient of the philter that should in its turn arouse desire in Canidia's faithless lover. The whole scene is drawn in strokes almost unbearably vivid and the atmosphere of superstition it creates is smothering in its reality.

XXIII

Philosophers

At the other end of the balance are the bearded philosophers whom we met everywhere in the thronging crowd of Horace's *dramatis personae*: the Pythagorean who forbids the eating of beans on the ground that the soul of a man may dwell therein, holding firmly as he does to the doctrine of metempsychosis;⁶³³ the hedonistic Epicurean,⁶³⁴ who believes the gods live their lives careless of mankind and who urges us to seize the present life and court the pleasures of the senses, since all on earth have mortal lots and there is escape from death neither for the small nor for the great;⁶³⁵ and the Stoic, who while he agrees with the Epicurean in regarding respect

for the present moment as the chief wisdom,⁶³⁶ yet believes that one should spend that moment in public service rather than private pleasure⁶³⁷ and considers the man fortunate upon whom God has bestowed with sparing hand only that which is sufficient for his need.⁶³⁸ The philosopher crew, especially of the Stoic persuasion, are talkative,⁶³⁹ argumentative to the last degree, ready to prove that all men save the Stoic are mad⁶⁴⁰ or that all faults are equally heinous,⁶⁴¹ though they may add the saving clause, 'within the bounds of nature';⁶⁴² yet it is to philosophy that the Roman of cultivated tastes will turn to acquire a knowledge of the true values of life⁶⁴³ that shall enable him to preserve his soul well-ordered, calm and self-restrained amid all the excesses of his generation.⁶⁴⁴

XXIV

Interests of People

Of the characteristic interests, the vices and virtues of Rome's population, what picture can we form from the works of Horace? We see a people of restless ambition, content with naught, each praising the other's lot,⁶⁴⁵ all chained to Fame's gleaming chariot;⁶⁴⁶ a people of passionate absorption in some interest or other, whether ambition, greed, lust, hoarding, writing, collecting, banking, even busy idleness.⁶⁴⁷ Money is the ruling passion, to be obeyed before all else;⁶⁴⁸ poverty is a reproach and a dishonor, to be escaped at all cost of life or limb.⁶⁴⁹ The miser has so much attention as to make his vice seem extremely common in Rome: 'since you place money first of all your interests';⁶⁵⁰ 'so rich he measures his coins instead of counting them, so mean he does not clothe himself as well as a slave'.⁶⁵¹ He is the man who, playing the grudging host, will serve you with wine that has turned and with rancid oil, which he pours himself, drop by drop.⁶⁵² Stricken with mortal illness and being told by the anxious physician that he is dying of inanition, he haggles over the price of the gruel brought to his bedside and feels he may as well die of disease as of robbery.⁶⁵³ With a man of this type goes the greedy usurer, whose trade is forbidden but who flourishes nevertheless,⁶⁵⁴ collecting five times the usual one per cent a month, and calling in his loans on the Ides to place them again on the

Kalends.⁶⁵⁵ In connection with Roman misers it is interesting to note that their tendency to bury their treasure is doubtless due to the natural desire to keep such wealth secure in the midst of uncertain and troublous times. If you are a farmer there is always the cheerful possibility that a pot of gold lost by this process may turn up before your ploughshare.⁶⁵⁶ For the avaricious man life is made burdensome by the practical jokers who nail down a penny at a street crossing in the assurance that their victim cannot pass it by.⁶⁵⁷ On the other side of the scales is the spendthrift, pointed out as a terrible example,⁶⁵⁸ stripping bare the fine estate of his ancestors with his gluttony⁶⁵⁹ and making the classic 'rake's progress' so vividly pictures in *Satires* 2, 3, 224-238. The power of wealth dazzles the Romans: all things, virtuous life, good fame, honor, divine and human power, obey fair riches who can bestow upon one a well-dowered wife, credit, friends, the favor of the gods themselves.⁶⁶⁰ And along with this craving for riches goes the desire to win higher place in the social order by cultivating the acquaintance of great men. The society of the period is aristocratic and its family pride great, but the unstable condition of political affairs makes phenomenal rises in station entirely possible⁶⁶¹ and there are not wanting those who will take advantage of this situation. Horace himself, who has risen by virtue of native talent, has suffered from the sharp tooth of envy⁶⁶² and knows both how important is the influence of a great man's patronage and how wide a gulf is fixed between the vulgar seeker of favor and advancement and the one who, like himself, can associate with the leaders and still preserve his integrity and self-respect⁶⁶³— and this knowledge he is able to impart to young friends in need of guidance in such intercourse. One concludes that it is not an easy path to travel:⁶⁶⁴ one must balance between too great freedom and an appearance of servility, conduct himself modestly towards gifts,⁶⁶⁵ put up with discomfort on a journey,⁶⁶⁶ rejoice with them that do rejoice and be careful not to offend the sad with too cheerful a manner.⁶⁶⁷ The situation, in short, calls for tact, and the man who can negotiate it gracefully may win both wealth and honor.⁶⁶⁸

Among these Romans there is much familiarity with and

interest in scandalous gossip, such as the tale of Nasica who gave Corvinus his daughter in marriage to win a legacy that would counter-balance his debt,⁶⁶⁹ and of Petillius Capitolinus whose theft was so well known.⁶⁷⁰ Physical deformities and defects are keenly noticed and freely commented upon:⁶⁷¹ the warts that disfigure a handsome countenance,⁶⁷² the polypus of Hagna,⁶⁷³ the foul bodily odor of Gargonius, and Rufillus reeking of perfume carried in lozenge form,⁶⁷⁴ a head that shows clumsy barbering, a toga hanging unevenly,⁶⁷⁵ an ill-tended nail;⁶⁷⁶ the brief and pudgy figure of the poet himself, too, comes in for its share of ridicule.⁶⁷⁷ It is quite possible that this propensity to make sport of such matters is an inheritance from the rude manners and abusive language of the early country folk of Italy, so often noted by Horace for its influence on the drama.⁶⁷⁸

And this is a period upon which war has left its mark. The civil strife⁶⁷⁹ of a hundred years is bearing fruitage of crime, folly, unrest and degeneracy that makes serious-minded men pray for peace and abhor the swift pace of the life of their day,⁶⁸⁰ feeling that the world is out of joint and the Roman stock growing poorer with each succeeding generation.⁶⁸¹ The Roman mind feels a certain awe in the presence of such far-flung conquests as the nation boasts⁶⁸²—and along with this is associated an inherited tendency to regard man's victories over nature as audacious and impious.⁶⁸³ The unrest of the time shows forth in poor and rich alike in the indulgence of whims and caprices,⁶⁸⁴ though this again may be a racial inheritance as is the want of care that as Horace laments distinguishes so much of the literary work of the Romans.⁶⁸⁵ There are frequent evidences too of such display of emotion as the Italian of today might understand better than his northern neighbors:⁶⁸⁶ a lad may print kisses so hard as to leave their mark on the lips of his beloved;⁶⁸⁷ he may even tear her garments in his excitement,⁶⁸⁸ and she may retaliate with a sharp fingernail.⁶⁸⁹ Horace as well as Virgil gives evidence that the tears of antiquity lie near the surface,⁶⁹⁰ and there is occasional mention of that over-devotion of men to boys which is revolting to modern thought.⁶⁹¹ The life of Rome's underworld casts a lurid glow on the picture, attracting slave and knight alike and holding peculiar fascination for sailors and

peddlers, who are notoriously loose-lived.⁶⁹² The art of the poisoner too is coming into all too prominent notice, as a means of entering into quick and easy inheritance.⁶⁹³

It would not be fair to leave this topic without dwelling for a moment on the nobler interests of Roman society, of which some have appeared under earlier headings. The simplicity and unaffected piety of country life stand in strong contrast to the feverish ways of the city⁶⁹⁴—but it is rather of the city that we are treating and in this connection perhaps the most illuminating fact that can be adduced is the existence of such a ‘stock expression’ to describe a Roman gentleman as the combination ‘*bonus et fortis*’, adjectives that express the sturdy virtue and high-spirited courage that the Roman set as his ideal.⁶⁹⁵ To learn through what generations this had been developed one need look no further than such a roll-call of heroes as the one in Odes 1, 12, 33-46, or the noble study of Regulus in Odes 3, 5. Another commentary on Rome’s finer interests is to be found in the fact that, as some one has pointed out, in no society in the world’s history was a great poet ever given more tangible evidence of appreciation than Horace received from his ‘dear knight Maecenas’ in the gift of the Sabine farm.⁶⁹⁶

XXV

Public Life

Of the compelling interest of the Roman mind in law and politics there is abundant evidence, particularly in the Satires. Everywhere are legal references, thrown off as something rising easily to the tongue and to be understood as easily by the audience of Horace’s day.⁶⁹⁷ Says Trebatius, ‘The case will be laughed out of court, you will go free’,⁶⁹⁸ or Cervius in anger threatens ‘the law and the vase’⁶⁹⁹ (the vase being used as a depository for the names of jurymen to be drawn, as well as a receptacle for their votes). We see the friends who accompany the accused into court, ready to give him aid with advice or to stand security for him necessary, as it was in so many legal proceedings.⁷⁰¹ Guardians too are mentioned as appointed by the court presided over by the praetor.⁷⁰² The power of the people to vote upon punishment is recalled to us

by the legal term '*inroget*'.⁷⁰³ The ancient laws of the Twelve Tables are not forgotten⁷⁰⁴ and Horace harks back to the divisions of the Servian constitution in commenting on the diverse tastes in literature of the old and the young.⁷⁰⁵ The grinding class distinctions are evident and one realizes that the mad worship of wealth is fostered by the recognition of its power in that same Servian constitution, wherein the figure for the equestrian census is set at \$20,000—wealth, not worth, in this case making the man and the want of it the fellow.⁷⁰⁶ Low rating in the census, indeed, and failure to secure election to office, are the greatest evils in life to the Roman of political ambitions,⁷⁰⁷ and the work of the censor has frequent reference, the picture of his power to degrade one of senatorial rank coming vividly to us in such a comparison as we find in the first of the passages cited.⁷⁰⁸ The distinctions between the classes emphasized by the Roscian Law must have afforded plenty of opportunity for girding at established custom.⁷⁰⁹ For Horace as a son of a freedman there could be no political career,⁷¹⁰ and he is happy in his lot, not coveting curule ancestors even of the lowest rank.⁷¹¹ Strangely enough, the empire is bringing a true democracy where worth at last means more than birth, provided only one is freeborn.⁷¹² Political office, however, still plays a large part on the civic stage and the gift of oratory is assiduously cultivated as one of the highest recommendations for public life.⁷¹³ One follows the course of the candidate who has set foot upon the *cursus honorum* with his eyes fixed upon that proud moment when he shall walk preceded by the consular lictors.⁷¹⁴ He showers the populace with gifts of food and promises to move heaven and earth for his constituency;⁷¹⁵ he goes about canvassing votes,⁷¹⁶ his *nomenclator* at his heels to advise him as to who plays the part of our ward politician to influence votes in the Fabian or Velinian *gens* and, as he can bestow upon one or snatch from one's grasp the coveted curule office, is to be saluted with whatever term of courtesy and intimacy seems most appropriate⁷¹⁷ (vide *Pickwick Papers*, chapter 13). If he has attained the office of aedile he will win favor by sumptuous entertainment of the populace.⁷¹⁸ Election day arrives and in the voting booths of the Campus Martius his case is submitted to the people.⁷¹⁹ Though the system of voting here has under-

gone some changes since early times, the ancient custom of recording each vote by a dot made in a wax tablet has left its impress on the language, and 'to carry every point' is still to win one's case, whatever it may be.⁷²⁰ The privileges of citizenship are highly prized, so much so that to lose them and to become what is technically known as a citizen of Caere⁷²¹ is figuratively to lose one's *caput* itself.⁷²² We have a glimpse too of small town public life, as in the description of the swelling pride of an Aufidius Luscus,⁷²³ doubtless highly characteristic of petty officials, or in the meetings of the market town of Varia whither Horace's tenants resort as voters and where they are *patres*⁷²⁴ even as are the members of that august body that has guided the Roman state for so many centuries.⁷²⁵

XXVI

Wars

We have spoken of the age as one upon which civil war has left its mark.⁷²⁶ The fires of that strife live still beneath the ashes on which men are treading.⁷²⁷ War with barbarians on the frontiers is also in progress, and the Odes in particular bring us very close to the martial spirit of the times. The defeat of Antony and Cleopatra causes a wild burst of exultation⁷²⁸—Octavian's light but swift Liburnian galleys have triumphed over the heavy ships of the Egyptian fleet,⁷²⁹ Antony must exchange his general's *paludamentum* for the cloak of the common soldier,⁷³⁰ Alexandria falls;⁷³¹ the disgrace of the Parthian triumph over Crassus, that had so long seared Rome's pride, is avenged at last, and the standards are unhung and carried back in exultation from the temples in which according to Roman belief they had been dedicated;⁷³² again, Drusus is defeating the Alpine tribes,⁷³³ or there is war in Spain,⁷³⁴ or Maecenas' mind is heavy with anxiety over some border foe.⁷³⁵ Of the technical business of a campaign there are glimpses: the oath dictated to a newly-enlisted soldier;⁷³⁶ the young men in a general's suite going out to advance their fortunes by military experience and the profits accruing from a successful season of warring;⁷³⁷ the thought of a campaign as conducted under the auspices of a consul or an emperor, whether or not it is under his personal leadership;⁷³⁸ the looting that makes war a terror to the countryside;⁷³⁹ the inter-

marriages with barbarians that cause Rome to blush for her pride of place thus dragged in the dust;⁷⁴⁰ the reward in spelt or grain for soldiers who have borne themselves gallantly, which came to make the word '*adorca*' synonymous with 'glory';⁷⁴¹ the tales brought back to Rome of strange customs observed among her foes, and of the pride of some in preferring a freeman's death to slavery;⁷⁴² and the splendor of a Roman triumph as it makes its stately progress along the Sacred Way,⁷⁴³ with captive kings, it may be, walking before the gilded chariot to which in earlier days they would have been chained, and sacrificial victims⁷⁴⁴ mingling with the throng that shouted their cries of jest and praise into the ear of the laurel-crowned victor,⁷⁴⁵ for whom there can be no greater honor in life, though in death he may receive the eternal memorial of a public inscription that shall keep his life and deeds fresh in the minds of posterity.⁷⁴⁶ Rome's power in rich Asia too is noted,⁷⁴⁷ and the rewards of soldiery for foreign conquests have more than passing attention, so that we hear with Horace the tense questioning in the Forum as to whether grants of land are to be made in Sicily or in Italy⁷⁴⁸ and understand with him the lot of the dispossessed owners.⁷⁴⁹

XXVII

Power of the Emperor

And always in the background of this picture of Roman life hovers the shadow of the imperial power. In the Satires it does not yet show its full strength, but is felt as a portent and both then and always is to be approached even by Horace with discretion and circumspection.⁷⁵⁰ As the Odes advance, however, they reflect an empire that is becoming firmly established, a ruler splendid with conquests that extend to the limits of the habitable earth,⁷⁵¹ at whose triumphal returns to the city there is public holiday and celebration of games,⁷⁵² and upon whom is shining the full sun of praise and flattery. He is called second only to Jupiter,⁷⁵³ that blessing than which the fates have given no greater to earth nor ever will give,⁷⁵⁴ the one whose countenance lends an added splendor to the day.⁷⁵⁵ Horace undoubtedly voices in Odes 1, 14, 17-20 a change of feeling that is very general. Men have lived through

the weary anxiety of the civil wars to see at last a stable government rising from the wreckage, one that seems worthy of their hopes and longings, that makes the voyage to the Fortunate Isles⁷⁵⁶ appear a less immediate necessity, that promises a real and lasting peace.⁷⁵⁷ Well may their poet pray that the one who is bestowing this blessing may return late to his native heaven,⁷⁵⁸ and well may senate and citizens unite to make his fame eternal by inscriptions and by days of special honor in the calendar.⁷⁵⁹ We see the various titles of the emperor imaging forth his powers and attributes⁷⁶⁰—he becomes father of his people, first citizen of the country, and, appropriately enough in view of his own ancestry,⁷⁶¹ he borrows the title of Augustus from the gods themselves. The gods are to share more than their titles with the emperor, however: emperor-worship is becoming an established fact, and in the libations offered to the Lares before the second course of the Roman dinner Augustus is invoked as well as the household gods,⁷⁶² while altars set up throughout the empire receive his worship even in his own lifetime.⁷⁶³ There is indeed something vast and godlike about his conduct of the Roman state. He would purge it of the evils of childlessness and adultery by the enactment of laws;⁷⁶⁴ penalty treads now upon the very heels of an offense;⁷⁶⁵ once and again the closed doors of Janus proclaim a world at peace⁷⁶⁶; festivals recall the glorious ancestry of Rome's ruling house and foster patriotism as well as the worship of the gods;⁷⁶⁷ the loose morals of the age are made to feel the curb of a compelling personality that would bring back the virtuous living of an earlier day;⁷⁶⁸ and all this weight of responsibility for the protection of Italy by force of arms, the strengthening of her moral tone, the correction of her faults by law, rests upon the shoulders of the emperor alone. But that his fostering of literary pursuits⁷⁷⁰ has given him such support as the gods themselves might envy, no one can doubt who meets upon one page in the *Satires* and another in the *Epistles* the names of Virgil and Varius celebrated by their lover through whose words they live again in the city they all delighted to honor.⁷⁷¹

LIST OF REFERENCES

Abbreviations: C., Carmina; S., Satires; Ep., Epodes; Epp., Epistles.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1: C. 4, 3, 13 | 55: S. 1, 4, 134 | Epp. 1, 15, 28sq. |
| 2: C. S. 11-12 | S. 2, 3, 25-26 | Epp. 1, 17, 19 |
| 3: S. 1, 8, 14-15 | Epp. 1, 1, 71 | S. 2, 8, 22 |
| 4: S. 2, 6, 32-33 | Epp. 1, 6, 26 | 96: Epp. 1, 17, 58-59 |
| 5: S. 1, 8, 10 | S. 1, 7, 3 | 97: S. 1, 2, 98 |
| 6: Ep. 5, 99-100 | Epp. 1, 7, 50 | 98: S. 1, 2, 98 |
| 7: S. 1, 8, 14-15 | S. 2, 7, 96-100 | 99: S. 1, 6, 86 |
| 8: C. 3, 29, 9-10 | 58: S. 1, 4, 36-38 | 100: S. 1, 6, 86 |
| 9: C. 1, 2, 3 | 59: Ep. 4, 5-6 | Epp. 2, 3, 419 |
| 10: C. S. 7 | 60: C. 4, 3, 22 | Epp. 1, 7, 56 |
| 11: C. S. 69-70 | 61: C. 2, 14, 15-16 | 101: Epp. 1, 19, 8 |
| 12: C. 1, 31, 1 | S. 2, 6, 18-19 | Epp. 1, 6, 33 |
| Epp. 1, 3, 17 | Epp. 1, 7, 5-9 | 102: S. 2, 3, 67-71 |
| Epp. 2, 1, 216 | Epp. 1, 16, 16 | 103: S. 2, 3, 229 |
| C. 3, 11 | C. 3, 23, 8 | 104: S. 1, 6, 114 |
| 13: C. 3, 3, 42-43 | 62: S. 2, 6, 25-26 | 105: S. 1, 4, 65-66 |
| 14: C. 3, 30, 8-9 | S. 2, 6, 45 | 106: C. 2, 16, 9-10 |
| 15: S. 1, 9, 1 | 63: C. 1, 2, 1-2 | 107: Epp. 1, 6, 51 |
| 16: Ep. 4, 7 | 64: C. 4, 12, 3-4 | 108: S. 2, 3, 227 |
| 17: C. 4, 2, 34-36 | 65: C. 1, 9, 1-4 | 109: S. 2, 3, 227 |
| 18: S. 1, 6, 42-44 | 66: C. 4, 5, 9-13 | 110: S. 2, 3, 231 |
| 19: S. 2, 6, 28 | 67: C. 4, 12, 3-4 | 111: Epp. 1, 17, 55-56 |
| 20: Epp. 1, 6, 20 | C. 1, 4, 2 | C. 1, 25 |
| 21: S. 1, 6, 120 | 68: S. 2, 5, 39-40 | C. 3, 15 |
| 22: Epp. 1, 1, 51-55 | 69: C. 3, 29, 20-21 | C. 4, 13 |
| S. 2, 3, 18-19 | 70: Epp. 1, 20, 19-24 | 112: Epp. 1, 7, 50 |
| 23: S. 2, 6, 50 | 71: Epp. 1, 4, 2 | S. 2, 3, 17 |
| 24: Epp. 1, 6, 57-61 | 72: Epp. 1, 2, 2 | 113: S. 1, 5, 32 |
| 25: S. 1, 4, 74-75 | C. 3, 4, 22-23 | Epp. 2, 3, 291 |
| 26: S. 1, 3, 137 | 73: C. 1, 7, 12-14 | 114: Epp. 2, 3, 21-2 |
| 27: S. 1, 4, 75-76 | 74: Epp. 1, 16, 15 | 115: Epp. 2, 3, 32-3 |
| 28: S. 1, 9, 35 | Epp. 1, 11, 1 | 116: C. 1, 9, 14-15 |
| 29: Epp. 1, 19, 8 | 75: C. 3, 4, 24 | C. 3, 21, 5 |
| S. 2, 6, 35 | Epp. 1, 1, 83 | C. 1, 1, 3-6 |
| 30: Ep. 16, 13-14 | 76: C. 2, 6, 15-16 | 118: C. 1, 1, 7-8 |
| 31: Epp. 2, 1, 255 | Ep. 2, 55-56 | 119: Epp. 1, 1, 77 |
| C. 4, 15, 6-9 | 77: C. 4, 5, 30 | 120: Epp. 1, 14, 1 |
| 32: Epp. 1, 20, 1 | Ep. 2, 9-10 | Epp. 1, 12 |
| 33: S. 2, 3, 228 | Epp. 1, 16, 3 | 121: Epp. 2, 3, 63-68 |
| 34: Epp. 1, 20, 1-2 | 78: Ep. 5, 17-18 | 122: S. 2, 3, 35 |
| 35: S. 1, 6, 39 | 79: C. 2, 14, 23 | S. 1, 3, 133-131 |
| 36: S. 2, 3, 229 | 79: Epp. 1, 18, 20 | S. 2, 3, 16-17 |
| Epp. 1, 15, 31 | 80: Ep. 4, 14 | S. 1, 2, 25-26 |
| 37: Ep. 5, 58 | S. 1, 5, 6 | 123: S. 1, 2, 25-26 |
| 38: S. 1, 3, 135 | S. 1, 1, 6 | 124: Epp. 1, 1, 96 |
| 39: Epp. 1, 7, 59 | Epp. 1, 1, 45-46 | 125: S. 1, 3, 31 |
| 40: S. 2, 1, 8 | Epp. 1, 6, 32 | 126: S. 1, 5, 5-6 |
| C. 3, 7, 28 | C. 3, 29, 60-61 | Ep. 5, 25 |
| 41: C. 1, 8, 5-6 | C. 1, 1, 15-18 | 127: S. 2, 3, 172-174 |
| C. 3, 7, 25-26 | C. 1, 35, 5-8 | 128: S. 2, 7, 55 |
| S. 1, 1, 31 | 82: S. 1, 1, 9 | 129: S. 2, 2, 61 |
| 42: Epp. 1, 18, 53-54 | Epp. 1, 7, 82 sqq. | 130: Epp. 1, 14, 32 |
| 43: S. 2, 6, 49 | 83: S. 1, 1, 5 | 131: Ep. 4, 8 |
| S. 1, 6, 126 | 84: Epp. 1, 3, 23-24 | Epp. 1, 18, 30 |
| 44: C. 1, 20, 3-8 | Epp. 2, 3, 339-370 | Epp. 1, 19, 13 |
| 45: C. 1, 20, 5-6 | S. 1, 1, 9 | 132: Epp. 1, 7, 65 |
| C. 1, 2, 13-16 | 85: S. 1, 1, 29 | 133: Epp. 1, 11, 18 |
| C. 2, 3, 17-18 | 86: S. 1, 1, 29 | 134: Epp. 1, 6, 40-44 |
| 46: S. 1, 3, 27 | 87: S. 1, 6, 72 | S. 1, 2, 29 |
| 47: S. 2, 3, 36 | 88: S. 2, 3, 310 | S. 1, 2, 36 |
| 48: S. 1, 9, 18 | 89: Epp. 1, 1, 2 | S. 1, 2, 99 |
| 49: Epp. 2, 2, 68-70 | 90: S. 1, 2, 1 | 136: S. 1, 2, 63 |
| 50: Epp. 2, 2, 72-76 | 91: S. 1, 2, 1 | 137: S. 1, 2, 101 |
| Epp. 1, 18, 36 | 92: S. 1, 2, 2 | C. 4, 13, 13-14 |
| 51: C. 3, 29, 11-12 | 93: S. 1, 2, 2 | 138: S. 2, 3, 255 |
| 52: Epp. 1, 17, 6-7 | Epp. 2, 1, 82 | 139: Ep. 1, 34 |
| 53: C. 1, 25, 9-10 | 94: S. 2, 3, 147 | 140: S. 2, 7, 53 |
| 54: Epp. 1, 7, 48 | 95: S. 1, 2, 2 | S. 2, 7, 8-10 |
| | | 141: S. 1, 6, 27-28 |

- S. 1, 5, 36
 142: S. 2, 1, 73
 143: C. 2, 16, 35-7
 C. 3, 1, 41-4
 C. 3, 5, 27-8
 Epp. 1, 10, 26-7
 144: Epp. 1, 2, 29
 Epp. 1, 4, 15
 C. 3, 19, 25
 C. 3, 20, 14
 S. 2, 5, 38
 145: C. 2, 11, 23-24
 C. 3, 14, 22
 C. 4, 11, 4-5
 146: Epp. 1, 18, 6-7
 147: Epp. 1, 23
 C. 2, 5, 23-24
 C. 4, 10, 3
 148: S. 2, 5, 45-6
 149: S. 1, 3, 47-8
 150: Epp. 1, 4, 8
 C. 3, 4, 10
 151: Epp. 1, 1, 21-2
 152: S. 2, 3, 247-8
 153: S. 2, 3, 214-6
 154: S. 2, 7, 82
 155: Epp. 1, 1, 59-60
 Epp. 2, 3, 417
 156: S. 2, 3, 171-2
 Epp. 2, 3, 456
 S. 2, 3, 53
 157: C. 3, 24, 54-6
 C. 3, 24, 57-8
 158: S. 1, 6, 82-4
 159: S. 1, 6, 81-2
 160: S. 1, 1, 25-6
 161: S. 1, 3, 120
 162: Epp. 2, 1, 70-1
 163: Epp. 1, 1, 55-6
 164: S. 2, 3, 187-204
 Epp. 2, 3, 263-9
 (and Odes, Epodes,
 Satires and
 Epistles *passim*)
 165: S. 1, 10, 74-5
 Epp. 1, 20, 17-8
 Epp. 1, 1, 55
 166: Epp. 2, 3, 325-30
 167: Epp. 1, 1, 53-6
 168: Epp. 2, 2, 197-8
 169: Ep. 5, 12
 Ep. 5, 7
 S. 1, 2, 16-17
 C. 1, 36, 8-9
 170: S. 1, 4, 105
 Epp. 2, 1, 106-7
 171: Epp. 2, 2, 43
 172: Epp. 1, 5, 10
 Epp. 1, 18, 34
 S. 1, 6, 122
 173: S. 1, 1, 10
 174: S. 2, 6, 34-5
 175: Epp. 1, 7, 47
 Epp. 1, 7, 71
 Epp. 1, 17, 6
 S. 1, 5, 23
 S. 1, 6, 122
 176: S. 1, 9, 59
 177: S. 1, 3, 25
 S. 1, 5, 49
 S. 1, 1, 120
 S. 1, 5, 30-1
 S. 1, 7, 3
 Epp. 1, 2, 52
 178: Epp. 1, 2, 34-6
 179: Epp. 2, 1, 112-3
 180: S. 1, 6, 122-3
 181: Epp. 1, 7, 46-7
 182: S. 2, 6, 23
 Epp. 2, 2, 67
 183: S. 2, 6, 27
 184: Epp. 2, 2, 67
 Epp. 1, 19, 39-42
 Epp. 2, 1, 223
 Epp. 2, 2, 93-4
 Epp. 2, 3, 475-6
 185: S. 1, 9, 36-7
 S. 1, 9, 74-7
 186: S. 2, 6, 31
 S. 1, 9, 17
 Epp. 2, 2, 68-70
 187: S. 1, 9, 58-9
 188: C. 1, 1, 20-1
 189: S. 1, 5, 48
 S. 1, 6, 126
 190: S. 2, 1, 7
 S. 1, 6, 123
 C. 1, 8, 8-9
 191: S. 1, 6, 125-6
 192: S. 1, 6, 127
 193: S. 1, 6, 128
 194: S. 1, 6, 112-4
 195: S. 1, 6, 116
 196: C. 1, 9, 18-24
 C. 3, 7, 29-30
 197: S. 1, 3, 6-7
 198: S. 2, 2, 17
 199: Epp. 1, 17, 49
 200: S. 1, 5, 89-91
 201: Epp. 2, 3, 249
 202: S. 2, 2, 15-6
 203: S. 2, 7, 30
 Epp. 2, 1, 123
 C. 1, 51, 15-6
 Epp. 2, 55-8
 Epp. 1, 5, 2-3
 Epp. 1, 12, 7-8
 Epp. 2, 2, 168
 Epp. 1, 12, 21
 204: S. 1, 6, 115
 205: S. 2, 6, 62-5
 206: Epp. 2, 3, 122
 Epp. 1, 15, 41
 207: S. 2, 2, 120-2
 208: Epp. 2, 59-60
 209: S. 2, 2, 49-50
 210: S. 2, 8, 87
 211: S. 2, 8, 88
 212: S. 2, 3, 245
 213: S. 1, 2, 115-6
 S. 2, 2, 25-6
 214: S. 2, 1, 40-2
 215: S. 2, 3, 234-5
 S. 2, 8, 6-7
 216: S. 2, 4, 44
 S. 2, 8, 89
 217: Epp. 1, 15, 40-1
 Epp. 2, 53-4
 218: S. 2, 2, 31-3
 219: Epp. 2, 50
 S. 2, 2, 42
 220: S. 2, 8, 42-4
 221: S. 2, 2, 33-4
 222: S. 2, 4, 30
 Epp. 2, 49
 S. 2, 4, 32-4
 S. 2, 2, 22
 223: S. 2, 4, 18-9
 224: Epp. 3
 225: S. 2, 8, 45-53
 S. 2, 4, 28-9
 226: S. 2, 4, 64-9
 227: S. 2, 8, 27-8
 228: S. 2, 4, 76-7
 229: S. 2, 8, 42-3
 230: S. 2, 8, 8-9
 S. 2, 4, 73
 231: S. 2, 4, 58-62
 232: Epp. 1, 15, 19-21
 C. 1, 18, 3-4
 Epp. 1, 19, 1-9
 S. 1, 4, 89
 S. 2, 3, 3
 Epp. 1, 5, 16-20
 233: S. 2, 4, 26-7
 234: C. 1, 9, 7-8
 C. 1, 20, 10-12
 235: S. 2, 3, 143-4
 236: S. 1, 10, 24
 237: C. 2, 7, 21-2
 238: S. 2, 8, 15
 C. 1, 37, 5-6
 Epp. 9, 1
 239: C. 1, 20, 2-3
 C. 2, 3, 8
 C. 3, 21, 1
 C. 3, 8, 9-12
 C. 3, 28, 7-8
 Epp. 13, 6
 Epp. 2, 2, 134
 240: C. 3, 8, 9-12
 C. 3, 16, 34-5
 C. 3, 21, 7-8
 Epp. 1, 5, 4-5
 241: C. 4, 12, 18
 242: S. 2, 4, 51 *sqq.*
 243: S. 2, 4, 56
 244: S. 2, 8, 35
 245: S. 2, 1, 21-5
 S. 1, 1, 51-2
 Epp. 11, 20-2
 246: C. 1, 1, 26
 Epp. 1, 14, 34
 Epp. 2, 3, 209-10
 247: S. 2, 1, 9
 C. 4, 5, 39-40
 C. 1, 12, 23
 248: C. 1, 4, 18
 C. 2, 7, 25-6
 C. 1, 9, 7-8
 249: S. 2, 6, 67-70
 250: S. 2, 2, 123
 251: C. 2, 11, 18-20
 C. 3, 19, 11-2
 252: S. 1, 6, 116-8
 253: S. 1, 3, 92-3
 254: S. 1, 4, 85
 255: S. 2, 1, 81-87
 Epp. 1, 5, 22-4
 Epp. 1, 5, 1
 256: S. 1, 3, 13-4
 257: C. 2, 16, 12-4
 258: S. 2, 8, 20-5
 Epp. 11, 18, 10-1
 C. 1, 27, 8
 C. 3, 3, 11
 259: S. 1, 4, 86
 Epp. 1, 5, 29
 260: S. 2, 8, 54, 77
 C. 3, 29, 15-6
 261: S. 2, 8, 11
 262: S. 2, 2, 4
 263: S. 2, 6, 102-3
 264: S. 2, 4, 83
 265: C. 1, 38, 1
 266: S. 2, 8, 3
 267: Epp. 1, 13, 15
 268: S. 2, 8, 22

- S. 2, 7, 36
 S. 1, 5, 51-69
 Epp. 1, 5, 28
 Epp. 1, 18, 10-14
 269: C. 1, 36, 15-6
 C. 1, 38, 3-4
 C. 2, 3, 13-4
 C. 2, 7, 7-8
 C. 3, 29, 1-4
 C. 3, 14, 17-8
 C. 4, 11, 2-3
 S. 2, 3, 256
 Ep. 13, 8-9
 Epp. 2, 3, 374-6
 Epp. 2, 1, 110
 270: C. 1, 38, 3-4
 C. 3, 19, 22
 271: C. 1, 38, 2
 272: Epp. 2, 2, 183-4
 S. 1, 2, 27
 C. 4, 12, 17
 273: C. 1, 36, 13-14
 C. 4, 13, 4-6
 274: Epp. 9, 5
 Epp. 2, 3, 374
 275: Epp. 2, 2, 9
 276: S. 1, 5, 51 sqq.
 Epp. 1, 18, 10-4
 S. 2, 8
 277: S. 1, 4, 87-88
 278: C. 3, 19, 9-10
 279: S. 2, 6, 65 sqq.
 280: C. 1, 38, 7-8
 C. 2, 11, 13-17
 281: C. 3, 19, 5-8
 282: Epp. 1, 5, 7
 283: Epp. 1, 1, 87
 284: Epp. 2, 65, 6
 285: S. 2, 6, 65-7
 286: C. 1, 9, 5 sqq.
 287: Epp. 1, 5, 31
 288: Epp. 1, 1, 91-3
 289: C. 3, 24, 1-2
 C. 1, 29, 1-2
 Epp. 1, 7, 35-6
 290: C. 3, 1, 33-4
 C. 2, 18, 20-2
 C. 3, 24, 3-4
 Epp. 1, 1, 84-5
 291: C. 2, 15
 Epp. 1, 1, 79
 292: C. 2, 18, 3
 C. 2, 15, 20
 C. 2, 18, 17-8
 293: C. 2, 18, 1-2
 C. 2, 16, 11-2
 Epp. 1, 10, 19
 294: C. 3, 1, 20-1
 295: Epp. 1, 6, 17-8
 Epp. 2, 2, 180-1
 296: Epp. 1, 10, 22
 C. 3, 10, 5-6
 297: C. 1, 10, 2-4
 298: C. 1, 8, 3-4
 299: C. 1, 8, 5-6
 C. 1, 8, 10-2
 S. 2, 2, 10-3
 300: Epp. 2, 3, 379-80
 C. 3, 24, 57
 301: C. 3, 12, 7-8
 C. 1, 8, 8
 302: Epp. 1, 6, 61
 303: Epp. 1, 14, 15
 304: S. 2, 3, 5
 S. 2, 7, 4
 305: C. 4, 8, 1-3
 306: C. 4, 11, 6-12
 307: C. 3, 19, 18-9
 S. 2, 1, 24
 S. 1, 9, 24-5
 308: Epp. 2, 2, 125
 309: C. 1, 36, 12
 C. 3, 18, 15-6
 310: Epp. 2, 3, 232
 311: C. 3, 6, 21-2
 312: S. 2, 2, 9-10
 Epp. 2, 29-38
 C. 1, 1, 25-8
 C. 3, 12, 10-12
 Epp. 1, 18, 40 sqq.
 313: Epp. 1, 2, 65-7
 314: S. 1, 1, 90-91
 S. 1, 1, 114-6
 Epp. 1, 16, 79
 315: C. 2, 16, 34-5
 316: Epp. 1, 14, 9
 317: Epp. 2, 2, 204
 318: C. 1, 1, 4
 319: C. 1, 1, 6
 320: Epp. 1, 1, 8
 321: C. 2, 7, 25-6
 Epp. 1, 18, 21
 322: S. 1, 2, 30
 Epp. 1, 14, 21
 323: Epp. 1, 14, 24-5
 324: S. 1, 7, 19-20
 S. 2, 6, 44
 325: Epp. 2, 2, 97-8
 Epp. 1, 19, 47
 326: Epp. 1, 1, 6
 327: Epp. 1, 18, 65-6
 328: S. 2, 3, 61-2
 329: S. 1, 10, 39
 330: S. 1, 10, 40-3
 S. 2, 3, 262-71
 S. 2, 5, 91
 S. 1, 2, 20-2
 S. 1, 4, 48-50
 Epp. 2, 3, 93
 Epp. 2, 1, 170 sqq.
 331: Epp. 2, 3, 268-9
 332: Epp. 2, 3, 189-90
 333: Epp. 2, 3, 192
 334: Epp. 2, 3, 191
 335: Epp. 2, 3, 182-8
 336: Epp. 2, 3, 193-4
 Epp. 2, 3, 283-4
 337: S. 1, 5, 64
 S. 1, 4, 56
 Epp. 2, 3, 278
 Epp. 2, 3, 80
 338: Epp. 2, 1, 189
 339: Epp. 2, 3, 268-15
 340: S. 1, 10, 6
 Epp. 1, 18, 10-4
 S. 1, 9, 46
 341: S. 1, 10, 76-7
 342: Epp. 2, 1, 82
 343: Epp. 2, 3, 387
 S. 1, 10, 38
 344: S. 1, 6, 40
 345: Epp. 2, 1, 60
 346: Epp. 2, 1, 79-80
 347: Epp. 2, 3, 154-5
 348: Epp. 2, 1, 182 sqq.
 349: Epp. 2, 3, 447
 S. 1, 4, 139
 Epp. 2, 1, 236
 350: S. 2, 3, 1-2
 351: S. 1, 4, 14-5
 Epp. 2, 3, 440
 S. 1, 10, 72-3
 352: Epp. 1, 13, 2
 Epp. 2, 1, 223
 Epp. 14, 7-8
 Epp. 1, 20, 2
 353: S. 1, 4, 71-2
 Epp. 2, 3, 373
 354: S. 1, 4, 21-2
 355: Epp. 1, 20, 13
 356: Epp. 2, 1, 269-70
 357: Epp. 1, 3, 17
 Epp. 2, 1, 216-7
 C. 1, 31, 1
 C. 3, 11
 358: Epp. 2, 3, 354
 359: S. 2, 4, 2
 360: S. 2, 6, 38
 361: Epp. 2, 1, 109-10
 Epp. 2, 1, 117
 S. 1, 4, 142
 362: S. 1, 10, 61-4
 363: Epp. 2, 1, 21-2
 Epp. 2, 1, 166-67
 364: S. 1, 6, 101-4
 S. 1, 6, 108-9
 365: S. 1, 5, 11 sqq.
 366: Epp. 1, 7, 77
 367: S. 1, 5, 47
 368: Epp. 1, 15, 10-13
 369: S. 1, 5, 5-6
 370: S. 1, 6, 106
 S. 2, 3, 11
 371: S. 1, 5, 7-8
 Epp. 1, 15, 15-6
 372: Epp. 1, 17, 52-3
 S. 1, 5, 6
 373: S. 1, 5, 2
 S. 1, 5, 80
 374: S. 1, 5, 88-9
 375: S. 1, 1, 29
 S. 1, 5, 1
 376: S. 1, 5, 50-1
 377: S. 1, 5, 46
 378: S. 1, 6, 116
 379: S. 1, 3, 11
 380: Epp. 2, 2, 5
 381: Epp. 2, 2, 1-9
 382: Epp. 1, 6, 39
 383: C. 1, 37, 20-1
 C. 1, 29, 5-8
 C. 3, 29, 63-6
 S. 2, 8, 10-15
 384: S. 2, 5, 15
 S. 2, 5, 32-3
 385: S. 2, 7, 79
 386: S. 1, 5, 68-9
 Epp. 1, 14, 40
 387: S. 2, 6, 66-7
 388: S. 2, 8, 10
 S. 2, 6, 107
 389: S. 2, 8, 70
 390: S. 2, 8, 10-15
 391: S. 2, 2, 66-8
 392: S. 2, 2, 68-9
 393: S. 2, 7, 1
 394: S. 2, 6, 109
 S. 2, 4, 78-9
 S. 1, 3, 80-2
 395: S. 1, 9, 57
 396: S. 2, 5, 92
 397: S. 1, 1, 77-8
 Epp. 1, 13, 14
 398: C. 2, 14, 22-4
 S. 2, 7, 45
 399: Epp. 1, 7, 52-3
 S. 1, 99-10
 400: S. 1, 10, 92

- 401: Epp. 1, 6, 50-1
 402: S. 1, 6, 78
 403: S. 1, 1, 47-8
 404: S. 2, 7, 118
 405: S. 1, 3, 119
 Ep. 4, 11-2
 406: S. 2, 7, 66
 407: S. 1, 2, 131
 408: Epp. 1, 15, 36-7
 409: S. 2, 7, 47
 Epp. 1, 16, 48
 410: S. 1, 5, 65
 411: S. 2, 7, 76
 412: S. 2, 7, 4-5
 413: Epp. 2, 1, 142
 C. 3, 17, 16
 Ep. 2, 65
 414: S. 2, 6, 66
 415: S. 1, 8, 8-9
 416: Ep. 4
 417: S. 2, 3, 147 sqq.
 418: S. 2, 3, 161 sqq.
 419: Epp. 1, 15, 2-9
 420: S. 1, 1, 82
 421: S. 2, 3, 82
 Epp. 2, 2, 137
 Epp. 2, 3, 300
 422: Epp. 2, 2, 53
 423: S. 2, 4, 27-9
 424: Epp. 1, 1, 34-5
 425: Epp. 2, 3, 301-2
 426: S. 1, 5, 60-1
 427: Epp. 1, 2, 34
 Epp. 2, 3, 453
 S. 2, 3, 290
 428: Ep. 9, 35-6
 429: Epp. 1, 1, 108
 430: S. 2, 5, 17
 Epp. 1, 1, 78
 431: S. 2, 5, 12-4
 432: S. 2, 5, 48-9
 433: S. 2, 5, 93-8
 S. 2, 5, 70-5
 434: S. 3, 5, 66-9
 435: S. 2, 3, 145-6
 S. 2, 3, 122-3
 C. 3, 24, 61-2
 436: C. 2, 3, 19-20
 437: C. 2, 14, 25-6
 438: Epp. 2, 2, 191-2
 Epp. 1, 5, 13-4
 439: C. 4, 7, 19-20
 440: S. 2, 6, 19
 Epp. 2, 1, 49
 C. 3, 30, 7
 441: Epp. 1, 7, 6
 442: S. 2, 5, 104-6
 443: C. 2, 20, 21-2
 Epp. 2, 3, 431-2
 444: Epp. 1, 7, 6
 445: S. 1, 6, 17
 2, 3, 212
 446: S. 1, 6, 42-4
 447: S. 2, 3, 89-91
 448: S. 2, 3, 84-7
 449: C. 4, 12, 26
 C. 2, 6, 22-4
 C. 2, 8, 9-10
 450: S. 1, 8, 12-3
 451: Epp. 1, 7, 8-9
 452: S. 2, 5, 51-5
 453: C. 3, 12, 4-5
 C. 3, 15, 13-4
 454: C. 3, 12, 1-2
 455: C. 3, 24, 19-20
 Epp. 1, 6, 21
 456: Epp. 1, 2, 44-5
 Epp. 1, 6, 36
 457: Ep. 2, 39-66
 458: Ep. 9, 12
 459: C. 4, 14, 40
 Epp. 2, 1, 55
 460: C. 2, 18, 7-8
 461: C. 3, 1, 13
 Ep. 2, 7-8
 462: Epp. 2, 3, 423-4
 Epp. 2, 1, 102-4
 C. 3, 5, 53-4
 463: Epp. 2, 1, 48
 464: C. 3, 17, 4
 C. 4, 14, 4
 465: C. 3, 8, 1
 C. 3, 18, 10
 C. 4, 11, 14-6
 466: C. 2, 4, 24
 C. 4, 1, 6
 C. 4, 14, 37
 467: Epp. 1, 7, 23
 468: Epp. 1, 7, 80
 469: Epp. 2, 3, 59
 470: Epp. 2, 1, 105
 471: Epp. 2, 2, 158-9
 472: Epp. 2, 2, 40
 473: Epp. 1, 8, 6
 474: Epp. 1, 1, 93
 475: C. 3, 29, 62
 476: S. 1, 4, 129
 477: Ep. 9, 16
 478: Epp. 1, 9
 479: C. 1, 33, 5
 Epp. 1, 7, 25
 480: C. 2, 4, 14
 481: C. 2, 18, 24-8
 482: C. 1, 12, 13-6
 483: S. 1, 9, 78
 484: C. S. 61 sqq.
 C. 1, 21, 11-2
 C. 1, 2, 31-2
 485: Ep. 5, 51
 Epp. 2, 3, 451
 486: C. 3, 4, 57-8
 487: S. 2, 2, 124
 C. 3, 2, 26-9
 488: Ep. 5, 5-6
 C. S. 13-6
 489: C. 1, 16, 7-8
 490: C. 1, 3, 1-8
 C. 1, 2, 33
 C. 4, 11, 15-6
 491: C. 4, 12, 11-2
 492: C. 2, 14, 5 sqq.
 493: C. 1, 18, 6 sqq.
 494: S. 2, 3, 25-6
 S. 2, 6, 4-5
 495: C. 1, 2, 41-4
 C. 1, 10, 17-20
 496: C. 1, 2, 35-40
 497: C. 2, 17, 16
 C. 2, 3, 15-6
 C. S. 25
 498: Epp. 1, 16, 59
 499: Epp. 1, 10, 49
 500: Epp. 1, 16, 60
 501: C. 1, 17, 1-1
 C. 2, 17, 28-9
 C. 3, 18
 502: C. 3, 23, 7
 503: Ep. 2, 21-2
 504: S. 1, 8, 2
 505: C. 3, 23, 15-6
 C. S. 39
 C. 3, 27, 49
 C. 3, 14, 3-4
 Epp. 1, 1, 13
 Epp. 1, 7, 58
 C. 3, 29, 13-4
 S. 2, 5, 4-5
 506: C. 1, 35, 17
 507: C. 1, 24, 6-8
 508: C. 1, 35, 21-2
 509: C. 1, 35, 5-8
 510: C. 1, 2, 26-8
 C. 3, 30, 8-9
 511: C. 3, 30, 8-9
 512: C. S. 5
 C. S. 70-2
 513: C. 3, 27, 8
 514: C. 2, 14, 28
 C. 1, 37, 2-4
 Epp. 2, 1, 86-7
 C. 4, 1, 28
 C. 3, 5, 10
 515: Epp. 2, 1, 26
 516: C. 3, 13
 517: C. 3, 28, 1-2
 518: Ep. 2, 59-60
 519: C. 3, 8, 1 sqq.
 520: C. 1, 4, 11-2
 C. 3, 18, 9-16
 521: Epp. 1, 7, 76
 522: C. S. 21
 523: C. S. 22 sqq.
 524: C. S. 6
 C. S. 1
 C. 4, 6, 31-2
 Epp. 2, 1, 132-3
 525: C. S. 75-6
 C. 4, 6, 35-6
 C. 4, 6, 41-4
 526: C. 2, 15, 19-20
 C. 3, 6, 2-4
 527: C. 1, 30, 3
 C. 1, 36, 1-3
 C. 4, 1, 22
 C. 4, 2, 51-2
 528: C. 3, 23, 9 sqq.
 529: C. 3, 18, 5-8
 530: S. 2, 3, 164-5
 531: C. 1, 36, 1-5
 532: C. 3, 6, 7-8
 533: C. 3, 23, 13-20
 534: Epp. 1, 10, 10
 535: C. 4, 2, 53-4
 536: C. 2, 17, 30-2
 537: Epp. 1, 16, 58
 538: C. 3, 23, 3-4
 539: Epp. 2, 1, 143
 540: C. 1, 19, 13-6
 541: C. 3, 8, 6-8
 542: C. S. 49-50
 C. 3, 8, 6
 543: S. 2, 3, 37-8
 544: C. 2, 15, 17-8
 545: C. 1, 19, 13-5
 C. 3, 8, 2-4
 546: S. 2, 3, 200
 547: S. 1, 9, 73-4
 548: C. 3, 23, 1
 549: S. 1, 5, 65
 550: Epp. 3, 5, 18-9
 551: Epp. 1, 1, 4-5
 C. 3, 26, 1-8
 C. 1, 5, 13-16
 552: C. 3, 22
 553: C. 3, 24, 45 sqq.
 554: S. 2, 1, 32-4
 Epp. 2, 3, 20-1

- 555: C. 1, 5, 13-6
 S. 2, 6, 20
 C. S. 14-6
 556: C. 3, 11, 11-2
 557: C. 3, 23, 2
 558: Epp. 1, 1, 36-7
 C. 4, 1, 25-8
 559: C. 2, 7, 17
 560: C. 3, 23, 5-8
 561: Ep. 10, 21-4
 562: Epp. 2, 1, 135
 563: C. 1, 21, 13-6
 Ep. 5, 53-4
 564: S. 1, 3, 9-11
 C. 1, 15, 4-5
 565: C. S. 25
 566: Epp. 2, 1, 158
 C. 1, 36, 1
 C. 3, 11, 5-6
 567: C. 4, 1, 25-8
 C. 2, 12, 17-20
 568: C. 3, 2, 26-9
 569: Epp. 2, 1, 229-31
 570: Epp. 1, 1, 85-6
 571: C. 1, 34, 1 sqq.
 572: C. 2, 1, 25-6
 573: C. 4, 5, 33-5
 574: Epp. 1, 7, 94
 575: Epp. 2, 2, 187
 576: Epp. 2, 1, 144
 Epp. 2, 3, 210
 C. 3, 17, 14-6
 577: C. 1, 15, 5
 C. 3, 3, 61
 C. 4, 6, 23-4
 Ep. 10, 1
 Ep. 16, 23-4
 578: C. 3, 27, 1 sqq.
 579: C. 3, 27, 9-12
 C. 3, 17, 12-3
 580: C. 1, 12, 46-8
 581: C. 1, 34, 7-8
 582: C. 1, 12, 59-60
 Epp. 2, 3, 471-2
 583: C. 4, 5, 13
 584: C. 4, 14, 16
 585: Epp. 1, 20, 9
 586: C. 1, 11, 2-3
 C. 2, 17, 17-25
 Epp. 2, 2, 187
 587: S. 1, 9, 29-30
 588: S. 2, 3, 281 sqq.
 589: S. 2, 3, 291
 590: S. 1, 9, 69
 591: S. 1, 4, 142-3
 592: S. 1, 5, 99-100
 593: C. 1, 28, 23 sqq.
 594: Ep. 5, 89 sqq.
 595: C. 2, 1, 27-8
 596: Ep. 17, 47-8
 597: Ep. 5, 93-4
 598: Ep. 7, 19-20
 599: C. 1, 34, 10-11
 600: C. 3, 27, 41-2
 601: C. 4, 7, 14-6
 Epp. 1, 6, 27
 602: C. 1, 25, 13-5
 C. 4, 1, 12
 603: C. 1, 37, 14
 604: Epp. 2, 3, 470-2
 605: C. 3, 28, 5-6
 606: C. 2, 8, 1-8
 607: C. 3, 1, 14-6
 C. 2, 3, 25-8
 608: S. 2, 3, 246
 C. 1, 36, 10
 609: S. 2, 3, 272-3
 610: C. 3, 27, 55-6
 611: Epp. 2, 2, 208-9
 612: C. S. 37 sqq.
 613: S. 2, 8, 95
 614: S. 1, 8, 23-5
 Ep. 5, 15-6
 615: S. 1, 8, 42-4
 616: S. 1, 8, 30-4
 Ep. 17, 76
 617: S. 1, 8, 26-7
 Ep. 5, 47
 618: S. 1, 8, 26-9
 619: S. 1, 8, 48-9
 620: Ep. 17, 58
 S. 1, 8, 50
 621: Ep. 17, 80
 S. 1, 8, 19-20
 622: C. 1, 27, 21-2
 S. 1, 9, 29 sqq.
 Ep. 5, 75-6
 Ep. 17, 60
 623: Ep. 17, 4
 624: Ep. 17, 4-5
 Ep. 5, 45-6
 625: Ep. 17, 78-9
 626: Ep. 17, 2-3
 627: Ep. 5, 25-6
 628: Ep. 17, 27-9
 Ep. 17, 6-7
 629: C. 1, 27, 21-2
 Ep. 17, 35
 630: Ep. 5, 19-24
 Ep. 5, 67-8
 631: Ep. 5, 29-36
 632: Ep. 5, 37-40
 633: S. 2, 6, 63
 C. 1, 28, 10-13
 634: S. 1, 5, 101
 635: S. 2, 6, 93-7
 Epp. 1, 4, 16
 C. 1, 9, 13-24
 C. 1, 11, 8
 C. 2, 11, 13-17
 Epp. 1, 1, 18
 636: C. 3, 29, 43-8
 637: Epp. 1, 1, 16
 638: C. 3, 16, 43-4
 C. 2, 2, 21-4
 639: S. 1, 1, 13-4
 640: S. 2, 3
 641: S. 1, 3, 96-7
 Epp. 1, 16, 55-6
 642: S. 1, 1, 49-50
 643: Epp. 1, 2, 3
 644: Epp. 1, 11, 30
 Epp. 1, 18, 96 sqq.
 C. 2, 3, 1-2
 645: S. 1, 1, 1-3
 646: S. 1, 6, 23
 647: S. 1, 4, 25-30
 S. 1, 3, 86-9
 S. 1, 3, 90-1
 S. 2, 3, 20-3
 S. 2, 3, 82
 Epp. 1, 11, 28
 648: Epp. 1, 1, 53-4
 Epp. 1, 12, 14
 Epp. 2, 3, 339-1
 C. 3, 24, 35 sqq.
 C. 3, 16, 15-6
 649: Epp. 1, 1, 46
 Epp. 1, 6, 9-10
 C. 3, 24, 42-4
 650: S. 1, 1, 86
 651: S. 1, 1, 95-7
 S. 1, 1, 42
 S. 1, 1, 70-1
 652: S. 2, 2, 55-62
 653: S. 2, 3, 142-57
 654: Epp. 1, 1, 80
 655: S. 1, 2, 14-7
 S. 1, 3, 86-9
 S. 2, 3, 69-70
 656: S. 2, 6, 10 sqq.
 657: Epp. 1, 16, 64
 658: Epp. 1, 34
 S. 1, 4, 109-11
 659: S. 1, 2, 7-9
 660: S. 2, 3, 94-7
 Epp. 1, 6, 36-8
 661: Ep. 4
 662: S. 1, 6, 46-7
 Epp. 1, 18, 81-3
 663: S. 1, 9
 Epp. 1, 17, 1-5
 664: Epp. 1, 18, 1-20
 665: Epp. 1, 17, 44-51
 666: Epp. 1, 17, 52-7
 667: Epp. 1, 18, 89
 668: Epp. 1, 17, 38-42
 669: S. 2, 5, 64-9
 670: S. 1, 4, 93-100
 671: S. 1, 3, 43-8
 S. 1, 5, 60-2
 672: S. 1, 6, 67
 673: S. 1, 3, 40
 674: S. 1, 2, 27
 Ep. 10, 2
 675: Epp. 1, 1, 94-6
 S. 1, 3, 29-32
 676: Epp. 1, 1, 104
 677: S. 2, 3, 308-9
 678: S. 1, 7, 28-31
 Epp. 2, 1, 145 sqq.
 Epp. 2, 3, 281-4
 679: C. 1, 2, 21-4
 C. 1, 35, 33-8
 Ep. 7
 C. 3, 24, 25-7
 680: C. 3, 6, 17-8
 C. 2, 16, 1 sqq.
 681: C. 3, 6, 46-8
 682: C. 3, 3, 53-6
 683: C. 1, 3, 21-6
 C. 1, 3, 37
 C. 3, 24, 35-44
 684: Epp. 1, 1, 82
 685: Epp. 2, 1, 167
 Epp. 2, 3, 289-94
 686: C. 1, 36, 6-7
 687: C. 1, 13, 11-2
 688: C. 1, 17, 27-9
 689: C. 1, 6, 17-9
 690: C. 1, 3, 18
 691: Ep. 11, 3-4
 692: S. 2, 7, 46 sqq.
 S. 1, 2, 33-4
 S. 1, 4, 111-2
 C. 3, 6, 30-1
 Ep. 17, 20
 693: S. 2, 1, 56
 694: Epp. 1, 10
 Epp. 1, 14
 Epp. 1, 7
 S. 2, 6
 Ep. 2
 C. 3, 23
 695: Epp. 1, 9, 13
 C. 4, 4, 29
 S. 2, 1, 16
 C. 2, 1, 23-4

- 696: S. 1, 2, 6
 697: S. 2, 3, 181
 S. 2, 3, 187
 S. 2, 3, 217-8
 S. 2, 5, 27-38
 S. 1, 9, 35 sqq.
 S. 2, 1, 68-9
 S. 1, 9, 74-7
 S. 1, 4, 123
 S. 2, 5, 109
 S. 1, 3, 95
 698: S. 2, 1, 86
 699: S. 2, 1, 47
 700: S. 1, 9, 38
 S. 2, 5, 27 sqq.
 701: S. 2, 6, 23
 702: Epp. 1, 1, 102-3
 703: S. 1, 3, 118
 704: Epp. 2, 1, 23-4
 705: Epp. 2, 3, 341-2
 706: Epp. 1, 1, 58-9
 Epp. 2, 3, 383-4
 Epp. 2, 3, 113
 Epp. 2, 3, 248
 707: Epp. 1, 1, 42-3
 708: Epp. 2, 2, 119 sqq.
 S. 2, 1, 75
 S. 1, 6, 21
 Epp. 1, 1, 43
 Epp. 1, 7, 56
 Epp. 1, 17, 15
 709: Epp. 1, 1, 62 sqq.
 Epp. 4, 15-6
 710: S. 1, 6, 21
 Epp. 1, 20, 20 sqq.
 711: S. 1, 6, 130-1
 712: S. 1, 6, 7-8
 S. 1, 6, 20-1
 713: Epp. 1, 2, 2,
 Epp. 1, 1, 57
 714: C. 1, 1, 8
 C. 1, 35, 17
 C. 2, 16, 9-11
 C. 3, 2, 19-20
 715: S. 1, 6, 34-5
 S. 2, 3, 182-3
 C. 1, 35, 5
 716: Epp. 1, 16, 33-4
 Epp. 1, 6, 50-55
 Epp. 1, 19, 37-8
 718: Epp. 1, 6, 41-2
 719: C. 3, 1, 11
 720: Epp. 2, 2, 99
 Epp. 2, 3, 343
 721: Epp. 1, 6, 62
 722: C. 3, 5, 42
 723: S. 1, 5, 34-6
 724: Epp. 1, 14, 2-3
 725: C. 3, 5, 45-6
 C. 4, 53-4
 726: Epp. 16, 1
 C. 2, 1, 1
 Epp. 2, 2, 46-8
 C. 2, 7, 1 sqq.
 727: C. 2, 1, 7-8
 Epp. 7
 728: C. 3, 6, 13-4
 C. 1, 37, 1 sqq.
 729: C. 1, 37, 30
 Epp. 1, 1-2
 Epp. 9
 730: Epp. 9, 27-8
 731: C. 4, 14, 35-6
 732: C. 4, 15, 6-8
 C. 3, 5, 18-9
 C. 3, 6, 9 sqq.
 Epp. 1, 18, 55-7
 C. 4, 4
 733: Epp. 1, 18, 54-5
 734: Epp. 1, 12, 25 sqq.
 735: C. 3, 8, 17 sqq.
 C. 3, 29, 25 sqq.
 736: Epp. 1, 1, 14
 C. 2, 17, 9-10
 Epp. 15, 4
 737: Epp. 1, 3, 6
 Epp. 1, 9, 13
 Epp. 1, 8, 2
 738: C. 1, 7, 27
 C. 4, 14, 33-4
 739: C. 3, 14, 18-21
 740: C. 3, 5, 5-7
 741: C. 4, 4, 41
 742: C. 4, 14, 18-9
 C. 4, 14, 49
 743: S. 1, 6, 23
 C. 1, 37, 31-2
 C. 2, 12, 11-12
 Epp. 7, 7-8
 Epp. 9, 21-2
 744: C. 4, 3, 6-9
 745: Epp. 2, 1, 154-5
 746: C. 4, 8, 13-5
 747: S. 1, 7, 18-9
 748: S. 2, 6, 55-6
 C. 3, 4, 37-8
 749: S. 2, 2, 114
 S. 2, 2, 130
 750: S. 1, 3, 4-5
 S. 2, 1, 10-12
 S. 2, 1, 18-20
 Epp. 2, 1, 220-1
 Epp. 2, 1, 3-4
 751: C. 2, 9, 19-20
 C. 4, 14, 5-6
 C. 3, 5, 2-4
 C. 4, 14, 41-3
 C. 4, 15, 21-4
 752: C. 3, 14, 1 sqq.
 C. 4, 2, 41-4
 753: C. 1, 12, 51-2
 754: C. 4, 2, 37-40
 755: C. 4, 5, 5-8
 756: Epp. 16
 757: C. 4, 15, 17-20
 C. 4, 5, 17-20
 Epp. 2, 1, 254-6
 C. 4, 5, 25-8
 758: C. 1, 2, 45
 759: C. 4, 14, 1-6
 760: C. 1, 2, 50
 C. 3, 25, 3-8
 761: C. 1, 5, 1-2
 C. 4, 15, 31-2
 762: C. 1, 5, 31-2
 763: Epp. 2, 1, 15-7
 764: C. 8, 17-20
 C. 4, 5, 22-3
 765: C. 4, 5, 24
 766: C. 4, 15, 8-9
 767: C. 4, 15, 29-32
 768: C. 4, 15, 9-12
 769: Epp. 2, 1, 1-3
 770: Epp. 2, 1, 226 sqq.
 771: Epp. 2, 1, 245-7
 S. 1, 5, 40-42

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1

TWO TYPES OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY GRAMMATICAL POEMS

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TWO TYPES OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY GRAMMATICAL POEMS

An edition of the *Libellus Donati metricè compositus* and of Section II, *Equivoca*, of the *Comoda Gramatice* of Master Henry of Avranches.

ABBREVIATIONS

gl. = interlinear gloss.

gl. l. = gloss in left margin.

gl. r. = gloss in right margin.

Du Cange = C. Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*.

Don. = Donatus, *Ars Minor* in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1855-1880), vol. ii.

Comoda Gramatice, see pp. 105-106.

Tractatus, see p. 107.

TWO TYPES OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY GRAMMATICAL POEMS

The first half of the thirteenth century exercised a decisive influence upon the study of Latin grammar in the later Middle Ages. Not only did it place its stamp of approval upon the study of the early prose textbooks, the *Ars Maior* and *Ars Minor* of Donatus and *Institutes* of Priscian, but it also saw the adoption of two metrical grammars destined to serve in the schools for several centuries.¹ The first was the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Ville-Dieu, finished in 1199, and the other the *Grecismus* of Évrard of Bethune, written in 1212. These grammars are illustrative of the latest trend in education of that age, to versify all forms of knowledge, chiefly as an aid to memory.

Among the participants in this movement was the court poet, Henry of Avranches, who combined in a long career from 1214 to 1260 and possibly later, versification of subjects ranging from saints' lives, like the *Life of St. Francis*, to a scientific subject like *Generation and Corruption*.² His grammatical writings are of considerable quantity, and fall in line with his work in that they are typical of the trends of the time.^{2a} We are editing one short piece, a versification of the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, and a chapter of a very long and ambitious treatise. This chapter deals with pairs of words which are quite similar except for the quantity of syllables. These pairs of words are frequently designated as *cquiroca*.

The short versification of the *Ars Minor* is called in the manuscript in which it appears the *Libellus Donati metricæ*

¹ For an excellent description of the study of grammar in the twelfth century see C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), ch. V. and the bibliography at the end of the chapter.

² Cf. *Speculum*, III, 34-63 (1928) and *Dublin Studies* (1928), 295-308.

^{2a} For a description of his grammatical writings, see Heironimus and Russell, "The Grammatical Works of Master Henry of Avranches," *Philological Quarterly*, VIII, 21-38 (January, 1929).

compositus.³ As a poem its chief characteristic is its close versification of its prose model, even to turns of expression. The *Ars Minor* is a very short and elementary text, limiting itself to the bare skeleton of the most elemental grammatical rules of declension and conjugation together with a statement of the functions of the various parts of speech. By omitting all of the illustrative matter, except about the interjections, Henry of Avranches has reduced the subject within the compass of about 160 lines. Nevertheless he found room to intrude a bit of logic about the causal and rational conjunctions (lines 133-141), a procedure typical of the early thirteenth century when scholars were inclined to place ever more faith in the power of logic. Such a passage, appealing to the reasoning instincts of early manhood, is clearly out of place as a part of a textbook for children just entering school. The poet was still under the influence of the university, and the poem is apparently one of his earliest poetical efforts.

Rather more advanced is Master Henry's longer treatise, called from the opening words of the poem the *Comoda Grammatice*, which was written probably about 1219, possibly for young Henry III of England. It appears in a single manuscript, Bodleian Library, *MS Rawlinson G 50*, of which it occupies all 39 folios with its 2200 lines. Its composition was probably inspired by the vogue of the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* whose popularity is indicated by the number of lines which Henry pillaged from them. The *Comoda Grammatice*, following somewhat the order of Priscian's *Institutes*, is more comprehensive and better arranged than the earlier metrical grammars. Yet it failed to catch hold, probably because the others had already appropriated the field and partly because it was less readable. The chapter which we are editing is unique—apparently no earlier comprehensive treatise included such a chapter. The inclusion of a section upon the difference in quantity of syllables of words otherwise quite similar illustrates the importance of quantity in medieval poetry.

³ Cambridge University Library, *MS Dd 11 78*, fols. 58r-60v. The poem is listed as no. 18 in the catalogue of his poems, *Speculum*, III, 58 ff.

The lack of logical arrangement in his chapter would seem to indicate that its subject matter was not yet standardized. Even Master Henry organized the material better in a later treatise, the *Tractatus Henrici Grammatici*, whose opening lines read:⁴

In mediis ditonas has, lector, percipe partes;
Quas tuus Henricus mediarum tradit ad artes;
Que medias mutant, eadem vox esse recusant;
Ad tales breviter musa docebit iter.

About thirty lines from the chapter in the *Comoda Grammaticæ* reappear in the *Tractatus*. In the latter the combinations are in an order which is roughly alphabetical. The scheme of versification is also more rigid in the *Tractatus*. Both employ hexameters, but in the *Tractatus* the lines usually have leonine rhyme and present the word with the short penult in the first half of the line. Illustrative of this is an example which appears in both (*Com. Gr.*, fol. 8v, 11):

Sūffōcāt ' ēxtīn'guīt, sūf'fōcāt ' gūttūrā ' strīngit.

In the *Comoda Grammaticæ* this chapter follows a discussion of pronunciation and quantity of syllables in various parts of the verb, from which the transition to the *equivoca* is easy. The poet gives no transitional or introductory lines but plunges into his subject with the first example; only the space left vacant for a capital letter indicates a new chapter.

As a part of a textbook for boys we should expect that many examples would be of words which are common and usually confused. Thus one line distinguishes between the nominative *alīus* and its genitive *alīus* (9r, 7). However, a very large part of the combinations consist of unusual words and might seem to have an antiquarian interest rather than a practical one. Occasionally the poet lapses into etymology:⁵ thus he states (10r, 9) that *latrare* is derived from *latos rictus agitare*. An interesting feature is the jumble of classical and Christian allusions with contemporary references and

⁴ British Museum, *Additional MS* 23892, fol. 84r-87v.

⁵ Cf. *Speculum*, III, 45.

ordinary grammatical illustrations. It is instructive as to the state of mind of the poet, and possibly of others in the same stage of development in the early thirteenth century. In any event the chapter was certain to evoke a volume of questions from an inquisitive boy.

The references to characters in classical mythology include Hebe (9v, 1), Pyrrha (10v, 7) and Megaera (8v, 4), as well as Theseus (8r, 14; 9v, 19), Abas (11r, 18), and Actor (8r, 27). From ancient history are Cyrus of Persia (10r, 25), Phalaris of Agrigentum (7v, 17), and Saburra, a lieutenant of King Juba (10v, 14). Horace is quoted as to the orthography of *orichalcum* (11r, 15),^{5a} and Ovid's references to Abas are recalled (11r, 18). A portion of a line is quoted from Juvenal (7v, 6). Two allusions distinctly suggestive of the Renaissance appear in the use of the classical *Erebus* for hell (9r, 21) and of *Tonans*, the Thunderer, for God (8v, 5). The Christian element, aside from mention of Judas (7v, 20), consists of many references to Mary, Christ, and God, among them many prayers.⁶ One line comes near to being a pun upon a revered name (10v, 21), "I supplicate you, O chaste Susanna, do not make fun of me (*non me subsanna*)."⁷ A sentiment rather unchristian, but reminiscent of modern slang occurs in the line, (11r, 8), "We hook those whom we do not love as we ought to" (by money, the gloss adds). Other references to classical antiquities such as "*palmam dic esse tropheum*" (10r, 2), and to Christian, such as *Cana Galilee* (10v, 8) appear more or less casually. The Old Testament does not seem to come in for its expected share of attention.

The world in which the poet lived is evident in many lines. The rivers Saône (8v, 26) and Loire (8v, 2) are of France, and Monte Gargano of Italy (8r, 7), while the form of the feminine name Margareta (10r, 11) would seem to suggest Germany. The declaration (8v, 21), "I say Māgd(a)lēnē (pos-

^{5a} The proper spelling of *aurichalcum* or *orichalcum* was a subject of controversy. Roger Bacon relying upon John of Garland held to the latter against the teachings of Papias, Hugutio, and Brito in favor of the former. L. J. Paetow, *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland* (Univ. of California Press: Berkeley, 1927), p. 95.

⁶ Cf. 7r, 12, 17: 7v, 7: 9v, 11, 24: 10r, 21.

sibly Māgdālēnē) but let it be read Māgdālēna" apparently indicates that the corruption was already under way which was to lead to "maudlin" in England. An interesting conjunction of ideas is a pious line about the Virgin following a slur upon the character of the Sicilians (7r, 16-17). This illustrates "the very atmosphere of that strange period in which extremes met in a contrast too crude for our modern taste; in which the poet changed from ribaldry to piety within the measure of a line; in which sermons, Lives of the Saints and *Libri Miraculorum* allowed themselves the license of chronicling scandal from time to time." This reflection upon the Sicilians may have come from the student world, as also two other references. Thus the ecclesiastical prohibitions of 1210 and 1215 against the reading of the recently translated works of Aristotle may possibly be referred to when the poet says, "You do not dare read what people used to read" (7v, 22). Master Henry of Avranches also makes the usual but curious distinction between *mathēsis*, science, and *mathēsis*, magic.⁵ Remembering that this treatise was possibly written for the young king, Henry III, "The *figus*, fig-tree, is a tree but the *fiscus*, treasury, is a matter for the king" (10r, 27), seems quite appropriate. More amusing than instructive is the line (10v, 1), "Here comes the baron, *baro*, but he comes without an elephant, *sine barro*."

The versification of Henry of Avranches is excellent according to the standards of his own day. The only deviation from classical usage which he permits himself is the lengthening of short syllables in the first half of the third foot before caesura, but this was a common practice in his time. There are many deviations from the classical quantity in particular words, as well as of meaning. However, we cannot expect a language to remain static for over a thousand years. Perhaps the most amazing feature of a comparison of classical and thirteenth century Latin is their similarity in spite of time and use by so many peoples. The chapter upon *equivoca*,

⁵ Paul Grosjean, "Magister Henricus de Abrincis Archipoeta," *Dublin Studies*, 1928, p. 295.

⁶ Fol. 8v, 3. cf. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 285 and note 86.

unlike the rest of the *Comoda Gramatice*, consists of a series of lines unconnected in thought, which tends to obscure their meaning. The difficulty of understanding them is increased by the frequency of unusual words which the poet used to make up his combinations. We cannot expect much of the orthography. Myrrh is spelled with an *i*, *mirra* to contrast with *mira* (10v, 6), and again with a *u*, *murris*, to contrast with *muris* (10v, 16) on the same page. There is a certain indifference about double and single letters probably due to the scribe. One amusing instance of his carelessness is the spelling of Easter, *Pasca*, although the line itself (10r, 16) says it is spelled with an *h*, *Pascha*.

The chapter upon *equivoca* is accompanied by a Latin gloss, both interlinear and marginal, which was probably written in the thirteenth century. Several hands are distinguishable. In the margin on each side the words compared in the text are explained by giving the principal parts of the verbs and the nominative and genitive forms of the nouns. Short paraphrases of words in the text, usually above the line, make up much of the rest of the gloss but there are several longer explanations. The gloss, however, is very fine and difficult to read. It frequently furnishes clues of importance to the more obscure passages of the text and is often of interest in itself. Thus we are told (8v, 9) that a lictor was one "who cuts off the ear of a thief, or presides at the obsequies of the dead, or carries a sword before his lord." The glossator refers to that "famous Comestor", presumably Peter Comestor, the author of the Scholastic History (9r, 14) and speaks of the mysterious qualities of hyssop (10r, 5). More than the poet he rejoices in etymology. Thus *pergamus* comes from *pir*, fire, and *gamos*, woman, and means destroyed by fire and woman (7r, 25). This example from the Greek is paralleled by a more amusing one from Latin. *Mulier*, also woman, is derived from *mulcens*, stroking or flattering, and *herum*, master or husband, (10r, 3) which, as an explanation, is both mediaeval and masculine. On the credit side the explanation that *delirus*, crazy, means "one who plows badly" (7v, 5) is excellent, as it is from *de-lira*, out of the furrow.

Mixed in with the Latin gloss is a meagre gloss in an old French dialect, presumably Anglo-Norman, upon about ninety words. An index to these words appears at the end of this study. For help in the transcription of these words, which offered more than usual difficulty, we are indebted to James White Crowell, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Colorado College.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Professor C. H. Haskins and the Harvard University Library for the loan of the photographs of the *Libellus Donati*. The photographs of *MS Rawlinson G 50* will be placed in the same library according to our agreement with the Bodleian authorities. Since in each case we have had to rely upon one version we have been deprived of the advantages of comparing texts, except in regard to the lines which are also in the *Tractatus*. The latter has made possible some improvements in the text: in one instance the reconstruction of a line almost without meaning as it stood in the Bodleian MS (9v, 13). The carelessness of the scribe of this manuscript has already been mentioned: to him is probably due the obscurity of certain passages which we have marked off by daggers. The few words whose legibility is difficult are enclosed in brackets. The notes include only that part of the gloss which we considered would be of interest or help to readers. We hope that this edition of two types of grammatical poetry will prove of convenience to students of mediaeval Latin.

LIBELLUS DONATI METRICE COMPOSITUS

(Cambridge University Library, *MS Dd 11 78*).

- Integra conficitur oratio partibus octo. Fol. 58r.
 Nomen cum casu communiter aut proprie rem
 Aut corpus significat. Sex eius proprietates:
 Quale, figura, genus, numerus, collatio, casus.
- 5 Quale duplex: proprium, commune; figuraque duplex:
 Simplex, composita. Contingit in esse figuram
 Compositam quadrupliciter: vel enim duo nomen
 Integra vel corrupta duo componere possunt,
 Aut prius integrum corruptum vero sequuntur,
- 10 Aut e converso. Generum quinarium illi
 Accidit, inter quae duo dat discretio sexus;
 Quod sequitur neutrum respectu dicitur horum;
 Est autem quartum primis commune duobus;
 Omnia dum quintum complectitur, omne vocatur;
- 15 Est et epicenum, sexus promiscuitatis
 Ambiguum. Numeri duo sunt, hic pluribus, ille
 Uni conveniens. Collatio competit illis
 Omnibus et solis intendi sive remitti
 Quorum forma potest; hec autem proprietas est
- 20 Quae per tres variata gradus consistit in illis:
 E quibus hic ponit, hic confert, ille superfert.
 Qui ponit, simplex est; qui confert, utriusque
 Vult ablativum numeri; qui vero superfert,
 Vult collectivum vel pluralem genitivum.
- 25 Sunt et sex casus, sortiti nomen ab actu;
 Inter quos primus rem pure nominat; alter

1 *de nomine* in right margin. 3 CORPUS scanned as two shorts. 4
 QUALE, COLLATIO, for *qualitas, comparatio*, "*quas versu dicere non est.*"
 7 QUADRUPPLICITER: Don. gives as examples *suburbanus* (*duo integra*),
municeps (*duo corrupta*), *insulsus* (*integrum, corruptum*), and *nugige-*
rulus, (*corruptum, integrum*). 10. QUINARIUS: Don. counts four; though
 he mentions the *omne* he does not regard it as a distinct variety. 11
 DISCRETIO, MS *discreccio*. 15 EPICENUM with antepenult long, but with it
 short in 35. At the end of the line in MS are the meaningless and met-
 rically superfluous words *vel te*. 24 COLLECTIVUM VEL PLURALEM: Don.
 mentions only the plural. 25 SEX CASUS: Don. does not define the cases.

Circa rem gignit aliquid; dat tertius illi;
Acusat quartus; quintus vocat; ultimus aufert. Fol 58v.

- Pronomen positum pro nomine, significatque
30 Tantundem pene. Sex eius proprietates:
Quale, genus, casus, numerus, persona, figura.
Quale duplex: pronomen enim susceptio finit
Persone; quotiens illud non suscipit illam
Est infinitum. Genus in pronomine non est
35 Quod dicunt 'epicenon': cetera vero
Et casus numerosque simul cum nomine servat.
Tres insunt illi persone: prima, secunda,
Tertia. Communis est utrobique figura.
- Verbum pars est tam cum tempore quam sine casu,
40 Significativa vel agendi vel patiendi
Vel neutri. Septem verborum proprietates:
Quale, genus, tempus, numerus, persona, figura,
Et que coniuga sit. In formis quale modisque
Consistit. Forme quardupliciter variantur,
45 Per meditativam formam cum significatur
Actus ut archetipus: quando movetur ad esse
Inceptiva notat; vero designat in esse
Perfectum perfecta: frequentativa frequentem.
Verbum quinque modis variatur: hic indicat, ille
50 Imperat, hic optat, subiungit is, hic numerisque
Personisque carens hac de ratione vocatur.
Infinitivus precedentesque modi sunt;
Unusquisque suo nomen sortitur ab actu.
Verborum genera sunt quinque, videlicet ista:
55 Activum, quod in o finitum suscipiendo Fol. 59r.
R fit passivum; passivum, litera cuius
Ultima dicitur r, et in activum redit, illa
Deposita; neutrum, cuius conterminus o fit,
Numquam suscipit r; commune, novissima cuius

34. GENUS IN PRONOMINE, etc.; not found in Don. 38. UTROBIQUE with antepenult long. 43 CONIUGA for *coniugatio*, for the metre. SIT, MS *sint*. 46 MOVETUR with long o. 49 QUINQUE MODIS: Don. counts six, add-

- 60 Litera, scilicet r, numquam removetur ab ipso,
Et cui forma duplex patientis inest et agentis;
Deponens, cuius est significatio tanquam
Activi, vox ut passivi, sed tamen ipsam
R non deponit. Verbi sunt tempora quinque,
- 65 Scilicet hec: unum presens unumque futurum
Et tria preterita. Distinctio preteritorum
Triplex, respectu triplicis presentis ad ipsa;
Sic imperfectum signat distantia parva
Presentis, maior perfectum, maxima vero
- 70 Plusquamperfectum. Non a pronomine verbum
Diversum faciunt numerus, persona, figura.
Coniuga verba triplex dat. Declinatio prima
A finem dat, e sequens, i tertia, sed sic
Tertia dividitur quod servat nunc breve nunc i
- 75 Longam; quando brevem, consistit tertia; quando
Longam, fit quarta. Manifestius ista secundus
Exprimit et quintus modus, in quibus ī vel ĭ scitur
Esse per accentum. Nam si sit ĭ, confice; si sit
ī, non mutatur. Primam dic: tempore cuius
- 80 Presenti primus modus est, persona secunda,
Et numerus verbi simplex cuiuslibet in quo
Est o finalis, a productam tenet ante
†ris tenet s liquidam† verbi cuiuslibet in quo Fol. 59v.
Est r finalis, a productam tenet ante
- 85 Ris. Signis isdem notat e producta secundam.
Tertia sic i brevi, producta quarta notatur.
Primi vero modi non solum quarta futurum
Tempus in am vel in ar sed et ibo mittit et ibor.
Sunt adiectiva verbis, adverbia, remque
- 90 Implent verbalem, que triplex proprietas, que

ing the *modus impersonalis*. 73 DAT, with long a and SEQUENS with long e. 74 BREVE instead of *brevem*, sc. *litteram*. 76 all this verse written in the margin. SECUNDUS, i. e. the imperative mood. 77 QUINTUS, the infinitive mood. 79 PRIMAM DIC, etc.: the construction is obscure; perhaps as follows: *prima coniugatio, in quovis verbo cuius modus est primus*, etc., (*et*) *in quo o est finalis, a productam tenet*, etc. 20 PRESENTI, MS *presentis*. EST, MS *est et*. 81 CUIUSLIBET, MS *utriuslibet*. 83 TENET written above the line, apparently in another hand. Don. says simply "ante

- Significatio, que collatio, queque figura,
 Afficit, et penes hoc dicuntur significare
 Quod sunt iurandi, vel personalia, qualis,
 Quanti, vel similis, eventus, aut prohibendi,
 95 Temporis, optandi, numerive, locive, negandi,
 Aut affirmandi, querendi, vel dubitandi,
 Ordinis, hortandi, demonstrandive, vocandi,
 Aut respondendi, sociandi, dissociandi,
 Aut per que vel comparat ulla vel eligat utens.
 100 Hic nichil appropriat collatio sive figura.
 Se quadrupliciter variant adverbia circa
 Significare locum† quem claudit p et ad inter
 Claudit idem per et ad et idem quo claudit in et de†
 Sicut ab adiuncto poteris perpendere verbo
 105 Iuxta quod motum signabit sive quietem.

- Pars que materiam sapit hermofroditi
 De qua seu nomen seu verbum seu sit utrumque
 Seu neutrum seu nescio quid medium dubitatur,
 Est pars que partem capiens a nomine, partem
 110 A verbo Fol. 60r.

 . . . pariter insunt ab utroque figura
 Et numerus. Genera sunt huius quatuor, inter
 Que duo distinguit sexus discretio, neutrum
 Respicit illa duo, complectitur omnia quartum.
 Casus sunt huius idem qui nominis et tot.

novissimam litteram". 99 COMPARAT MS *culpanē*. 101 VARIANT, MS *vanant* but corrected by a later hand. 102 QUEM CLAUDIT IN ET DE: apparently a *locus insanabilis*. A four-fold classification of local adverbs is not found in Don. but it is quite common in later grammarians, e. g. Servius, *Comm. in Donatum*, in Keil. vol. II, p. 415: "*In significationibus adverbiorum adverbia localia diligenter advertenda sunt, quae habent quattuor species, in loco, de loco, ad locum, et per locum. . . . Ergo animadvertere debemus ut quotiens fuerint adverbia in loco, iungamus verba quae habent significationem in loco quotiens sunt autem adverbia quae significant ad locum, iungamus ea his verbis similiter quae habent significationem euntis.*" 110 The sense shows that some verses have dropped out, perhaps somewhat like the following: "*Sic participat. A nomine casus / Et genus illi sunt, sed significatio, tempus, / A verbo.*" FIGURA, MS *futura*. 112 DISTINGUIT, MS *distin-*

- 115 Tempora sunt huius tria, scilicet ista, futurum,
 Presens, preteritum. Nil significatio distat
 Ipsius a genere verbi, totidemque modis fit.
 Participat cum nominibus verbisque figura
 Et numero pariter, istis cum nulla duobus
- 120 Dicantur diversimode consignificare.
- Est coniunctio pars que iungit et ordinat et res
 Et voces, sed res non semper. Proprietates
 Attribuentur ei tres, ordo, figura, potestas.
 Attendendus in his ordo, quod prepositive
- 125 Sunt quedam, que semper habent precedere, quedam
 Sunt subiunctive, subiungi semper habentes,
 Quedam communes, quas preponive sequive
 Non refert. Nichil hic ponit speciale figura.
 Dividitur vero species in quinque potestas.
- 130 Est coniunctiva que voces copulat et res;
 Dissocians illas non permittit simul esse;
 Est expletiva cuius subiunctio dictum
 Explet inexpletum. Quamvis inter rationem
 Et causam non sit distancia preter eam que
- 135 Est inter genus et speciem—nam causa videtur
 Esse genus, ratio, species—tamen appropriatis,
 Ut decet, utendum verbis. Rationis origo Fol. 60v.
 Est animus, cause natura superficialis.
 Ergo Donatus discrimine separat illas;
- 140 Idcirco deservit eis coniunctio duplex,
 Causalis cause, rationalis rationi.

- A preponendo pars nomen habens aliarum
 Res quas precedit complet, mutat, minuitive.
 Accidit huic unum, casus tantum. Duo casus,
- 145 Acusativus ablativusque. Secundum,

guunt. DISCRETIO, MS *discreseio*. 116 NIL SIGNIFICATIO, etc.; i. e. apparently, there are as many varieties of the participles as there are voices of the verb. 119 ISTIS DUOBUS, i. e. *figura* and *numero*. NULLA i. e. *participia*. 133 QUAMVIS INTER RATIONEM, etc.: this resort to logic has no equivalent in Don. 137 UTENDUM, MS. *utendo*. 142 ALIARUM: sc.

- Ad, circum, circa, cis, citra, circiter, usque,
 Adversum, contra, iuxta, secus, inter, ob, ultra,
 Extra, trans, ultra, preter, propter, prope, pone,
 Infra, per, supra, penes, erga, post, apud, ante,
 150 Iste sunt omnes quas nos preponere tantum
 Acusativo debemus; ab, a, tenus, e, de,
 Ex, abs, absque, palam, coram, pro, pre, sine, cum, clam,
 Tantum ablativo; subter, super, in, sub, utrique.
 Inseponibiles dic sex, an, con, re, se, di, dis:
 155 Incomponibilesque duas, apud et penes. Eque
 Coniungi possunt vel disiungi relique omnes.

- Interiectio, pars cui significatio tantum
 Accidit, est incondita vox que significare
 Dicitur affectum mentis. Mens significatur
 160 Exultans, ut evax, metuens, ut atat, stupefacta,
 Ut pape, tristis, ut heu, seu quod conforme sit istis.

partium; it seems to be governed by *preponendo*. 146 CIRCITER; omitted by Don. 153 TANTUM ABLATIVO: elision, which Henry usually avoids: see also 156. 156 RELIQUE OMNES, elision again. 158 INCONDITA. MS *incognita*. 160 EVAX and 161 PAPE with short e.

COMODA GRAMATICE, (Section II).

(Bodleian Library, *MS Rawlinson G 50*).

- Occultis addītis, hostes, me semper adītis. Fol. 7r.
- 10 Consiliis inītis belli certamen inītis.
 Prelia dum petītis lugetis sepe petītis.
 Sēvēris O veniam nobis, pia virgo, sēvēris.
 Irrīta ne fiant non irrītemur ad iram.
 A speculor specūlar dic esse specuque specūlar.
- 15 Expletis ciātis multi periere sciātis.
 A feda Vēnēre numquam vēnēre Sicani.
 Libēret ut virgo nos exorare libēret.
 Si vitium remānet lacrimae mihi gutta remānet.
 Virtus exhāret nisi te dolor exāret intus.
- 20 Christo dedēris te si non dedēris hosti.
 Decīdo peccando, decīdo saxa secando.
 Occīdo labando, volucres occīdo premendo.
 Cūria dat curas, meretix Cūriaque dolores.
 Miles amat lepōres sed virgo decora lepōres.
- 25 Pergāmus ut nutet pergāmus milite cincti.
 Peius condītur species que condītur intus.
 Prodīmus hic nosmet si non prodīmus in hostes.

(Gl. 1. normally refers to the first of the two words contrasted and gl. r. to the second.)

FOL. 7R. 9 Space left for capital o. gl. upon ADDĪTIS "*introitibus*". gl. 1. "*hoc additum, idem est quod introitus.*" gl. r. "*adio, is, adire, verbum.*" 12 gl. 1. upon SĒVĒRIS "*sero, ris*". 13 a curiously inept line. Henry evidently intended to contrast *irrītā*, vain or useless things, with *irrītā*, the imperative from *irritare*. 14 gl. r. "*nota quod dicitur hoc speculum mirrar; hec specula, domus obserrantis vineam; et hoc speculare, i. e. divina contemplatio, et dicitur a specti[o, tis] quod non est in usu; et speculor, aris, idem est quod contemplor, ris.*" see Du Cange, s. v. 15 CIATIS, i. e. *cyathis*. 16 gl. 1. "*hec Venus, eris.*" gl. upon VĒNĒRE "*cessere*". 17 gl. upon LIBĒRET "*placeret*". 19 gl. upon EXARET "*pugnat, vel laborat*". 20 gl. upon DEDĒRIS "*subicieris.*" 23 gl. upon CŪRIA "*sicut regis vel comitis.*" gl. upon CŪRIA "*proprium nomen meretricis*". gl. r. "*hec Curia, proprium nomen (don). Tullius, plus diligit Curiam quam curiam.*" Cf. John of Genoa in Du Cange, "*Curia jus curat, meretrix est Curia dicta.*" 24 gl. upon LEPŌRES "*facundias.*" 25 gl. upon NUTET "*vacillet*". gl. r. "*pergamus a pir quod est ignis et gamos, mulier, quasi per ignem et mulierem destructa.*" 26 PEIUS, possibly *penis*.

Nos redimire velit redimūt quos sanguine Chris-
tus.

Fol. 7v.

- Hostem vincere poterit qui vincere suevit.
Est oblīta deum meretrix ens oblīta sorde.
Non tendit peritum qui vult audire peritum.
5 Delīrus hic cantat, delīrus montibus errat.
"Absit porrigo porci" dum porigo carmen.
Ad celi decōra nos erige, virgo decōra.
Pannis pellitis algorem pellitis omnem.
Virgo procos amīcis; mendacia dicis amīcis.
10 Sunt versus ēlēgi quos ēlēgi mihi dudum.
Excītus exurgit, excītus tendit in hostem;
Excītat hinc oritur, excītat nascitur inde.
Histrio vult cānere, senior cānere videtur.
A vitii tribūlis absit tua turba tribūlis.
15 In fundo patēre scio crimina multa patēre.
Gaudet equus phālēris cuius fālēris ab arte.
Impius est Phālāris, studet ut fālāris ab ipso.
Vir ferus est Amīcus, ideo nullius amīcus.
Vas est ex acēre liquor in quo possit acēre.
20 Dum Iudas cecīdit hunc mortis dextra cecīdit.
Nos modo sevīmus, sed semina sevīmus olim.
Non audes lēgēre quicquid lēgēre priores.

FOL. 7v. 1 Another inept line in that the contrasted words are not in the same form. gl. upon REDIMIRE "*liberare*", a mistake as it comes from *redimio*, to crown. 3 gl. upon OBLĪTA "*tradīta oblivioni*". gl. upon ENS "*existens*". gl. upon OBLĪTA "*squasse*". gl. upon SORDE "*sordida, engluē*". gl. r. "*oblivio, nis, i. e. squasser*". 4 Same as *Tractatus*, fol. 86v. line 28. 5 gl. 1. "*deorsum et lira, lire quod harpe*". gl. upon DELĪRUS "*deorsum lirare*". gl. upon DELĪRUS "*i. e. sulcōlt, demens vel qui male arat*". *Delirus* evidently means harpplayer, but we have found no other evidence of such a compound. gl. r. "*de de et lira re quod est sulcus*". 6 gl. upon PORRIGO "*scabiens (sic)*". The phrase "ABSIT PORRIGO PORCI" comes from Juvenal, 2, 80. 7 ERIGE, MS *erigit* which is against the metre. 9 gl. 1. "*amicio, amicis, civi*". gl. upon PROCOS "*danneurs*". gl. upon AMĪCIS "*tegis*". 12 EXCĪTAT, MS *egcitāt*. 13 gl. upon HISTRIO "*minus*". gl. r. "*canes, canes, uī quāsi dealbare*". 14 gl. upon TRIBŪLIS "*consanguinea*". 16 gl. upon PHALERIS "*ornamenta equorum*". 17 gl. upon PHALARIS "*propriū nomen*". 18 AMĪCUS, probably a proper name. 19 gl. upon ACĒRE "*enegrue*". 21 gl. upon SEVĪMUS "*insanimus*". gl. r. "*sero, ris servi vel serui, serere / et siqua quod duplicem habet*".

- Ne tibi sis aliŭs cum sis benefactor aliŭs.
 Abscīde ne mense sedeas, abscīde remote.
 Munere non habito ne posce magis sed abito.
- 10 Bostāris est stabulum bostāris nomine dictum.
 Bālātro voces, bālātro consumit inescas.
 Non cessant bibēre qui feces usque bibēre.
 Cantāre, ne spumes; balatro cantāre fatiscit.
 Dum cōmēdo libum, cōmēdo non fero sensum.
- 15 Plus equo cupītis ideoque carete cupītis.
 Desīdis ob crimen desīdis iam prope limen.
 Plus fama decōris cupior quam laude decōris.
 Quem virtus decōrat hunc laudis fama decōrat.
 Diffīdit hic findens, diffīdit at hic male fidens.
- 20 Delīnit hic delens, delīnit propria mulcens.
 Factis ērēbo iustis ērēboque carebo.
 Dux emīnet oves quia fur non emīnet arvis.
 Emīcat panes postquam mus emīcat antris.
 Egēre te vitiis nam sic egēre sodales.
- 25 Sordibus egēre te vel eis cogeris egēre.
 Ut fundēre fide personas fundēre sperne.
 Guttūre plumbi ne sint tibi guttūre fuse.

1. "*hec apsis, dis, extrema pars mense.*" gl. upon ABSCĪDE "*ultima parte*" upon ABSCĪDE "*remore vel abestez*". 9 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84r, line 9. 10 gl. 1. "*hic Bostar, proprium nomen.*" 11 gl. upon BĀLĀTRO "*inglar*" and upon BĀLĀTRO "*commestor et dicitur quasi colatro de voro, as.*" 12 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84v, line 6 except NON for hic. 13 NE, MS nī. gl. upon FATISCIT "*renuit dicere, hoc est recusit*". 14 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84v, line 15. gl. upon CŌMĒDO "*proprium nomen illi(us) Comestoris*". 15 CARETE, MS carere. 16 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85r, line 10. gl. upon DESĪDES "*depersus.*" 17-18 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85r, lines 1-2. gl. upon DECŌRAT "*honorat*". 19 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85r, line 12. 20 gl. 1. "*delīno, nis, inī.*" gl. upon DELĪNIT "*deformat quia me deformat me delet*". 21 gl. 1. "*herco, es*". gl. upon ĒRĒBO "*infernale.*" gl. r "*hic erebus.*" 22 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85r, line 27 but ARVIS for oves. gl. 1. "*emīno, as et dicitur de e quod est extra.*" gl. upon EMĪNET "*hors mit*". 23 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85v, line 2. EMĪCAT, from mīca, crumb. gl. upon EMĪCAT, "*ors mūd*" and upon EMĪCAT "*sautet*". 24 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85r, line 24. 26 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85v, line 19 except PERSONAS for perferre. 27 gl. upon GUTTŪRE "*gutte*", same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85v, line 26.

ERRATUM:—There is an important error in page numbering which should be noted. Pages 18, 19 and 20 should follow pages 21, 22 and 23, and the page numbers of those two page-groups should accordingly be interchanged.

Idēo cedis, idēo disponeris, Hebe. Fol. 9v.

Indīcis indiciis indīcis clamor ut absit.

Qui fecit marīa natus fuit ille Marīa.

Dum bonus es, morēre; malus, aut tua facta morēre.

5 Ne mandēre mihi, tu mecum mandēre noli.

Carnem ne macēra carnes prebente macēra.

Nectāris illicebra numquam nectāris amena.

Assis plasmātis, humani plasmātis Auctor.

Est species procērum procērum corpus habere.

10 Offers si probātos interponere probātos.

Quesīto Christo nil preter quesīto Christum.

Quo plus hec renītens est ne sit casta renītens.

Nave paras reduci cupiens ad tecta reduci.

Sepāret ut cunctis hic se, sepāret in armis.

15 Assiliens subīto, murorum claustra subīto.

†Rustica si satūra sis, non minus esto satūra†.

Plurima si sapītis tamen addite plura sapītis.

In spatio tegētis vix corpora vestra tegētis.

Tesēa si queris Tesēa laude frueris.

A tactu vomēris sulcando, terra, vomēris.

Est legis vetēris quod dicere falsa vetēris.

Illi te portant humēris ut celsus humēris.

FOL. 9v. 1 gl. upon IDĒO "*Ganīmedes*." 4 BONUS ES, MS *bonis est*, but *est* is corrected to ES in gloss. 5 NE, MS *ni*. 6 gl. upon MACĒRA "*bucher*." 7 gl. upon ILLICEBRA "*illicita*." gl. r. "*hoc nectar, ris piment*". 8 gl. upon PLASMĀTIS "*formatis*," same as *Tractatus*, fol. 86v, line 20. 9 gl. l. "*hic procerus, ri bannu*." gl. upon PROCĒRUM "*nobilem*." 10 gl. upon PROBĀTOS "*orem*." 11 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 9. 12 gl. l. "*hic et hec et hoc renitens, replendisant*." gl. upon RENĪTENS "*aforsant*." 13 line supplied from *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 12; MS "*Nave Paris reduci cupias de tecta reduci*" which presents obvious difficulties. gl. l. "*hic et hec et hoc redux, cis, remenablen*." gl. r. "*reduco, cis, remenablen*." 14 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 27, but SE for iam. 15 ASSILIENS, MS *asiliens*. gl. l. "*subito adverbium, sudenement*." gl. r. "*subio, subis, susaler*." 16 gl. l. "*sator, aris, saule*." gl. r. "*satura de sero, ris*." 17 ADDITE, MS *addita*. gl. l. "*sapio, sapis, sauure*." 18 gl. upon TEGĒTIS "*de bordeu*." gl. r. "*tego, gis, cuverer*." 19 gl. upon TESĒA, "*proprium nomen*," Theseus. gl. upon laude "*Tesey*." same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87v, line 8 but *quereris* for *seiveris*. 20 gl. upon both forms of VOMERIS "*arabilis*." same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87v, line 19. 22 ILLI *te*, MS

- Redditus a reddo, rēditus redeo tibi format.
 Sub Christi latēre scio sine fine latēre.
- 25 Femina vult pārēre tamen hec pārēre recusat.
 Pauper persōna non est (mea) persōna regi.
 Vasa recensīta sed poma recensīta dicas;
 Hec renovata sapis, numerata sed illa tenebis.
 Cum dicas frenēsis, dixisse memento frenēsis. Fol. 10r.
 Dic zonam strophēum, palmam dic esse trophēum.
 Obliquis mulier et "hērus" demonstrat et "hēros."
 Vitis prōpago, bibit inde futura prōpago.
- 5 Erbam dic ysōpum sed isōpo spargitur unda.
 Proferri bŭtīrum poterit bŭtīrum sive bŭtīrum.
 †Non multis potēris bene si potēris abesse†.
 Pro vitro saphīrum, pro gemma dico saphīrum.
 Dicas latrare latos rictus agitare;
- 10 Cum sic dicatur, oblatrat ferre memento.
 Margarita lapis sed Margareta puella.
 Servit servītus sed servus servītus optat.
 Di sit preposita sed dii sunt idola vana.
 Dis declinabis sed dis sit prepositiva.
- 15 I dicit vade, sed sunt hii quos amo docti.
 H retinet Pasche sed non de pascere pasce;
 Si veteres sequeris primum sub fine tenebis.
 Offero dona vīro; ditissimus est homo Vīreo.

In lite. same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87v, line 20 except *ILLI* for *justi*. 23 MS, *reor* between *REDDITUS* and *REDEO*. gl. upon *REDDITUS* "*rente*." 25 gl. l. "*pareo, ris() enfanter*." 26 *MEA*, MS *mā*. 27 gl. upon *RECENSĪTA* "*rinces*." DuCange, "*recensire, lavare, cluere*." 28 gl. upon *HEC*, "*vasa*."

FOL. 10R. 2 gl. l. "*tropheum, i. e. quod zonam, centure*." gl. upon *PALMAM* "*i. e. victoriam*." 3 *OBLIQUIS*, MS *obliquos*. gl. upon *MULIER* "*quasi mulcēns herum*." The oblique cases of *mulier* have the *e* sometimes long and sometimes short; so such a form as *mulīerum* (the usual classical scansion) shows affinity with *hērus*, master or lord, while *mulīerum* (invariably the mediaeval scansion, cf. fol. 11r, line 12) shows affinity for *hēros*, hero. 4 gl. l. "*idem est quod extensio vinee*." prōpago, generation. 5 gl. upon *ISOPO* "*aspersorio*." 6 line written as an interlinear gloss. 8 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 21 except *DICO* for *pone*. 10 gl. upon *FERRE* "*pronunciare*." 12 gl. l. "*servītus, ta, tum, servio*." gl. upon *SERVĪTUS*, "*servise*." 13 gl. upon *DI* "*dictio*." 15 gl. l. "*io, is, aler*." 16 gl. l. "*hec Pacha, ce, Paches*." *PASCHE*, MS *Pasce*. 17 gl. upon *SUB FINE* "*debet acui*" and upon *tenebis* "*acues*". 18 gl. l. "*hic vir, viri, ro, barun*." *EST*, MS *et*. *VIREO*, dissyllabic by synizesis.

- Consedēre duces in nos considēre prompti.
 Dixerunt vidēre prisci sed dico vidēre.
- 25 Antiqui cavēre dixerunt, dico cavēre.
 Nos accersimus sed nos accessimus aras.
 Saxa manu iacēre mihi non placet, immo iacēre
 Uxoris tenēre gremio mammasque tenēre. Fol. 8r.
 Presenti querēris sed forsan inde querēris.
 Condītio condo, condītio condio format.
 Nobilis est hērēmus, tamen hanc hērēmus adire.
- 5 Mater ut edūcat pullos hos edūcat ante.
 In veteri cacābo veteri pro sorde cacābo.
 Mons est Gargānus, vir Gargānus excolit illum.
 Ut rem predicat vates sacra predicat are.
 Colla dōmāte fera clausi sub dōmāte tecti.
- 10 Virgo manens eādem qua mors superatur eādem.
 Hee mihi sunt ēdēre quas non ēdēre capelle.
 Despīcor messem, liventem despīcor hostem.
 Conspīcor est video, conspīcor colligo spīcas.
 Non est Egīde devictus ab egīde fortis.
- 15 Effēta discludens sonat; est effēta senectus.
 †Millitis his ebētis† non est quod semper hebētis.

sensum. 23 gl. upon CONSIDERE "abesset". 24-25 The reference is to the imperatives *vidē* and *cavē*. gl. l. quotes "Vale, cave ne titubēs", Horace, *Ep.* i. 13, 19. 26 ACCESSIMUS, MS *accerissimus*. gl. l. *accerissio, eis, vi, re.* gl. upon ACCERSIMUS "advocamus". Du Cange notes an *accerisire* with the meaning *convenire*.

FOL. 8R. 4 gl. l. *hic heremus, mi, locus eremite*"; this shortening of the penult is found in Prudentius. gl. upon HĒRĒMUS "dubitamus", and upon ADIRE "entrir." 5 gl. upon EDŪCAT "extra ducit", and EDŪCAT "nutrit". 9 gl. upon DŌMĀTE "culmen tecti". 11 ĒDĒRE, i. e. *luderac* of classical Latin. 12 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 85v, line 11 except LIVENTEM instead of *sed vilem*. 13 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84v, line 25 except EST VIDEO for *aspectans*. 14. gl. l. "*Hic Egeide, des i. e. fili Egei*". gl. upon EGĪDE "*Paladis*", which should be upon EGĪDE. gl. upon EGĪDE, "*escu*". EGĪDE is regarded as a nominative. 15 gl. l. "*verbum indeclinabile, deus (vitigemus / lucam cum sputa) dicitur effata et est / aperire surdo et est verbum grecum / et non invenitur plus (quandoque), invenitur / pro aperi (quandoque aperta)*", but the reading is very uncertain. If it is epheta (Gk), *discludens sonat* may possibly mean "is accented on the last syllable" but it is a peculiar way of expressing this thought. gl. r. "*effetus, ta, tum quia non posset amplius parere postquam mulier transierit quinquaginta annos.*" 16 gl. upon EBETIS "de-

- Depīlat ora pīlis; non depīlat sine pīlis.
 Corde nequit cupīdo descendere longa cupīdo.
 Compīlo, tollo pilos; compīlo scripta librorum.
- 20 Compēdis in nexu compēdis turpiter arto.
 Ut te complācet bene complācet illud amico.
 Dum caligas caligo calīgo lumina claudit.
 Est in cantōre quod non in cantōre vate.
 Obsōnor iratus; obsōnor prandia sumens.
- 25 Est vates Arātor, cultor telluris arātor.
 Est sodes amābo; virtutem semper amābo.
 Actōris in spoliis actōris virtus habetur.
 Inter lēvītas absit lēvītas animorum. Fol. 8v.
 In ripa Ligēris caveas ne forte ligēris.
 Ostentat mathēsis quod sit fugienda mathēsis.
 Meiēre mingentis; lis est metuenda Megēre.
- 5 Qui mīsēre vivunt non se mīsēre Tonanti.
 Morticīna cadunt ferro, morticīna morbo.
 Nitēre, formose, formosa mente nitēre.
 Qui sapis ex olēre, te numquam tedet olēre.
 Latro pendēre debet, sed pendēre lictor.
- 10 Cum pernīce pede, cum pugno pernīce pugnes.

bilis". gl. upon HEBETIS "*rebus*". 17 gl. upon DEPĪLAT "*descendet*", and upon DEPĪLAT "*spoliat*". 18 NEQUIT, MS *nequid*. 19 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84v, line 22 except PILOS for *pīlum*. 20 COMPĒDIS a compound of *pedo*, *ere*. gl. upon CONPĒDIS "*sonus*". 21 gl. l "*complaco, eas*." gl. upon COMPLĀCET "*faciet plactium*." 22 gl. upon CALĪGO "*curre*." CALĪGO is apparently a verb meaning to cobble. We do not find it elsewhere although *caligatus*, booted, is very common. Cf. *Tractatus*, fol 84v, line 8. 23 We do not find any cantōre. VATE may be *nate*. 24 gl. upon OBSŌNOR "*litigare*." 25 gl. upon ARĀTOR "*proprium nomen qui metrice scripsit actus apastori (?)*". 27 gl. l "*proprium nomen illius qui interretur*." ACTŌRIS is Vergil; usually written *autor*.

FOL. 8v. 1 gl. upon LĒVĪTAS "*diaconos*". gl. l. "*antiqui dicebant diaconibus*." 2 gl. upon LIGĒRIS "*nomen fluvii*", the Loire. 3 gl. upon MATHĒSIS "*divina scientia*." gl. upon MATHĒSIS "*ars divinandi*". SIT, not in MS, but sense and metre require it. OSTENTAT, MS *ostendat*. 4 gl. l. "*mio, is, meiere*," etc. gl. upon MEGERE "*filia infernalis*." gl. r "*hec Megera, re quasi malum gervns*." 5 gl. upon TONANTI "*Domini*". 6 gl. l "*mortis et cædo, dis*." gl. r. "*de mors, tis, et cado, dis*." 7 gl. upon FORMOSE, "*o*" designating a vocative. 8 gl. l. "*hic olus, leris, cholet*". 9 gl. upon LICTOR "*qui amputat aurem latronis vel qui preest obsequiis mortuorum vel qui fert ense (domino rest obscure)*." 10 gl.

- Suffōcat extinguit, suffōcat guttura stringit.
 Terga viri terētis pedibus fortasse terētis.
 Litem de statēre dissolvit lingua statēre.
 Allēvat, extollit; allēvat, corpora planat.
- 15 †Sintēris a carie, sit cintēris sine cera.†
 Cum messis mētītur, cultor mētītur agellum.
 Prestōlor expectans; prestōlor, [fio] favorem.
 Induo me galēam; galeatus duco galēam.
 Peccatum ferīmus si quos sine iure ferīmus.
- 20 Tu mihi da grabātum; da [scium sanete] grabātum.
 Dico Magdālēne sed Magdālēna legatur.
 Est tellus Amātus, est noster amicus amātus;
 Et si sit tellus, Amatuntis dat genitivo.
 Versus scandīmus, ad fulgida scandīmus astra.
- 25 Presbiter est agāmus, parīter nos sic et agāmus.
 More madens Arāris, tellus mage mollis arāris.
 Iure batos ābātis ābbātis curia reliquit. Fol. 9r.
 Ne plus hunc poscas appāret ut appāret escas.
 Si mihi plus abēris dicam quod tardus abēris.
 Abscīdit hic vestes abscīdit at ille capillos.
- 5 Abdīcat hic natos abdīcat ut hic sibi notos.
 Ambītus hunc torquet gasis ambītus ut exstet.

upon PERNICE "celoci", and upon PERNICE "nocivus". 11 same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 32. 13 gl. 1. "stater est medietas uncie (rest obscure). gl upon STATERE "peis" and upon STATERE "de balance", same as *Tractatus*, fol. 87r, line 20. 15 gl. upon A CARIE "putare" and upon CINTERIS "sine tract (a sordis)". 16 gl. upon MĒTĪTUR "esci". 17 in the *Tractatus*, fol. 86v. line 31 reads "prestolor, cesperto, prestolor, querere dico." 18 gl. upon GALĒAM "hampe." 20 gl. upon GRABĀTUM "gremium" and upon GRABĀTUM. "() requietem in gremio sancte matris." SCIUM is baffling. 21 see p. 108 gl. upon MAGDALENE "opidum et turris". 22 AMĀTUS for Amathus. 25 gl. 1. "ab a quod est sine et gamos, mulier quasi sine muliere." 26 gl. upon ARĀRIS "colis". The ARAR is the Saône.

FOL. 9R. 1 gl. 1 "hic abbat is indeclinabile". ABATIS, MS abbat is. gl. upon ABATIS "de provendre". cf. DuCange "Wm. Brito in Vocab. Abatis, media correpta, qui cum batis dividit avenam. Batus dicitur 'provendre' in Gallico". 2 NE PLUS HUNC POSCAS, MS ne plus hūc poscas. APPARET, MS aparet. 3 ABĒRIS, MS abberis. ABĒRIS from habeo. 4 line written at the side but indicated for insertion. ABSCIDIT, MS abcidit. 5 gl. upon ABDĪCAT "alienat" and upon ABDĪCAT "abscōdit, repellivum." 6 gl. upon AMBĪTUS "cupidus". 8 Same as *Tractatus*, fol. 84r, line 6. gl.

- Est pape bulla, Grece sententia bula.
- 20 Christe, mihi mana de celi culmine manna.
Cum sis, Christe, lāpis stabilis me surripi lappis.
Advolat a vanno granum cum flamine vano.
In veteri carro cārō venit munere cārō.
Dic pro veste cāpa, sed pars est cappa flagelli.
- 25 Est capitis cirrus, rex fortis in agmine Cīrus.
Est tecti doma, studii celebrabile dogma.
Est arbor ficus sed res est regia fiscus.
Sulcat nauta mǎre sed sulcant iugera marre.
Hic venit baro, venit tamen sine barro. Fol. 10v.
Mannos dico fēros quorum gerit ungula †fēros.†
Nec dicas ferra nec det pluralia ferum.
Si tibi vera gēro tibi fallax non ero gerro.
- 5 Libris nocte vāca; tibi sit per pascua vacca.
Non est res mira quod stillat ab arbore mirra.
In fervente pīra quicquid omnis femina Pīrra.
Vult locus esse Cāna Galilee; stridula canna.
Ut fiat pannus currit per stamina panus.
- 10 Non facias recte si vis mihi tendere rethe.
Cum, frater, obis te vini surripis obbis.
Pro nigro fuscus, pro musca dicito fucus.
Gratulor in silvis cucūlo, per claustra cucullo.
Sarcina saburra navis, dux Sabura belli.

19 gl. upon PAPE "*domini*". 20 gl. upon CHRISTE "o", indicating a vocative, upon MANA "*mitte*", and upon MANNA "*cibum sapientie*". 21 gl. l. "*hic lapis, pur pere.*" gl. upon LAPPIS "*de cleteners*". 22 gl. upon VANO "*de van*". gl. r. "*vanus, na, num, ven*". 23 gl. l. "*hic caro, nis, char*". gl. upon CARRO "*vanin*". gl. r. "*carus, ra, rum, cher*". 24 gl. l. "*hec cappa, chape*". 25 CIRUS, i. e. Cyrus. 27 gl. r. "*hic fiscus, ci, i. e. bursa regis*". 28 gl. l. "*hoc mare, mer*". gl. upon IUGERA "*terras*". gl. r. "*hec marra, re, beche*".

FOL. 10v. 1 gl. l. "*hic baro, nis, barun.*" gl. r. "*hic barro, nis, (sic), olifant.*" BARRO, see Du Cange "*qui et elephas dicitur*" apud Petrum Damian. i. ep. 15. 2 DICO, MS *de*. gl. upon MANNOS "*pallefr(y).*" gl. r. "*hic ferus, ri.*" 4 gl. r. *hec (sic) gerro, nis, trufhur.* 5 gl. r. "*hec vacca, cc, vache.*" 7 OMNIS, MS *omni*. gl. r. "*hec Pirra quedam mulier.*" 9 gl. upon PANNUS "*paneit*". 12 gl. upon FUCUS "*drane.*" 13 gl. upon GRATULOR "*lese,*" and upon CUCULLO "*de cunele.*" 14 gl. l. (upon SABURA) "*nomen ebraicum in historicis invenitur*", a peculiar suggestion, see p.

- 15 Stelle septenē spatium septennē tenebunt.
Obnixus muris infundo pocula murris.
Qui me suggilat, iugulat, sed scripta sigillat.
Esse caducum dico caduldum quod casa fertur.
Dicetur fluvius rapidus, rabidusque catellus.
- 20 R duplat arrābo quod non duplabit arābo.
Non me subsanna tibi suplico, casta Sūsanna.
Mirratur mirra, miratur dat tibi miror.
Sandala presul habet, opprobria scandala dices.
Est vestis pōderis non magni ponderis una.
- 25 Contrectat palpans, contractat carmina scribens.
Vas est scūtella, cutis est mea parva cūtella.
Dictio profertur, dīcio dominatur in urbe. Fol. 11r.
†Cum () apia non is videt appia Rome.†
Mors est decessus, removet discessus amicum.
Far licor emollit, mola mobilis emōlit illud.
- 5 †Est kurie dicens kurie sit tibi portus.†
Conculcas acēra, cumulatur thus in acēra.
Stultus amūsis erit, latomorum fertur amussis.
Illos hamamus quos non ut oportet amamus.
Dico thoreuma thorum geometre dic theoreuma.
- 10 Hic ubi calcabo violas non sponte cācabo.
Pignera res dant e, per o dico pignora natos.

108. 15 gl. upon SPATIUM SEPTENNE "*spatium septem annorum.*" 16 gl. upon OBNIUS "*forte*", and upon MURRIS "*macere.*" 17 gl. l. "*sug-gillo, as, etstrangler (sic).*" gl. upon SUGGILLAT "*iugulare.*" gl. r. "*sigillo, as, aseller*" 18 gl. upon CADUCUM, CADULDUM, and at right "*domus pastoralis*", but it evidently refers to CADULDUM. CADUCUM means an escheat, see Du Cange s. v. gl. upon ESSE "*geable.*" 19 gl. upon RABIDUS, "*i. e. insanus,*" and upon CATELLUS "*chael.*" 21 gl. upon SUBSANNA "*non deride.*" 23 gl. upon SANDALA "*calciamenta i. e. stamin.*" 24 gl. upon PODERIS "*alba, aube.*" 26 gl. r. "*hec cutella, cutel.*"

FOL. 11R. 1 gl. l. "*hec dicio seu kurie.*" 2 gl. l. "*hoc apium i. e. herba.*" CUM () APIA, MS cū mre apia. gl. upon APPIA "*hache.*" gl. r. "*hec appia, e, ache.*" 4 gl. upon FAR "*i. e. frumentum*" and upon EMOLLIT "*fit mol.*" 6 gl. upon ACĒRA "*paliis.*" gl. r. "*hec acera, re sencer,*" Classical *acerra*. 7 gl. upon LATOMORUM "*de masouns.*" gl. r. *dicitur ab a quod est sine et musas quod est dubito, itas.*" 8 gl. upon HAMAMUS "*per numos.*" gl. r. "*amo, as, amer.*" 10 gl. l. "*calco, cas, defuler.*" gl. upon VIOLAS "*violete.*" 11 PIGNERA, MS *pinguera*, gl. upon

- Est verbum sūperā, mulierum suppurā dicas.
 Pastor cambucam, sambucam fert faleratus.
 Possidet ēdilis edes; caro fertur ēdulis.
- 15 Fex auricalcum sed Flaccus fert oricalcum.
 Pingit aculeus artat eculeus () artus.
 Dissillaba dicitur in metro dictio "vehemens."
 Naso cantat Abas et Abantis erit genitivus.
 Abbas abbatis cum duplice b sit ab abba.
- 20 Vertice cirritus animo cirritus habetur.
 Littera t duplicat, t litora non duplicabit.
 Merx mercicula sed mercedula dat tibi merces.
 Aëris est cataractha porus cataduppaque terre.
 Hic luter est lavacrum, later hic quod tegula fertur.
- 25 Hostes quos honōro non gratis rebus honōro.
 Quisque screator erit, hominum Deus ipse creator.
 Talia sufficiant, lectores cetera cernant.

PIGNERA "munera." NATOS, MS nepotis. 12 gl. 1. "supero, as sur-
 munter." gl. upon DICAS "ride. 13 gl. upon CAMBUCAM "crocc." gl.
 upon SAMBUCAM "sanbue": Du Cange "currus quo nobiles femine vche-
 bantur, species." 14 gl. upon EDILIS "hic custos domus," and upon EDU-
 LIS "maniable." gl. r. "hic et hcc edulis, i. c. caro()". 15 gl. upon
 AURICALCUM "fex auri" and upon FLACCUS "Oratius." Cf. Horace, A. P.
 202 "orichalcum." 16 gl. upon ECULEUS "ater() genus equorum." 18
 ABAS is mentioned frequently in Ovid. 20 The two words are *cirratus*
 and *cerritus* respectively in classical Latin. gl. upon CIRRITUS "habens
 multas crines" and upon CIRITUS "insanus." 23 gl. 1. "catarachta a cata-
 fluxus, aer, aeris quasi fluxus ab aere." gl. upon CATARACTHA "porus in
 acrem" and upon CATADUPPA "foramen." gl. r. "catachita est subtilis
 fenestra per quam gutta / aqua excedit. Cataduppa est maris abruptio
 a cata fluxus et duco, eis, quasi aquarum fluventium ducti(); at
 potest dici cum du, etc." 24 gl. upon LUTER "lavor." and upon LATER
 "tevele." 26 gl. upon SCREATOR "scropur venit de serco, as."

Index to the French words in the gloss of the *Comodu Grammatice*.
The reference is given by folio and line.

abesser - - - - -	7v, 23	masouns - - - - -	11r, 7
abestez - - - - -	9r, 8	mer - - - - -	10r, 28
ache - - - - -	11r, 2	miid (?) - - - - -	9r, 23
aforsant - - - - -	9v, 12	mirrur - - - - -	7r, 14
aler - - - - -	10r, 15	mit - - - - -	9r, 22
amer - - - - -	11r, 8	mitte - - - - -	10r, 20
aseller - - - - -	10v, 17	mol - - - - -	11r, 4
aube - - - - -	10v, 24	olifant - - - - -	10v, 1
balance - - - - -	8v, 13	ors - - - - -	9r, 23
barun - 9v, 9; 10r, 18:	10v, 1	Paches - - - - -	10r, 16
beche - - - - -	10r, 28	pallefr(oy) - - - - -	10v, 2
bucher - - - - -	9v, 6	paneit - - - - -	10v, 9
centure - - - - -	10r, 2	peis - - - - -	8v, 13
chael - - - - -	10v, 19	pere - - - - -	10r, 21
chape - - - - -	10r, 24	piment - - - - -	9v, 7
char - - - - -	10r, 23	provendre - - - - -	9r, 1
cholet - - - - -	8v, 8	pur - - - - -	10r, 21
cleteners - - - - -	10r, 21	purturre - - - - -	8v, 15
croce - - - - -	11r, 13	remenable - - - - -	9v, 13
cunele - - - - -	10v, 13	remener - - - - -	9v, 13
curre - - - - -	8r, 22	rente - - - - -	9v, 22
cutel - - - - -	10v, 26	replendisant - - - - -	9v, 12
cuverer - - - - -	9v, 18	rinces - - - - -	9v, 27
dauneurs - - - - -	7v, 9	sanbue - - - - -	11r, 13
defuler - - - - -	11r, 10	saule - - - - -	9v, 16
depersus - - - - -	9r, 16	sautet - - - - -	9r, 23
descunet (?) - - - - -	8r, 17	savure - - - - -	9v, 17
drane - - - - -	10v, 12	scropur - - - - -	11r, 26
enegrue - - - - -	7v, 19	servise - - - - -	10r, 12
enfanter - - - - -	9v, 23	squaser - - - - -	7v, 3
englue - - - - -	7v, 3	squasse - - - - -	7v, 3
entrir - - - - -	8r, 4	stamin - - - - -	10v, 23
escu - - - - -	8r, 14	sudenement - - - - -	9v, 15
eseie - - - - -	8v, 16	sulcolt (?) - - - - -	7v, 5
estrangler - - - - -	10v, 17	surmunter - - - - -	11r, 12
fit - - - - -	11r, 4	susaler - - - - -	9v, 15
geable (?) - - - - -	10v, 18	Tesey (<i>Latin?</i>) - - - - -	9v, 19
gutte - - - - -	9r, 27	teuele - - - - -	11r, 24
hache - - - - -	11r, 2	truflur - - - - -	10v, 4
hampe - - - - -	8v, 18	vache - - - - -	10v, 5
hors - - - - -	9r, 23	van - - - - -	10r, 22
iuglur - - - - -	9r, 11	vanin - - - - -	10r, 23
lavr - - - - -	11r, 24	ven - - - - -	10r, 22
lese - - - - -	10v, 13	violete - - - - -	11r, 10
maniable - - - - -	11r, 14		



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